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THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JULY, 1888.

ART. I.—UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF JAMES HOGG,
THE ETRICK SHEPHERD.

[The following letters, descriptive of a tour which the Ettrick Shepherd made in the Highlands in the year 1803 have recently been discovered by his daughter, Mrs. Garden, among her father's papers. They were to all appearance intended for the eye of Sir Walter Scott, but whether they were ever read by him is unknown. So far as can be ascertained after the most careful search they have never before been published. There is no reference to them in Hogg's Autobiography, and until recently the survivors of his family were not aware of their existence. The letters speak for themselves, and it is unnecessary here to say more than that they appear to have been written by the Shepherd from memory soon after his return home, and some five years before the publication of *The Lady of the Lake*.]

DEAR SIR,—As you were, or pretended to be, much diverted with my whimsical account of a journey which I made through the North Highlands last year, you will not be displeased at hearing that I am just now returned from a long circuit through the Western Highlands and Isles, of which I also intend giving you an account by letters. But in the meantime I promise, nay I swear, that I will endeavour, by making no digressions, and curtail my remarks, to confine this correspondence within more

circumscribed bounds than that of last year, of which I now proceed to give you an instance.

On the twenty-seventh of May I again dressed myself in black, put one shirt, and two neckcloths in my pocket; took a staff in my hand, and a shepherd's plaid about me, and left Ettrick on foot, with a view of traversing the West Highlands, at least as far as the Isle of Skye. I took the road by Peebles for Edinburgh, and after being furnished with letters of introduction to such gentlemen as were most likely to furnish me with the intelligence which I wanted respecting the state of the country. I took a passage in the 'Stirling Fly' for that town. I got only a short and superficial view of the old palace of Linlithgow, and satisfied myself with only making my uncle's observation on viewing the Abbey of Melrose; 'Our masons can mak nae sic houses now-a-days.'

I got a deal of information as we passed along from the Rev. Mr. Somerville of Stirling, who was a passenger in the coach, and seemed a very specious, intelligent man. He showed me the Earl of Stair's very extensive plan of the battle of Dettingen, and entertained me with many curious remarks respecting the ancient harbour and town of Camella, the capital of the Picts, situated beyond Linlithgow, as also the most minute and just description of the battles of Falkirk and Bannockburn, all of which I have written in my journal, and as they are much better described elsewhere than I am capable of doing, I entirely decline it, though I wish from my heart that the distinctions of Englishmen and Scot were entirely disannulled and sunk in that of Britons. I will tell you a story which was told by one in the coach.

'A good many years ago a North and South Briton fell into a warm dispute about the privileges resulting to each country from the Union; each of them divesting his own country entirely of any share of them. At length the Scot safely observed, that if the English had no advantage by the Union, why were they so forward in promoting it, and why were the Scots so backward to agree to it?'

'Why sir, as to the former, because it freed them from the devastations committed by their plundering parties. And as to the latter, because it deprived them of the rich booties which they reaved from England at the expiration of every temporary truce.'

'Aye, aye, was that the way? I did not know, I'm unacquainted with history, but what the d——l had the English ado but to wear them back.'

'Why sir, at a fair engagement, in open war they never could stand us; but having their own mountains and forests so near for

a safe retreat, it was impossible to prevent their plundering parties from committing frequent depredations.'

'Aye, aye, I did not know these things,' said the Scot, 'and were the English too hard for them at a fair engagement?'

'Indeed sir, they were. The best and bravest of the Scots allowed of that.'

'Aye, aye, I'm unacquainted with history, but it is believed to have been otherwise where I live.'

'Where,' said the Englishman, 'do you live?'

'At Bannockburn!'

'Hem—.'

Not another word ensued. The subject entirely dropped, and the shrewd Caledonian sat squirting in the fire as if he had meant nothing by the answer.'

I lodged on the Castle-hill, in company with a Mr. MacMillan, who came with us in the coach from Edinburgh, and was bound for Lochaber. We arose next morning before the sun, and had a most advantageous and enchanting view of the links of Forth, and the surrounding country, forming altogether a landscape unequalled by any of the same nature in Scotland.

This having been always the principal pass for an army, either to or from the North, hath in consequence been the scene of many bloody encounters. A description of all the battles that have been fought in view of Stirling Castle would furnish matter for volumes. Many of these have been decisive, and settled the fates of thousands, from which dismal circumstance so often occurring, the place in ancient times took the name of Strevlin, or the valley of strife.

We took the road by Doune, and reached Callander of Menteith at eight A.M., where we breakfasted at an inn in company with the laird of Macnab, and after I had furnished myself with some provisions for the day, departed. The management of the land under tillage continued to grow worse, and in the neighbourhood of Callander there were some of it in a very poor and weedy state, which is the more to be regretted as it appears by some fields adjoining that there was the means of enriching it within reach. I did not stay at any of these *towns* to make enquiries into the present state of their population, trade, and manufactures, sufficient to justify an attempt toward a description of them, therefore I will not detain you by a random, or borrowed account of them, but hasten on, lest I break my oath at the very first.

At Kilmahog, a paltry village about a mile beyond Callander, I parted with MacMillan, and crossing the Teith, turning to the left. You may guess that I was glad at getting safely past this

village, for its name signifies *the burial place of Hogg*. It is pleasantly situated on the north-east bank of the river, and is intersected by a dam, over which have been erected several buildings. I proceeded several miles without meeting with any thing remarkable. I went quite out of my road to see Glenfinlas, merely because it was the scene of a poem in which I delighted, but could see nothing more than in other places. The hills were covered with mist down to the middle; yet I saw enough to convince me that it was an excellent sheep range. Returning, I went by the bridge of Turk, passing a little curiously shaped hill covered with wood, which, with the shores of Loch Venachar, are worthy of going a good way to view even although the Trossachs were not beyond them. But the description of these I must defer until my next, and shall close this as soon as I have reminded you that I have now come above an hundred miles, which would have been four letters at least, last year.

I remain, Sir, your ever faithful

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—As I know that you have seen the Trossachs yourself, and as so many have seen them, and no doubt have described them minutely, I will not attempt a particular description of them, but they are indeed the most confused piece of Nature's workmanship that I ever saw, consisting of a thousand little ragged eminences all overhung with bushes, intersected with interstices, the most intricate and winding imaginable.

On entering among them, surely said I, mentally, Nature hath thrown these together in a rage. But on seeing the spreading bushes overhanging the rocks, and hearing the melody of the birds, I softened the idea into *one of her whims*. But as I had set out with a mind so intent on viewing the scenery of the Highlands, and coming to such an interesting place on the very first day that I entered them, I was more than ordinarily delighted. It was a little past noon on a Sabbath day when I arrived there. The air was unusually still and dark, not a breath moved the leaves that hung floating over the impending precipices of the Trossachs, nor caused one dark furl on the smooth glassy surface of the winding Loch Katrine. Every species of the winged creation that frequent the woods and mountains of Caledonia, were here joined that day in a grateful hymn in praise of their great Creator. Not one key remained untouched of all the Italian gamut. It was indeed a Dutch concert, where every one sung his own song, from the small whistle of the wren, to the solemn notes of the cuckoo, sounded on an E and C, a double octave lower, and from the sprightly pipe of the thrush and

blackbird, to the rough harp of the pve and raven. And that the anthem might be complete, the imperial eagle hovered like a black mote in the skirts of the mist, at whose triumphant yell all the woodland choristers were for some seconds mute ; and like menials in the presence of their lord, began again one after another with seeming fear and caution.

The landscape at large was quite spoiled by a thick, lowering mist, that hid in shades all the high mountains which should have made up the back-ground of this romantic scene. It also confined, and bowed down my contemplations to what most employs them, namely, the things below. These, on such a day, would naturally have arisen, with my eyes, to the tops of the hills, and from thence to heaven, and consequently to Him who made heaven and earth and—the Trossachs. But knowing, notwithstanding of our mental depravity, that clouds and darkness surround Him, and as I was become surrounded with mist, I knew it needless even to attempt it. I had no guide along with me, and it is probable that I might miss some of the most interesting places. I lost myself in the mazes of the river, and for a while believed, what was impossible, namely, that I had got to the other side of the river without perceiving it. The manner in which it works its way amongst the rocks, is not the least striking of the whole. One while it seems quite impeded in its progress, at other times, wheeling and boiling in the most terrific manner, always in ferment, and in a seeming perplexity at what chasm it shall next make its escape by.

I took my dinner, consisting of some biscuits and a cut of cheese, beside a crystal spring at the foot of a rock ; and during my stay there had formed a definite conclusion respecting the formation of the Trossachs. I concluded, that prior to the universal deluge, the Trossachs had formed a steep bar between the two hills, and that the whole of Glen Gyle and Loch Katrine had been one loch, which had formed subterraneous passages among the rocks, to such an extent as had prevented it filling up ; but on the declension of the waters of the Flood from around it, unable to sustain the mighty pressure, the Trossachs had given way ; when the impetuous torrent had carried all before it saving the everlasting rocks, which yet remain, the shattered monuments of that dreadful breach. This theory is supported by two remaining evidences. First, that the western side of these eminences are all bare and solid rock ; while on the opposite sides of the larger ones there are quantities of loose stones and some soil amassed. And second, that the ravines are deeper, and the knolls higher, on, and near, the bottom of the glen, and continue gradually to diminish as you ascend the hills on each side, until they totally

disappear. However, my dear sir, I have no hopes that you will treat this probable discovery with a greater share of approbation than you do all my natural and experimental philosophy, namely, by laughing at it.

I now left the Trossachs, and proceeded up the north side of Loch Katrine, on the shores of which there is still a good proportion of wood, though small in comparison with what it seems once to have been. Many extensive banks that have once been covered with large trees, are only recognizable to have been so by thousands of decaying stumps. Even the Trossachs themselves have suffered severely in wild beauty by the ravages of the axe. But what they have lost in beauty they have gained in utility. They are now covered with stocks of tolerably good sheep, and there is still a sufficiency of wood to serve them for shelter in winter, which is all that is requisite for the store farmer. The lands belong mostly, either to the Hon. Miss Drummond, or the Earl of Moray, and are generally, though not very large, good sure farms, and will in time bring large rents.

The inhabitants acknowledge that they do not suffer by snows lying long in winter, but that, owing to the dryness of their herbage, their flocks are often much reduced in condition during the spring months, and that when the lambing season commences with them, many of the lambs are in danger of perishing.

I began now to be afraid that I might be disappointed of a lodging during the night, there being no public houses in the bounds. I went on, however, without asking, until I came to the house of Glen Gyle. It was then growing late, and there was no other human habitation for many miles. I had, twelve years ago, been sent on an errand to the house of Glen Gyle, to ask permission of M'Gregor, the laird, to go through his land with a drove of sheep. He was then an old man, and seemed to me to be a very queer man; but his lady granted my request without hesitation, and seemed to me an active, social woman. Therefore I expected, from the idea that I had formed of her character, to be very welcome there, and never knew, until I went to the house, that the laird was dead, and the lady and her family removed to the neighbourhood of Callander; while the farm and mansion-house were possessed by two farmers. When I called, one of them came to the door. I asked the favour of a night's lodging; but the important M'Farlane made use of that decisive moment to ask me half a score of questions before he desired me to walk in. I experienced the greatest kindness and attention from all the family when once I got amongst them. M'Alpin, the other farmer, I found to be a very considerable man, both in abilities and in-

fluence, but the most warm and violent man in a dispute, though ever so trivial, that ever entered into one. If any one advanced a theory of which he did not approve, he interrupted them with a loud and passionate *hububub*. On the preceding summer five gentlemen from Glasgow were benighted there, and calling at the door, desired M'Alpin to speak with them. He sent word that they might go about their business, for he would be d——d if he held any conversation with a pack of Glasgow weavers.

I remain yours, etc.,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—There is nothing about Glen-Gyle that admits of particular description. It is situated at the head of Loch Katrine, and surrounded by black rocks. It was one of Rob Roy's principal haunts, to whom Glen-Gyle was related. M'Alpin showed me the island in Loch Katrine where he confined the Marquis of Montrose's steward, after robbing him of his master's rents, and where he had nearly famished him. The Macgregors have a burial place at Glen-Gyle, surrounded by a high wall. On one of their monuments their coat of arms and motto are engraved. Query. Was it not remarkable that both you and I should, each of us have made Glen-Gyle a party in a ballad in imitation of the ancients, and that before we had either seen or heard of each other? Answer. The poetical sound of the name, sir.

I now left Glen-Gyle in order to cross the mountains into Glenfalloch. I did not, however, take the nearest way, but held towards the top of a hill on the left hand, from which I knew there was a charming prospect, with which I had formerly been greatly surprised. As I hinted above, I had in the summer of 1791 passed through that country with sheep. On a Saturday night we lay with our sheep in the opening of a wood by the side of Loch Ard, and during the whole of the Sabbath following there was so dark a fog, that we could scarcely see over our drove. Although we got permission, we did not go by Glen-Gyle, but by the garrison of Inversnaid, and the night again overtook us on the top of this hill. The mist still continued dark, and though my neighbour (companion,) who was a highlandman, knew the road, I was quite unconscious what sort of a country we were in. When I waked next morning the sun was up, and all was clear, the mist being wholly gone. You can better judge of my astonishment than I can express it, as you are well aware what impression such a scene hath on my mind. Indeed it was scarcely possible to have placed me in another situation in Scotland where I could have had a view of as many striking and

sublime objects by looking about me. Loch Katrine with its surrounding scenery stretching from one hand ; Loch Lomond on the other. The outline of Ben Lomond appeared to particular advantage, as did the cluster of monstrous pyramids on the other side. One hill, in the heights of Strathfillan, called Ben Leo, was belted with snow, and from that direction had a particularly sharp, peaked appearance, being of a prodigious height.

Besides all this I had drank some whisky the preceding evening, and had a very indistinct recollection of our approach to that place, and it was actually a good while ere I was persuaded that every thing I saw was real. I sat about an hour contemplating the different scenes with the greatest pleasure, before I awaked my comrade.

I was very anxious to be on the same spot again, and went out of my way to reach it, expecting to experience the same delightful feelings that I had done formerly. In this, however, I was disappointed, but was not a little surprised on recollecting the extraordinary recurrence of circumstances as to time and place. It was not only the same day of the week but the same day of the same month when I was on the same spot before. The two Sabbaths preceding these two days had been as remarkable for mist and darkness as the days themselves were for clearness and perspicuity of objects. In short, my whimsical fortune seemed endeavouring to make me forget the twelve years that had elapsed. But it would not do.

Musing on these objects I fell into a sound sleep, out of which I was at length awaked by a hideous, yelling noise. I listened for some time before I ventured to look up, and on throwing the plaid off my face, what was it but four huge eagles hovering over me in a circle at a short distance ; and at times joining all their voices in one unconceivable bleat. I desired them to keep at a due distance, like Sundhope's man, for I was not yet dead, which, if I had been, I saw they were resolved that I should not long remain a nuisance amongst the rocks of Glenfalloch.

I now shaped my course towards Kieletur, on the head of the glen, possessed by Mr. Grieve, from the south country, intending to reach Glenorchy that night, for I supposed that I had a cousin, a shepherd, there, whom I had not seen for twelve years, and whom I esteemed very much. But before I reached Kieletur I learned that Mr. Grieve was absent at the fair on Dumbarton Muir, and that my cousin had left Glenorchy, and was gone to a shealing at the back of Ben Vorlich, where he was herding for Mr. Wallace of Inverouglas. I then turned back, took my dinner at the change-house of Glenfalloch, and going through the hills, reached my friend's hut that night.

This Glenfalloch which I now left is the property of Mr. Campbell. It is divided into large farms, and having been long under sheep the hills are become green, and the stocks very good. My cousin's cottage was situated by a small lake called Loch Sloy, in as savage a scene as can be conceived, betwixt the high, rugged mountains and Ben Vorlich and Ben Vane. The brows of each of these were adorned with old wreaths of snow, and though it was then the month of June so much snow fell during the night that I was there that the heat of next day did not nearly dissolve it on the tops of these hills. He received me with all the warmth of the most tender friendship, lamenting that he could so ill accommodate me. I soon made him easy on that score, and then he was never satisfied in his enquiries about the welfare of his dearest relations and friends in Ettrick. The family consisted of eleven in all that night, and indeed we were curiously lodged. They were but lately come to that place, and had got no furniture to it; nor indeed was it any wonder, it being scarcely possible to reach it on foot. We slept on the same floor with four or five cows, and as many dogs, the hens preferring the joists above us. During the night the cattle broke loose, if they were at all bound, and came snuffing and smelling about our couch, which terrified me exceedingly, there being no rampart nor partition to guard us from their inroads. At length I heard, by the growling of the dogs, that they were growing jealous of them. This induced me to give them the hint, which they were not backward in taking, for they immediately attacked their horned adversaries with great spirit and vociferation, obliging them to make a sudden retreat to their stalls, and so proud were the staunch curs of this victory gained in defence of their masters, that they kept them at bay for the rest of the night. Had it not been for this experiment, they could scarcely have missed tramping to death some of the children, who were lying scattered on the floor. Add to all this confusion, that there was an old woman taken very ill before day. We were afraid of immediate death, and Walter Bigger, the other shepherd, manifested great concern, as not knowing how it was possible to get her to a Christian burial-place. She actually died next week, and I think they would be obliged to bury her where they were.

Now sir; mark this situation, and join me in admiring my whimsical fortune, which seems to take a pleasure in reverses, by thus carryiug me out of one extremity into another. I say, mark my company here in this hovel. I was in the midst of dying wives, crying children, pushing cows, and fighting dogs; and the very next day, at the same hour, in the same robes, same body, same spirit, I was in the splendid dining-room in the Castle of

Inveraray, surrounded by dukes! lords! ladies! silver, silk, gold, pictures, powdered lacqueys, and the devil knows what! O Mr. Scott, Mr. Scott, thou wilt put me stark mad some day.

Now I say, was it a light thing? Was it showing any regard for a poor bard's brains, knowing as you well did, how susceptible his mind is of impressions corresponding with the different images conveyed by his senses, to persuade him to go through the Trossachs, and the Duke of Argyll's bowling-green, than which no scenery can be more creative of ideas, although sublime, yet gloomy and severe; and as a contrast to thrust me all at once, out of these, headlong amidst all the transcendent beauty, elegance, and splendour of Inveraray. Well, you think nothing of this, but if I had lost my judgment, what had you to answer for?

I remain, dear Sir, your most obliged J. H.

DEAR SIR,—It would be by far too tedious were I to give you a minute detail of all my proceedings about Inveraray, where I was detained four days; yet it would be unpardonable were I to omit describing some of my principal blunders and embarrassments; for every hour during the time that I remained there was marked by one or other of these.

I sent a man from the inn with your letter to Colonel Campbell, who returned his compliments, naming the hour when *he would do himself the pleasure of waiting on me!* Mark that, sir. He was punctual to his time; and immediately took me with him to the Castle. His unaffected simplicity of manners soon rendered me quite easy and happy in his company. He led me through a number of the gayest apartments, and at length told me he was going to introduce me to Lady Charlotte. 'By no means,' said I, 'for heaven's sake. I would be extremely glad could I see her at a little distance, but you need never think that I will go in amongst them.' 'Distance!' exclaimed he. 'You shall dine with her to-day and to-morrow.' So saying he went towards a door. I declare, the idea of being introduced to a lady of whom I had heard so much as a paragon of beauty, elegance, and refined taste; and who had been the grace and envy of Courts, raised in my breast such a flutter, I cannot tell you how I felt. He then bolted into a small circular room in one of the turrets, where her ladyship was sitting with some others, closely engaged in something, but I cannot tell what it was were I to die for it: and I am vexed to this hour that I had not noted what they were employed in when alone.

She stood up and received me with the greatest familiarity and good humour in the world, which she hath entirely at command; told me the other ladies' names, and enquired kindly

for you and Mrs. Scott; then asked some questions about Ettrick Banks and Yarrow Braes. All which I answered in the best manner I was able. I saw that by her assumed vivacity she was endeavouring to make me quite easy; but it was impossible. I was struck with a sense of my inferiority, and was quite bamboozled. I would never have known that I was so ill had there not unluckily been a mirror placed up by my leg. Not knowing very well where to look, I looked into it. Had you seen the figure I made, you would have behaved just as I did. My upper lip was curled up, my jaws were fallen down, my cheeks were all drawn up about my eyes, which made the latter appear very little, my face was extraordinary red, and my nose seemed a weight on it. On being caught in this dilemma I really could not contain myself, but burst out a-laughing. The ladies looked at one another, thinking I was laughing at them. However, to bring myself off, I repeated something that the Colonel was saying, and pretended to be laughing at it. I should soon have been as ill as ever I was, had not he relieved me by proposing to withdraw in order to see some paintings which we were talking of. Her ladyship, however, thought proper to accompany us through several apartments, leading her little daughter by the hand, a most beautiful stem of the noble bough.

On coming to the north door of the castle the colonel ordered a man to play upon a pipe which was concealed in a walking cane of his, and which sounded exactly like the bagpipe at a distance. When the duchess came within hearing of the music she danced round, setting to the sweet little child, and when she thought that Jack, as she called him, was too severe in his jokes upon Sir William Hart, she popped his hat over the rail, into the sunk way. I was extremely gratified by this behaviour of her ladyship, it became her so well, and I was certain that it was assumed, merely on account of seeing me at such a loss.

Now you will be expecting that I should still be in a worse condition when first introduced to his Grace the Duke, and indeed I was within a little way of being very ill, but got off better than could have been expected. This plaguey bluntness I shall I never get rid of it? He was much indisposed, and I did not see him all that day, but he sent in his compliments with Colonel Campbell, desiring to see me at dinner with him tomorrow. The first time that we encountered was thus. I was returned from the top of Duniqueich, and just as I reached the castle gate, a coach drove up, out of which an old gentleman with a cocked hat, and a scarlet coat alighted. I thought him some old officer, and mounted the steps without minding him, but meeting on the flags Captain Campbell, with whom I had been in

company before, I asked who these were. He said they were the Duke and Doctor Campbell. He was by this time advancing toward me, and I was not knowing how I should address him. But he, who it seems had been enquiring who I was, relieved me by addressing me by name, and welcoming me to Inveraray. I thanked his Grace, and hoped he was got better of his indisposition. He said he was rather poorly yet, and desired me to walk in: adding, 'your friend Colonel Campbell will be here immediately.' I followed his Grace through the dining-room, where he had the condescension to sit down and hold a few minutes tête-a-tête with me. He said I had arrived in a very good season for getting a peaceable and undisturbed view of Inveraray, and asked if I had yet been shown anything that was worthy of notice. I said the Colonel had taken much pains in showing me both the inside of the castle and the policies* around it. 'Then,' said he, smiling, 'I am sure that you have seen more than you are pleased with, and that you are even more pleased than edified.' I assured his Grace that I considered myself not a little instructed, as well as pleased, by having seen so much that was quite unequalled by anything that I had ever seen before. He at length desired me to amuse myself with these books and charts, for that he must go and dress. I had not sat long when Colonel Campbell entered, who in a little time left me also, on the same pretence, that of *dressing for dinner*. I said he was well enough dressed; it was a silly thing that they could not put on clothes in the morning that would serve them during the day. He proved that that would never do, and went his way laughing.

It was not long until the Duke rejoined me, all clad in black, as indeed all the gentlemen were who sat at table. I was always in the utmost perplexities, not knowing servants from masters. There were such numbers of them, and so superbly dressed, that I daresay I made my best bow to several of them. I remember in particular of having newly taken my seat at dinner, and observing one behind me I thought he was a gentleman wanting a seat, and offered him mine.

I was so proud that although I did not know how to apply one third of the things that were at table, unless I called for a thing I would not take it when offered to me. I had called for a shave of beef, and was falling on without minding either gravy, mustard, or spice, which were proffered. I refused all. 'What!' said the Colonel, 'L—d do ye eat your beef quite plain?' 'Perfectly plain, sir,' said I, 'saving a little salt, and so would you if you knew how much more wholesome it were.' By great

* Grounds.

good fortune I was joined by several in this asservation which my extremity suggested.

The Duke talked freely to me about his farming, and told me he had given orders to Mr. ———, who had the superintendence of all his rural affairs, and who was a very sensible man, and a countryman of my own, to take a ride with me to-morrow and show me his cattle, sheep, etc. This brings me to give you an account of our ride, which I intend to do in my next, passing over everything that occurred in the interim.

I remain, Sir, with the utmost respect, yours,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—You must now suppose me mounted on a fine brown hunting mare, as light as the wind, and as mad as the devil, and Mr. ——— on an excellent grey pony, riding full drive through part of the Duke's land which he occupied himself. We took a view of his breeding cows and some oxen, which were greatly superior to any that I ever saw in beauty and compactness. They are certainly the best breed of Highland cattle produced in Scotland, and indeed they have advantages which it is beyond the power of most men to afford. I have been told that Campbell of Islay, and he only, hath long disputed the field with Argyll for the best breed of Highland cattle, and it is the opinion of some that although the latter frequently outsells the other at the markets, yet it is as much owing to the great distance that the Islay cattle must needs be driven, as to the superiority of the breed. It is truly amazing the prices that these two houses draw for their cattle, it being much more than double the average price at Dumbarton Market.

The sheep that we saw were partly of the Cheviot, and partly of the Scotch kinds; but both rather of inferior breed. Mr. ——— excused this by alleging that the Cheviot breed was but lately introduced, and they had not had time to improve them, and that the other kind was got from some of the Duke's farmers who were removing, and who could not otherwise dispose of them at value. However it was, they were on excellent pasture that would have produced the best of sheep; and I remarked to Mr. ——— that it was a shame to see such a stock upon such land. He was no better pleased with many of my observations, than I was with him in general.

On our return his grace asked me several things, and amongst others, what I thought of Mr. ———. I said I did not rightly understand him; he was surely the worse of drink. 'That was impossible,' he said, 'at this time of day;' and besides, said he, 'I conversed with him since your return. He is perfectly sober.'

You surely must be mistaken about Mr. ——.' 'I certainly am mistaken my lord,' said I, 'for I look on him as the worst specimen of your Grace's possessions that I have seen about all Inveraray.' Perhaps I said too much, but I could not help telling my mind. Colonel Campbell was like to burst during this dialogue, and indeed, little as he pretended to know about rural economy, I could have gathered more from a three hours' conversation with him, than I could have done with Mr. —— in as many weeks. His whole consisted in boasting.

His Grace had the kindness that day to walk with me up to the workshops where his mechanics were employed, and showed and described to me, several specimens of curious implements in husbandry, too tedious here to describe, many of which were of his own contrivance. He takes a visible pleasure in the study of agriculture, and in rural improvements, of which the valley of Glen Shira is a convincing proof. How creditable a pursuit this, compared with those which many of our inferior nobility delight themselves in! And how happy is the county of Argyll in having such a man placed in the middle of it, whose inclination to do good is as ample as his power of doing it! His venerable age, the sweetness and simplicity of his manners, with the cheerful alacrity showed by every one of the family to his easy commands are really delightful. He is indeed, in the fullest sense of the word, a father to his country. The numerous tenants on his extensive estates, both on the mainland and in the isles, are all gentlemen, even those of the smallest kind are easy in circumstances, happy in their families, and have an implicit confidence in the integrity of their illustrious chief, and every one of them, I daresay in cases of urgency would follow him or Lorne to the field, nor will it be every foe that will keep it, *when the Campbells are coming.*

I had heard it abroad that a man's disposition was best known by the characters of the people whom he had chosen to act under him; I was happy to find that here they were not all Mr. —— There is a Colonel Graham, whom I was only a few minutes in company with at the village, in whom the Duke placeth an unlimited confidence; and he hath the character of being every way worthy of it. He is certainly a very superior man in every respect.

I was truly ashamed of the attention paid to me by Colonel Campbell. He was indefatigable in his endeavours to make me understand the use and the meaning of every thing, both within and without the castle, made his sister again and again play upon the organ, because I admired it; led me through the whole castle to the very battlements; through every walk of the gardens;

every corner of the large barns; and all the office houses; to the very dog-kennel; and made me give names to two young dogs, which I called Suwarrow and Lion. It is a question if ever they were more minded; but this reminds me of an anecdote which I shall here relate. 'How is that young dog of mine so much leaner than the others?' said Colonel Campbell to the keeper. "I don't know," said he. "You don't know! But you ought to be better to mine." "No," said he pertly, "I will be as good to Mr. Robert's as to yours." "Aye," said the Colonel, "but you act like a puppy in being better to any man's dogs than your master's." The lad looked this way and that way; patted the dog on the head, and had no answer. When the other saw that, he gave him half a crown for being so good to his brother's dog.' Colonel Campbell also walked many miles through the woods and fields with me, in order to give me the most advantageous views of the different scenery surrounding that celebrated place, until he was sometimes extremely warm, and he would not suffer me to turn my eyes that way until he came to certain places in order that the view might burst on me all at once, and which he believed to be greatly assisting in the effect it produced.

One day when he wished that the environs of Loch Dow and Glen Shira should open to me all at once, that I might not see it by halves as we advanced, he placed his huge bulk on that side of me, laid his arm on my shoulder, and repeated a piece of a poem with great emphasis. On one of these excursions we were overtaken, and taken up into an open carriage by her ladyship and some of her companions, which afforded us a much more easy and agreeable conveyance.

I will not tell you all the remarks which I made upon this celebrated lady, else people would refrain in future from introducing me to their wives or daughters in any case; thinking I was just come to take observations. There was one thing I heard her assert, and in the presence of her husband too; that *she was a great admirer of you.* But you need not read this to Mrs. Scott.

But of all the predicaments I ever got into, that of the theatre excelled! I suspect it was you that put it into their heads, else they would never have set as many people to work a whole forenoon, lighting up, cleaning, and arranging the scenery of the theatre that I might judge of the fitness and propriety of each. Every new scene that was displayed, my judgment was asked in full council, of every particular part. Forgive me if I knew what to say! I had often no other answer ready than scratching the crown of my head. I cursed in my heart the hour that

I first put my observations on the stage on paper; and like the Yorkshire man, wished all their canvas in *h— bournin!*

The whole of this theatre, with all its appurtenances, is the contrivance, and executed under the direction of the Hon. Colonel Campbell. He is very proud of it, as indeed he very well may, for though small, it is a most finished little piece. No man would believe that he had such a taste for the fine arts as it is evident he hath, particularly in music and painting. I must again here draw my score, after subscribing myself, your humble servant,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—In my last I began giving you an account of a ride which I had in company with Mr. —, but fell through the subject, and never more minded* it. I will now, however, resume it, that you may see how unlucky I was in all my manœuvres among the nobility. I told you I was mounted on a fine mare; I know not who she belonged to, but I never think it was the same that the Colonel ordered for me. She was so full of spirits that every little rivulet, and every hillock that we came at, she must necessarily make a spring over it as if she had been passing over a six bar gate. Yea, so intent was she on showing her prowess, that she bore me over dykes and ditches, than crossing which nothing could be more foreign to my inclinations or purpose. I was almost driven to desperation by her behaviour, for on coming to the outside of a high faced wall on the east side of Glen Dow, and drawing near to look at a herd of roes that were feeding within, I had taken no notice of my beast, for in a moment she sprung forward, plunged over the dyke, and landed me on the inside, among the deer. It was with much difficulty that I retained my seat, and being very angry, I whipped her against the dyke on the inside. 'Now, jump that if you can.' I was very glad to find that Mr. — was in haste to get home. He could have no greater desire for it than I had. Although I never said much he saw my condition well enough; and always added fuel to the fire by putting the spurs to his beast on pretence of trying a trot. But then! would mine? Not a step; but galloping, rearing, and running here-away-there-away. I however got back and got rid of her with whole bones, but well bathed in sweat.

I told you that they were rather inferior sheep that I saw. I was, however, assured that the Duke had some most excellent parcels of Scottish wedders on the outer hills. These I was to have seen the ensuing day, but I thought I had seen enough

* Remembered.

about Inveraray; at least before I saw as much about every place which I intended to visit, the year would be done. There was also a flock of sheep, composed of the largest Southern breeds, feeding on the castle bank. They were the strongest and best that ever I saw in Scotland, yet I was not displeased to hear that these were killed only for the use of the servants, and that the Scotch widders were preferred for the Duke's table.

I could tell you a great deal more about this place, but I am sure you think I have descended too much to particulars already. I could tell you how struck I was on entering the library. How I could not perceive one book at all; how I always lost myself in the castle, and could never recognize the very rooms that I had lately left. And after all, there is nothing else left for me to write about. To attempt a general description after those of a Kaimes, a Pennant, and a thousand others, would be the highest presumption, and indeed I hate to write about that which everybody writes about. I shall only observe (and I am afraid that you will attribute it to a spirit of contradiction, or a pride in retaining my character of singularity), that I do not much admire the *natural scenery* of Inveraray. There is a sort of sameness in the extensive view of the opposite side of the lake, and even in the lake itself, being much of a width, and destitute of islands. The hill of Duniqueich, rising above the plain, hath something of a romantic appearance, and is an exception to this general surmise; yet, strip the whole of its woods and lawns, and the scene is just common enough. But on the other hand, the artificial part is truly admirable, I had almost said inimitable. The elegant little town, the magnificent castle, the accurate taste, and discernment exhibited in the formation of the lawns and groves, many of which are striking copies of nature, and above all the great extent of the policies, ever will be admired, and never will be enough admired.

I was best pleased with the view of the castle from the lake, when it appeared embosomed in woods, and was so well contrasted with the village on one side, and a distant view of the majestic mountains in a circular range beyond it. But the greatest beauty of all is this; and it is alike applicable to the policies, to the castle, and to its inhabitants, that the nearer you approach, the better the effect. The closer the inspection, the more exalted your admiration; and the better acquaintance, the greater your esteem. And though the Duke's great age hath certainly considerably impaired the faculties of his mind, as well as his body, yet during the short time that I was in his presence, I could discover in the most trivial acts his unbounded generosity and condescension. I shall only mention one or two of those.

One day at dinner Colonel Campbell said, 'My lord, why will you not try the herrings? It was for you that I ordered them.' 'Was it indeed, Jack?' said he, 'then I certainly will try them.' Which he did, and recommended them greatly. After dinner the ladies were diverting themselves by throwing crumbs of cake at the gentlemen, and at one another, to make them start when they were not observing. His Grace was growing drowsy, and one, wishing to rouse him up, called aloud in a weeping tone, 'Master, speak to Charlotte, she won't sit in peace.' The good old peer, to carry on the school jest, or rather the idea of the farmer's table, turning to that side with an important nod, said, 'Be quiet, Charlotte, I tell you,' and smiling, laid himself back on his easy chair again. These are very trifling incidents, my dear Sir, but by such little family anecdotes, genuine and unaffected, the natural disposition is easier to be recognized than by a public action done in the face of the world.

But if I go backward and forward this way I shall never get from Inveraray; therefore suppose me all at once on the road early in the morning on which I proceeded up Glen Aray, viewed two considerable cataracts romantically shrouded in woods, and at length arrived on the borders of Loch Awe, or Loch Howe. My plan was to take breakfast at Port Sonachan, and proceed to Oban that night, having letters to some gentlemen of that country, and having a pocket travelling map, I never asked the road of anybody, at which indeed I have a particular aversion, as I am almost certain of being obliged to answer several impertinent questions as an equivalent for the favour conferred.

The road that turns to the left toward Port Sonachan is certainly in danger of being missed by a stranger, for although I was continually on the look-out for a public road to that hand, I never observed it in the least, till at last, seeing no ferry across the lake, nor road from the other side, I began to suspect that I had erred, and condescended to ask of a man if this was the road to Port Sonachan. He told me that I was above a mile past the place where the roads parted. 'And where does this lead?' said I. 'To Tyndrum, or the braes of Glenorchy,' said he; and attacked me with other questions in return, which I was in no humour to answer, being somewhat nettled at missing my intended route, and more at missing my breakfast, but knowing that whatever road I took, all was new to me, I, without standing a moment to consider of returning, held on as if nothing had happened.

About eleven A.M. I came to Dalmally in Glenorchy, where I took a hearty breakfast, but the inn had a poor appearance compared with what I had left. Some of the windows were built up

with turf, and, on pretence of scarcity of fuel, they refused to kindle a fire in my apartment, although I was very wet, and pleaded movingly for one. There was nothing in this tract that I had passed deserving of particular attention. The land on the south-east side of the lake is low-lying, interspersed with gentle rising hills, and strong grassy hollows, where good crops of oats and beans were growing. On the other side the hills are high and steep, and well stocked with sheep. One gentleman is introducing a stock of the Cheviot breed on a farm there this season. They had formerly been tried on a farm in the neighbourhood of the church, but the scheme was abandoned in its infancy.

I am, yours, etc.,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—Leaving Dalmally, and shortly after, the high road to Tyndrum, I followed a country road which kept near the bank of the river, and led me up through the whole of that district called *the braes of Glenorchy*. At the bridge of Orchy, (or as it is spelled by some Urganay), I rejoined the great military road leading to Fort William, and three miles farther on reached Inverournan, the mid-way stage between Tyndrum and the King's house beyond the Black Mount, where I took up my lodgings for the night.

The braes of Glenorchy have no very promising appearance, being much over-run with heath, and the north-west side rocky. But it is probable that I saw the worst part of them, their excellency as a sheep range having for a long time been established; for who, even in the south of Scotland, hath not heard of the farms of Soch and Auch!

The Orchy is a large river and there are some striking cascades in it. The glen spreads out to a fine valley on the lower parts, which are fertile, the soil on the river banks being deep, yet neither heavy nor cold. As you ascend the river the banks grow more and more narrow, till at last they terminate in heather and rocks. Beside one of the cascades which I sat down to contemplate, I fell into a long and profound sleep. The Earl of Breadalbane is the principal proprietor. I was now, at Inverournan, and got into a very Highland and rather a dreary scene. It is situated at the head of Loch Tullich, on the banks of which there yet remains a number of natural firs, a poor remembrance of the extensive woods with which its environs have once been over-run.

Amongst the fellow lodgers, I was very glad at meeting here with a Mr. M'Callum, who had taken an extensive farm on the estate of Strathconnon, which I viewed last year; who informed me, that all that extensive estate was let to sheep farmers, saving

a small division on the lower end, which the General had reserved for the accommodation of such of the natives as could not dispose of themselves to better advantage.

Next morning I traversed the Black Mount in company with a sailor, who entertained me with many wonderful adventures; of his being pressed, and afterwards suffering a tedious captivity in France. This is indeed a most dreary region, with not one cheering prospect whereto to turn the eye. But on the right hand lies a prodigious extent of flat, barren muirs, interspersed with marshes and stagnant pools; and on the left, black rugged mountains tower to a great height, all interlined with huge wreaths of snow. The scenery is nothing improved on approaching to the King's house. There is not a green spot to be seen, and the hill behind it to the westward is still more terrific than any to the south of it, and is little inferior to any in the famous Glencoe behind it. It is one huge cone of mishapen and ragged rocks, entirely peeled bare of all soil whatever, and all scarred with horrible furrows, torn out by the winter torrents. It is indeed a singular enough spot to have been pitched upon for a military stage and inn, where they cannot so much as find forage for a cow, but have their scanty supply of milk from a few goats, which brouse on the wide waste. There were, however, some very good black-faced wedder hoggs feeding in the middle of the Black Mount, but their colour and condition both, bespoke them to have been wintered on a richer and lower pasture, and only to have been lately turned out to that range.

After leaving the King's house I kept the high way leading to Balachulish for about two miles, and then struck off, following the old military road over the devil's stairs, which winds up the hill on one side and down on the other, and at length entered Lochaber by an old stone bridge over a water at the head of Loch Leven; and without meeting with anything remarkable, arrived at Fort William about seven o'clock p.m.

It is upwards of twenty miles from the King's house to Fort William, across the hills, and the road being extremely rough, my feet were very much bruised. The tract is wild and mountainous, the hills on the Lochaber side are amazingly high and steep, and, from the middle upward, are totally covered with small white stones. They form a part of that savage range called *the rough bounds*. Before reaching the town I passed some excellent pasture hills which were thick covered with ewes and lambs.

On arriving at Fort William I went to the house of Mr. Thomas Gillespie, who left our south country about twenty years ago, and in partnership with another, took a farm from

Glengarry. His conditions were reasonable, and he being the first who introduced the improved breed of Scottish sheep into that district, his advantages were numerous, especially as his landlord, who had certainly been endowed with a liberality of mind and views extending far beyond the present moment, exacted no rent until it was raised from the farm. His companion soon gave up his share, but Mr. Gillespie, with a perseverance almost peculiar to himself, continued to surmount every difficulty, and at the expiration of every lease commonly added something to the extent of his possessions. He is now the greatest farmer in all that country, and possesseth a track of land extending from the banks of Loch Garey to the shores of the Western Ocean, upward of twenty miles.

Having lost a farm on which his principal residence stood he is now residing in Fort William, which any man would consider as very inconvenient; as so indeed it would be to any man save Gillespie, who is privileged with a person as indefatigable and unconquerable as his mind. He can sleep in the shepherds' cots for months together, and partake of their humble fare with as much satisfaction as the best lodgings and cheer in the world could bestow, and indeed he appears to be much happiest among his shepherds. I staid there with him two days, and saw everything about the fortress and village that were worth looking at; and as I cannot describe the garrison, by not knowing the terms used in fortification, there is nothing that falls to be particularly noticed here, if we except the large and very ancient castle of Inverlochy. It is a large square building, with four proportionally large turrets, one at each corner, but that looking toward the north-west is much the largest; but Mr. Stuart, the tenant at Inverlochy, with whom I dined one day and breakfasted another, had four most elegant daughters, whom I confess I admired much more than the four turrets of the castle. The name of this place is said only twice to occur in all the records of Scotland, and these at a very early period. It was there where the long respected treaty was signed between the Emperor Charlemagne and Achaius, King of Scotland. No traces of the town remain, though it is believed to have once been the capital of the Scots; nor was even the place where it stood known, until lately that on digging for stones a considerable pavement was raised behind some knolls, a little to the southward of the castle.

I was uncommonly intent on being at the top of Ben Nevis, which is agreed by all to be the highest mountain in the British Islands, but the mist never left its top for two hours during my stay. I had once set out and proceeded a good way toward it

when the clouds again settled on its summit and obliged me to return.

Fort-William, or Maryburgh as it was formerly called, is situated on the side of Loch Yel, immediately at the confluence of the Nevis; and as the loch will admit ships of any burden, we might expect that from its favourable situation, it would be the mart of the whole Western Highlands; whereas it is destitute of trade and manufactures, nor was there a vessel in the harbour; and there is thrice as much traffic and barter carried on at some of the fishing villages.

DEAR SIR,—Having breakfasted early we, viz., Mr. Gillespie, Mr. William Stuart of Inverlochy, and *Master James Hogg*, left Fort William. Leaving the military road, we crossed the Lochy above the old castle. It is a large, dark river, and there is a good salmon fishing in it, which is farmed by Mr. Stuart at a high rent, from the Duke of Gordon; but, like most of the northern rivers in the Western Highlands, hath failed unaccountably for two years past. We kept by the side of the river and Loch Lochy until we came to the river Arkaig; then following its course, we reached Achnacarry, where we spent the middle of the day, viewing the new castle of Lochiel, the building of which was then going briskly on, conducted by Mr. John Gillespie, architect; a respectable young man, possessed of much professional knowledge, who kept us company during our stay.

The castle is on an extensive scale and promiseth to be a stately structure. It is founded within a few yards of the site of the ancient one, the residence of the brave Lochiel who was wounded at the battle of Culloden, and escaped with Prince Charles to France. This pile was reduced to ashes by the Duke of Cumberland's forces in seventeen hundred and forty-six, and the marks of the fire are still too visible, not only on the remaining walls of the house and offices, but also on a number of huge venerable trees, which the malevolent brutes had kindled. Some of these, although the heart was burnt out of them, still continued to flourish.

It is indeed a very remarkable spot to have chosen for erecting such a princely residence upon, being entirely obscured amongst woods and wild mountains, which deprive it of any prospect whatever. There is no public road near it, nor is it accessible by a carriage at present, yet I could not but in my heart greatly applaud Lochiel for the choice, not only as it was the seat of his noble ancestors, and adorned by a garden inferior to few in the Highlands, if again in repair, as well as by sundry elegant avenues, formed and shaded by trees of great age and beauty;

but also on account of the utility of having his family residence in the midst of his extensive estate, in the very place where roads and bridges are most wanted, and where he can encourage by his example, elegance and improvements among the better part of his tenants, (many of whom are substantial, intelligent men of his own name,) give employment to the meaner sort, and assistance to the indigent. The whole scene is romantic beyond conception. On the banks of Loch Arkaig to beyond it there are large forests of wood, which in many places are perfect thickets. In these woods the Pretender skulked for some time, attended by a very few followers indeed, and was often in great danger of being surprised. He was in an island in Loch Arkaig when the corpse was found which was mistaken for the body of his dear Lochiel, and pained him beyond measure. It turned out to be only that of a friend of his. Lochiel remained safe and almost unmolested, amongst the wilds which separate Athol and Badenoch.

About one o'clock we took our leave of Mr. Stuart, Mr. Gillespie, the architect, and a Captain Cameron who had joined us, proceeded by the way of Glenkekuich, a most shocking road, where I thought Mr. Gillespie should have lost his horse. We were shown the very spot in this track where Prince Charles met a band of dragoons in search of him, and was forced to squat among the heath until they passed by, and was so near them that he heard their talk.

While traversing the scenes where the patient sufferings of the one party, and the cruelties of the other, were so affectingly displayed, I could not help being a bit of a Jacobite in my heart, and blessing myself that, in those days, I did not exist, or I should certainly have been hanged.

This country of Lochar, which I now left behind me, excels all in those regions for lofty mountains and fertile valleys. It is upon the whole a very interesting and diversified scene, and were it not for my oath of brevity, I should certainly launch out into a particular description of it. The famous mountain of Ben Nevis, the king of the Grampians, rises 4380 feet above the level of the sea, and hugs in its uncouth bosom, huge masses of everlasting snow, and all that range, both to the east and west, is wild and savage beyond measure. The valleys are interspersed with numbers of cottages, as also a good many gentlemen's seats, and substantial houses belonging to the principal tenants, or rather tacksmen, as they are there denominated. It is watered by the Nevis, the Lochy, the Spare, and the Arkaig; and by numberless smaller streams. In the more remote glens there are large and beautiful woods. The estate of Letterfinlay, and some

of Lochiel's glens are beautiful for sheep pasturage, but the bulk of the hills are rough and ugly. There are a great many of the sheep not yet of a proper breed, and consequently not excellent, yet numbers of very strong widders are annually driven to the south from some of these parts.

It is certainly a place where a great deal may be done, and where a great deal will be done. The tillage is capable of being greatly extended, and if proper encouragement be given in the new leases, (for the most part of Lochaber is out of lease,) it will be extended, as well as improved. As it is all on a Western exposure, and intersected by extensive arms of the sea, so remarkable for the humidity and freshness of its breezes, it suffers very little from storms of lying snow, for although the mountains are so very high, the bottoms of the glens seldom rise to any great height above the level of the sea; so that in this important matter of snow storms the sheep farmer is safe.

The greater part of this district is certainly calculated only for the rearing of these useful animals, sheep, yet there are still many places not stocked with them, or but very partially so. But as there is now such a number of enlightened farmers in the country and its neighbourhood, experience, the most effectual teacher, will soon convince the natives of their real interest.

The Duke of Gordon, and Lochiel, are the principal proprietors. Glen Nevis, and Letterfinlay are also considerable estates. His Grace's lands are rather overstocked with poor people.

It appears as if all these highland hills not many years ago, had been valued only in proportion to the game they produced, as the wildest and most uninhabitable countries never fail to belong to the greatest men. The Duke of Gordon in particular, possesseth an immense range of these savage districts, extending in a confused chain from the Eastern to the Western Oceans. Take a journey through Lochaber, Laggan, Badenoch, Glenmore, and Strathaven, and when you come to a wild, desert glen, (and you will not miss *enow* of them,) you need not trouble yourself to enquire who is the proprietor. You may take it for granted it is the 'Duke of Gordon,' and you would scarcely refrain from the Englishman's apostrophe to Invercauld, 'D—n that fellow, I believe he hath got the whole highlands.'

I promised to you at the first when I began to write to you on this subject that I would give my sentiments freely of men and things, whether they were right or wrong. And I have to confess to you that my expectations with respect to the opening of the proposed canal, differ widely from those of almost every other person. I have too high an opinion of the energy of the British Legislature to have any doubts of its accomplishment,

but I will venture to predict that although you should live an hundred years after its completion, you will never see it a well-frequented canal; nay, that you shall never see the tonnage pay the interest of the sum thereon expended. You will be apt to tear this letter or fling it away in a rage, but I charge you do not, but keep it, and when you die tell Walter to keep it until the result shall prove the absurdity of my ideas, and then do anything with it you please. I will in my next acquaint you with my simple reasons for this belief, as well as my hopes of its utility, which nevertheless in one sense are very sanguine.

In the meantime, believe me, Sir, your faithful, J. H.

MY DEAR SIR,—I know that you will reject my arguments on this subject as futile and inadmissible, but I do not care. Enough hath been said and written on the other side, therefore I shall state my reason and let the event do justice to the merits of each calculator.

And in the first place I think that the greatest number of vessels may be supposed to pass by it from East to West, because those bound from America to any of the ports on the continent of Europe, or Eastern coast of Britain, could, while in the open Atlantic, steer with as much ease and safety by Orkney, as through amongst the Hebrides into Lochiel. Now, to counteract this I must inform you of a circumstance which you probably have never thought of, but to the truth of which every sailor coastwise, and every attentive shepherd in Scotland can bear witness, that in a term of three years the wind always blows at least two-thirds of the time from that quarter of the compass lying betwixt South and West. If these two points are allowed, as in part they must, how is it possible to navigate these narrow lochs with a continual head wind, where no tides are, to carry them on piecemeal, as in the sounds of the ocean? But granting, what is not possible, that the winds as well as the navigation should be equal from each side of the island, yet, in Loch Ness especially, the hills spreading at each end, and the whole length of the lake being confined between two steep ridges of mountains, the wind must necessarily blow either straight up or straight down the lake, consequently the sailor must enter the narrow gut with the disagreeable assurance of having all the winds from one half of the globe right ahead of him. I acknowledge myself to be quite ignorant of the principles of navigation, but the idea of conducting a heavy ship in this case betwixt two rocky shores never above a mile, and often not above half a mile separated, appears to me a desperate undertaking.

The argument that there are a number of safe anchorings, is

of small avail either for safety or despatch. They are indeed a safeguard against a continued storm, but none against sudden squalls, which amongst the mountains and gaps are as terrible as they are unceasing; and it would be no very agreeable circumstance for a heavy ship to be overtaken by one of these, augmented with the united gusts from several glens while endeavouring to tack, so hard upon a lea shore as they must of necessity be, if indeed they get any stretch at all.

I wish from my heart, sir, that these impediments may be only imaginary, and I shall try to console myself with the assurance that they were all weighed by more experienced heads ere ever the experiment was seriously thought of.

In one case I am sure it will in time prove a national benefit, namely by drawing a numerous population into that important isthmus, formed by nature to be the seat of trade betwixt the countries to the south and north of it. At different places along it, and at different seasons, there should be large trysts established for cattle and sheep, corresponding with those in the south, that the farmers in the highlands and islands to the north of that may not be so entirely in the power of interested drovers, who, though an useful set of men, get a great deal of the cattle and sheep in those distant countries on their own terms. They are so far removed from any principal market that the people for the most part, rather than set out toward the banks of the Forth with their own small quantity, prefer such offers as come to their own doors, though often very inferior, there being also a risk of late and uncertain payment, whereas were they sure of even a moderate price for driving them to the banks of Glenmore-na-h-alabin, it would be a great encouragement. Besides, they would from the same place need frequent supplies of many of the necessaries, and all the luxuries of life, as from thence they could have easy conveyances either by land or water.

But you will readily ask, from whence shall this population and increased traffic proceed, if, as you say, it is not to be influenced by an extensive business carried on by the canal? My dear sir, you are not aware what prodigious numbers of poor people drag on a wretched existence in those distant glens and islands, who are scarcely privileged, as we would think, with one of the comforts or conveniences of life. As for instance, what do you think of upwards of ten thousand people subsisting on the dreary and distant Isle of Lewis, which with the exception of a very inconsiderable part, is one extensive morass; while the whole rent of the island, although lately advanced, does not reach to a thousand pounds. This is but one instance out of many, and it may well be supposed, nay, I am *certain*, that there are many

thousands in these countries whose condition cannot be *worsed* unless they are starved to death. Now, only conceive what numbers of these, from first to last, will be employed here before the great canal and the roads be finished, where they will mix with more enlightened people, form acquaintances, contract marriages, and thus enlarge their connections in the place. New lights and advantages, both real and imaginary, will daily present themselves to their imaginations, as acquirable in that place where conditions have been ameliorated by their application to labour, so that we may presume that a small encouragement held out to such as choose to settle in the great glen, will readily be accepted of by numbers.

Perhaps a prejudiced fellow like me, unconscious of the utility of such a naval communication, may think that one third of the money laid out upon the great canal, would have been better employed in purchasing land to be let out in feus to those tribes and families annually, vomited out by their own native, inhospitable shores, and forced to seek for a more certain means of subsistence in the Western world, in search of which, many a brave Scot has sunk broken-hearted and forlorn, to his long home, and has found the wished-for resting place only in the New World, beyond death and the grave, while the last idea that floated on his distempered mind, and the last words that wavered on his tongue, were those of regard for his native land.

And after all, if something is not done to provide asylums for these brave men and their families, and to establish woollen manufactures, they may live to see their *roads grow green, and a blue scum settle on their canal*; and to hear themselves addressed in the language of Scripture, Matthew, xxiii., and 23. 'Woe be to you, ye blind guides, who strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel! These things ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone.'

Rest assured of this, my dear sir; that men, sheep, and fish, are the great staple commodities of Scotland; and that, though a number of other improvements *may* contribute to its emolument, yet whatever tends more particularly to encourage or improve any of these *will* do it.

I shall probably have occasion to treat more of this in another place, and shall again proceed on my journey.

On reaching Glengarry the first place we came to was Greenfield, possessed by Mr. M'Donald. The house was really a curiosity. It was built of earth, and the walls were all covered with a fine verdure, but on calling we were conducted into a cleanly and neat-looking room, having a chimney, and the walls being plastered. The ladies, Mrs. M'Donald and her sister,

were handsome and genteelly dressed, although unapprised of our arrival, unless by the second sight. They were very easy and agreeable in their manners, and very unlike the *outside* of their habitation. The family were Roman Catholics, and kept a young priest among them, but he had lately been obliged to abscond for some misdemeanour in marrying a couple secretly. He was much lamented by the whole family, but by none so much as Miss Flora.

We saw Mr. McDonald's ewes gathered. He hath an excellent stock of sheep. We got a late dinner, drank plenty of punch, etc., and at night crossed the Garry to Inchlaggan, a farm of Mr. Gillespie's and took up our lodging with his shepherd.

I remain, your most affectionate servt.,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—I took leave of you in my last at Inchlaggan in Glen Garry, where Gillespie and I slept together in a small stooped bed, having neither sides nor cover. We spent the whole of next day among his sheep, came back to the same lodgings at night, and the third day I took my leave of him, very well pleased with what I had seen. It is believed by most people that I am too partial to the Highlands, and that they will not produce such stocks as I affirm that they will. Let them only take an impartial view of Glengarry and accuse me if they can. The superiority of its grazings to those of a great many other Highland countries, is in no wise discernable to the beholder, yet the stocks of sheep upon it are equal in quality to those of any country in the south of Scotland. Gillespie hath one farm completely stocked with the finest Cheviot breed, which thrive remarkably well. These he bought on the Border, at the exorbitant prices of sixteen shillings for each lamb, and twenty-four for each of the hogs, or year-olds. The lambs came all safe home, but three of the hogs fell by the way. They went home on the seventeenth day from their leaving Rule Water, a distance upwards of two hundred miles by the drove road. He intends breeding wedders from them for his farms of Glenqueich, but to sell the ewe lambs until he sees how the wedders thrive. All the stocks of sheep on Glengarry are good, the farms belong all to Mr. Gillespie, or have been possessed by him, consequently the sheep are all of his breed. The ground lets very high. Alexander Macdonald, Esquire, of Glengarry, is the proprietor. A great part of the land is very coarse, but the heather, grass, and all sorts of herbage grow luxuriantly, and spring up to a great length. There is a considerable part of flat ground, and

some woods on the lower parts, and the hills are lower and of easier ascent than those of Lochaber.

Leaving Inchlaggan and Mr. Gillespie, I travelled through an exceedingly rough country. The day was wet and misty, and there was no track of a road, or if there was I did not happen on it. I crossed Glen-Loyn hard by the mouth of the loch; went through a farm belonging to Ratachan, which was very coarse land, being overrun with moss, but on which there was a very excellent stock of wedders feeding. After a most fatiguing march, I came in upon Loch-Cluny, and crossing the water at its head, I joined the old military road at the very green spot where Dr. Johnson rested, and first conceived the design of transmitting his tour to posterity.

I came to the house of Cluny, which is a solitary steading in that wild glen. It is a change-house, but I did not know, nor even thought of it, although I had much need of some refreshment. There were sundry workmen employed in mounting a house, at whom I only enquired the road; but I had not proceeded many miles until I grew faintish with hunger, having got nothing that day, saving a little pottage at the shepherd's house, early in the morning.

The road down Glen Shiel is entirely out of repair and remarkably rough and stony, and I was quite exhausted before I reached any other house, which was not until about the setting of the sun. I at length came to a place where there had been a great number of houses, which were now mostly in ruins, the estate being all converted into sheep-walks. I went into the best that remained, and immediately desired them to give me some meat. I was accosted by an old man who declared that they had nothing that they could give me. I told him that it was with much difficulty I had got that length, and that I was not able to proceed further unless I got something to eat, and desired him to order me something, for which I was willing to pay whatever he should demand. He persisted in his denial of having anything that he could give me, telling me that I was not two miles from the change-house. I was obliged to go away, although I suspected that I would not *make* the inn, but before I had gone far a young man came out and called me back. He was in a poor state of health, and had risen out of his bed on hearing the dialogue between the old man and me. He conducted me into a kind of room, and presented me with plenty of bread, whey, butter, and cheese. In the state that I was in, I durst only take a very little, for which he refused to take anything, declaring that I was very welcome, and that he wished the fare had been better, for my sake. I was greatly refreshed, and proceeded on

my way. Before it was quite dark I reached the inn of Inver-shiel, or Shiel-house, held by a Mr. Johnston from Annandale. It is a large, slated house, but quite out of repair, and the accommodations are intolerably bad. The lower apartments are in utter confusion, and the family resides in the dining-room above. Consequently, they have only one room into which they thrust promiscuously every one that comes. The plaister of this being all discoloured, and full of chinks, the eye is continually tracing the outlines of monstrous animals and hobgoblins upon it. I got the best bed, but it was extremely hard, and the clothes had not the smell of roses. It was also inhabited by a number of little insects common enough in such places, and no sooner had I made a lodgement in their hereditary domains than I was attacked by a thousand strong. But what disturbed me much worse than all, I was awaked during the night by a whole band of Highlanders, both male and female, who entered my room, and fell to drinking whisky with great freedom. They had much the appearance of a parcel of vagabonds, which they certainly were, but as the whole discourse was in Gaelic I knew nothing of what it was concerning, but it arose by degrees as the whisky operated, to an insufferable noise. I had by good fortune used more precaution that night than usual, having put my watch and all my money into my waistcoat and hid it beneath my head. I also took my thorn-staff into the bed with me, thereby manifesting a suspicion that I had never shewed before. I bore all this uproar with patience for nearly two hours in the middle of the night, until, either by accident or design, the candle was extinguished, when every one getting up, a great stir commenced, and I heard one distinctly ransacking my coat which was hanging upon a chair at a little distance from the bed. I cared not much for that, thinking that he could get nothing there, but not knowing where this might end I sprung to my feet in the bed, laid hold of my thorn-staff, and bellowed aloud for light. It was a good while ere this could be procured, and when it came the company were all gone but three men, who were making ready to lie down in another bed in the same room. I reprimanded the landlord with great bitterness for suffering such a disturbance in the room where I slept, and received for answer that all would be quiet now. They were all gone before I got up next morning, and it was not until next night that I perceived I had lost a packet of six letters which I carried, to as many gentlemen in Sutherland, and which prevented me effectually from making the tour of that large and little-frequented county. These being rolled up in a piece of paper by themselves and lodged in my breast pocket, some one

of the gang had certainly carried off in expectation that it was something of more value. Next day I went to the house of Ratagan or Ratachan, possessed by Donald Macleod, Esquire, to whom I had a letter of introduction. He received me with that open, unaffected, cordiality which is a leading trait in his character, and without that state and ceremony which is certainly often carried too far by the Highland people, and which I hate above all things. His conversation was much confined to that which suited me best, namely, the sheep-farming. He hath extensive concerns in this way, being possessed of two large farms here in Glen Shiel, exclusive of that of Armidel in Glen Elg, or as they pronounce it, Glen Ellig, which he had lately taken at the yearly rent of £600. He had the best wedder hoggs without exception that I saw in my whole journey. He bought them as lambs from Killetur in Glenfalloch. He remembered Dr. Johnson and Mr. Boswell, and told me sundry anecdotes relating to them. His mother is still alive, a woman of a great age yet quite healthy. She dined and supped with us, but did not converse any, which was probably owing to her inaccuracy in the English language. She is the same of whom Dr. Johnson makes honourable mention in his tour. We had plenty of music and some dancing, his eldest daughter being a most charming performer on the pianoforte, and Mr. Gordon, the family teacher, equally expert at playing on the violin.

I would willingly have staid some days in this agreeable family, but was afraid that Macleod's attention to me would retard the shearing of his flocks, for which he had everything in readiness ; so hearing that the Rev. John Macrae was bound for Ardhill in Lochalsh, I took my leave in order to accompany him. Ratachan accompanied me to the mause, and left me in charge with the parson. Here the company at dinner consisted of twelve, which, saving the old minister and I, were all ladies ; mostly young ones, and handsome. As soon as dinner was over, we entered into a boat, viz., Miss Flora Macrae of Ardintoul, and her aunt, the parson, and me. Miss Flora was tall, young and handsome, and being dressed in a dark riding habit, with a black helmet and red feather, made a most noble figure. I was very happy on hearing that she was to be a passenger. We had six rowers in the boat, and *we* sat in a row astern, the two ladies being *middlemost*. There being a sharp breeze straight in our face, as soon as we were seated, Mr. Macrae spread his great coat on the old lady and himself. This was exactly as I wished it, and I immediately wrapped Miss Flora in my shepherd's plaid, and though I was always averse to sailing, I could willingly have proceeded in this position at least for a week. We

were at length obliged to put ashore about the middle of Loch Duich, at the place to which the boat belonged, but as I have drawn out this letter to an enormous length, I will bid you adieu for a few days.—Yours, etc.,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—No sooner had the boat touched the shore than we were met by the owner, who was in uncommonly high spirits, that being his wedding-day. He insisted on our staying to drink tea with him, and to induce us to comply told us that if we staid we should have the boat and crew all the way, but if we refused to countenance him we should walk all the rest of the way on foot. There was no resisting this proposal so we went ashore, drank tea with the young couple and their friends, and so strongly did they press us to drink whisky, that had I been in company with any other than the minister and Miss Flora, they had certainly persuaded me to fill myself drunk. We then marched into the barn, where the music was playing, and joined with avidity in their Highland reels until reminded by Mr. Macrae of approaching night, when we all again resumed our former berths in the boat and proceeded with as much cheerfulness as can be conceived. Mr. Macrae hath the character of being a very able divine, for which I cannot avouch, but he certainly is a most jocose and entertaining companion.

The family of Ardintoul being all Roman Catholics, thinking to lead me into a scrape when in the boat—

‘Have you any priests in your country, Mr. Hogg?’ said he.

‘We have some very superior parish ministers in my country, sir,’ said I.

‘It is Popish priests that I mean,’ said he, ‘I hope you are not plagued with any of that wicked set.’

‘There are none of that persuasion in my neighbourhood,’ said I, ‘saving the Earl of Traquair and his family, who keep a priest among them.’

‘Ah! You are well quit of them,’ said he, ‘we are terribly plagued with them hereabouts! They are a bad set of people! Do you not think, Mr. Hogg, that they are very bad people?’

I began to suspect him. ‘I don’t know, sir,’ said I, ‘there are certainly worthy persons of every persuasion. I approve greatly of a person keeping to the religion in which he is brought up, and I would never esteem a man the less because he thought differently from me.’

The old lady then began to attack him, asking if ever he had found them to be ill neighbours.

‘Oh! It won’t do, it won’t do!’ said he, ‘I thought of lead-

ing Mr. Hogg into a little abuse of you, as I once did a tides-waiter at your brother's house, who ignorant that his kind entertainer and the family were all of that persuasion, fell on and abused the Papists without either mercy or discretion, putting Ardintoul's great patience severely to the test. He was suffered, however, to depart in his error.'

We at length set the ladies ashore and took our leave of them. I gave Miss Flora two letters to her father, and promised to dine with them next day. Mr. Macrae, after taking leave of them, cried out shrewdly, 'Now farewell, Miss Flora! Without pretending to the spirit of prophecy I could tell you who you will dream of to-night.'

Considering of what inflammable materials my frame is composed, it was probably very fortunate that I was disappointed of ever seeing Miss Macrae again, as I might have felt the inconvenience of falling in love with an object in that remote country. I received word next day at Ardhill that she was taken very ill of the influenza, then raging in Kintail with great violence, and that Ardintoul, her father, was confined to bed, so that I was persuaded by the company to relinquish my intended visit as inconvenient.

About eight o'clock, p.m., we landed at Ardhill, the house of the Rev. Alexander Downie, minister of Lochalsh, to whom I had likewise a letter of introduction, from his cousin, Colin Mackenzie, Esquire, W.S. This district of Glen Shiel which I now had left, is like the greatest part of the countries on that coast, very mountainous. Although the whole parish is thus denominated, Glen Shiel properly is that straight glen which terminates at the outer end of Loch Duich, and, stretching to the south-east, includes a great part of Glen Morison, and on the east is bounded by the heights of Affarick, one of the branches of the Glass. The mountains are very high and steep, especially those of them most contiguous to the sea. They are very rocky and often bare of soil, but the rocks are everywhere interlined with green stripes covered with sweet and nutritious grasses, which being continually moistened with fresh showers from the Atlantic, are preserved in verdure a great part of the year. The snow never continues long on these mountains except on the heights, the frosts are seldom intense, but the winds and rains are frequent and terrible. You will be apt to suppose that all that western coast will be alike exposed to these, but there is, according to the inhabitants, who must know best, a very great difference. Wherever the mountains towards the shore rise to a great height there the rains are most frequent and descend in most copious abundance; and it is observed that places in the

same latitude with these mountains on the eastern coast are very rarely visited with any rain from the west. It is a fact that these mountains attract the clouds as well as intercept and break them, as I shall show in a future letter. But there is no part of the Highlands to which the climate is better adapted than Glen Shiel, the hills being so steep and bare of soil, and so dry naturally, that without a constant rain they would soon wither and decay.

The mountains of Glen Shiel have been under sheep for some years, of which I shall have occasion to treat farther at another time. The banks of Loch Duich are as yet mostly stocked with cattle, and there is part arable land, which although not productive of weighty crops, produces them without much uncertainty. Two gentlemen had sowed potatoe oats this season which looked very well, and promise to answer the climate if they are cut in time, before they are shaken by the winds. The tract of land stretching alongst the southern shore of Loch Duich, although in the parish of Glen Shiel, is called Letterfern. The banks of this lake, which is an inlet of the sea from the Sound of Skye, presents to the traveller many scenes of natural beauty.

We sailed close under the walls of the ancient castle of Ellen-donan, or the Sea-fort, the original possession of the family of the Mackenzies, Earls of Seaforth, and from which they draw their title. The history of their first settling in that country after the battle of Largs, of the manner of their working themselves into the possession of Kintail, Loch Alsh, and Glen Shiel, and afterwards of Lewis, was all related to me by Mr. Macrae with great precision. It is curious and entertaining, but full of intrigue and deceit, and much too tedious for me to write, as it would of itself furnish matter for a volume. The battle of Glen Shiel did not happen until some years after the battles of Sherriffmuir and Preston, and was fought near the boundaries of Seaforth's country, in a strait pass between the mountains of Glen Shiel. The combatants were our King's troops and a body of about five or six hundred Highlanders and Spaniards, headed by the brave but misguided Earl of Seaforth.

The Spaniards, sensible of their destitute situation engaged reluctantly; but seeing the intrepidity of the brave Macraes and Mackenzies, they maintained the combat stoutly for some time. The Highlanders say that the commander of the King's troops was killed, and that they were upon the very point of giving way when the Spaniards threw down their arms and surrendered, and that then the clansmen were obliged to betake themselves to flight, carrying with them from the field their lord, dangerously wounded. He was then obliged to go into exile, and his lands

were forfeited to the Crown, but the bold and tenacious inhabitants absolutely refused paying rents to any man excepting their absent chief, and all the endeavours of Government to collect them were baffled with disgrace. Their agents were repelled and some of them slain, while the rents were regularly transmitted to the earl, and it showed the great lenity of our Government that they were not made examples of, and that the annals of that age were not stained with the massacre of Glenshiel, in addition to that of Glencoe.

I remain, Sir, yours for ever,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—As I arrived at Ardhill on the Friday preceding the celebration of the sacrament of the Supper in that place, I was introduced to a whole houseful of ministers and elders. As Mr. Downie, however, kept an excellent board, and plenty of the best foreign spirits, we had most excellent fare, and during that night and the next day, which you know was the preparation day, we put ourselves into as good a state of preparation for the evening solemnity as good cheer would make us. To introduce you a little into our company, I will give you a sketch of our ministers.

Mr. Downie, our landlord, is a complete gentleman, nowise singular for his condescension. Besides the good stipend and glebe of Loch Alsh, he hath a chaplaincy in a regiment, and extensive concerns in farming, both on the mainland and in the isles, and is a great improver in the breeds both of cattle and sheep. Mr. Macrae of Glenshiel, as I before hinted, though advanced in years, is a most shrewd and good humoured gentleman, whose wit never tends to mortify anybody, but only to raise the laugh against them. Mr. M'Queen of Applecross is a quiet, unassuming man. He is from the Isle of Skye, and is son to the minister there, who was so highly approved of by Dr. Johnson. Mr. Colin M'Iver of Glen Elig, was there on the Saturday, but was obliged to set off for Lewis to see a brother who was on his death-bed. He is a man whose presence commands respect. But the most extraordinary personage of the whole was a Mr. Roderick Macrae, preacher of the Gospel at Ferriden. He is certainly a man of considerable abilities, but his manner is the most singular, and his address the most awkward that were ever combined in the same being. He keeps his head in a continual up-and-down motion, somewhat resembling a drake approaching his mate, or a horse which has been struck violently on the head, and who is afraid that you are going to repeat the blow; and at each of these capers, he gives a strait wink with his eyes; and who-

ever is speaking, he continues at every breath to repeat a kind of wince, signifying that he is taking notice, or that he wisheth you to proceed. Against this man all their shafts were levelled, often armed with the most keen and ready wit.

Parish ministers in a country place, being so used to harangue others, and to see whole multitudes turn up the white of the eye to their discourse, are themselves so little used to listen to others, that though they are often the best informed men of the place and excellent single companions, very seldom is it that they can make themselves agreeable in a larger company, as they only wish to be listened unto, and never condescend to take any heed to that which is said by others. It was by such a behaviour that this young man drew on himself the ridicule of the others in one united torrent, for, as he engrossed at least one half of the whole conversation, and as the rest were all his seniors, all of them were chagrined at being superseded in their favourite amusement of divulging their sentiments.

Mr. Downie, who is certainly a very clever man, as well as a great scholar, took every opportunity to mortify and crush him. Old Macrae set the whole table in a roar of laughter at him a hundred times; and, indeed, I think I never laughed so much at a time in my life. He had lately published a pamphlet, entitled 'A Dissertation on Miracles,' some copies of which were in the room, and proved matter for considerable rebuffs. The piece itself was sound, simple reasoning and common sense, but every possible method was taken to wrest the sentiments, that the ideas might be turned into ridicule. In particular, they objected, and not without considerable show of reason, that the whole of it went directly to counteract the intent of its publication, which being to confute the arguments of Mr. Hume, it would readily induce the country people, many of whom had never heard of Mr. Hume nor his book, to search for and consult it, when there was little doubt of their finding his arguments stronger and more impressive than those set down in the pamphlet.

Mr. Downie made me acquainted with the book and its author in the following brief manner. Taking it off a back table, 'Here,' said he, 'Mr. Hogg, is a dissertation on *Miracles*, composed, written, and published by our friend Mr. Rory there, a certain evidence that miracles have not ceased.' Mr. Roderick, however, stood his ground powerfully against them all, for he still kept his good temper—the best mark of an antagonist—persevered in his untoward motions, and in maintaining the excellence of his arguments.

Among such a number of literary men I could not miss getting a good deal of intelligence respecting the state of the countries in

their different parishes, of which I made so little use that I dare not state one article as received from any of them; for, judging it ill manners to make out a journal of it in their company, I committed it wholly to my memory, where, setting it so effectually afloat on rum-punch, when I went to collect it I could only fish out some insignificant particles. There were no ladies in the room but Mrs. Downie, a beautiful little woman, exceedingly attentive to the accommodation of her guests, especially such as were bashful and backward. She was one of the Miss M'Kinnons of Corriallachan, in Skye.

On Saturday there was an extraordinary multitude assembled to hear sermon. I thought I never saw as many on the same occasion by one half, which convinced me that the lower classes of Kintail are devout. The men are generally tall and well made, and have good features. The women of the lower class are very middling.

The two Messrs. Macrae preached; the one in Gaelic at the tent, and the other in the church in English. By far the greatest congregation attended at the tent. There was, however, a considerable number of the more genteel people in the church. I was persuaded, much against my inclination, by the importunities of the minister, to officiate as precentor in the church that day, otherwise he must have acted in that capacity himself.

On returning to dinner our company was considerably augmented, so much that the circle went in contact with the walls of the dining-room. This made me alter my resolution of staying on the Sacrament, for fear of proving an incumbrance, which I would always avoid. After dinner Mr. M'Kinnon, a young gentleman from Skye, and I, set off for the house of Auchtertyre, inhabited by Donald Macdonald, Esquire, of Barrisdale. I saw and spoke with him and Mrs. Macdonald at church, and expected that they would invite me which, however, they did not. The Highland gentlemen expect strangers to call without being invited. I did not know this, but went to see the man merely because I liked him, for in conformity to a maxim of old Advocate Mackintosh's, '*I never like a man if I don't like his face.*'

We met a most kind welcome from Barrisdale, whom we found in the midst of a great room-full of ladies, with only one or two young gentlemen, of whom he complained that they would not drink any. I have met again with the families of Ratachan and Glenshiel. The drinking was renewed on our entering, which before had been going to fall into disuse, and we soon became remarkably merry, screwed up the fiddles, and raised a considerable dance. It was here that I first ventured to sing my

song of Donald Macdonald, which hath since become so popular, and although afraid to venture it I could not forbear, it was so appropriate, Barrisdale being one of the goodliest and boldest looking men anywhere to be met with. It was so highly applauded here that I sung it very often during the rest of my journey.

By this excursion we missed the prayers and exhortations at the manse, whither we returned to supper. The supper did not, however, close the exercise of the evening, but as it is certainly time for me to close this letter, I shall write farewell.

I am, yours for ever,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—Leaving Ardhill early in the morning, and climbing the mountains towards the country of Loch Carron, I took a last look of Kintail, not without regret, for I really admired the inhabitants as well as the country, It is subdivided into several small districts, such as Glen Shiel, Glen Croe, Glen Elchaig, Letterfeirn and Loch Alsh, but the whole country is included in the general name of Kintail, or Lord Seaforth's country. What a great pity it is that his circumstances have made it necessary for him to mutilate so fine and so compact an estate by selling Loch Alsh, the richest, and most beautiful part of it.

The whole is an excellent pasture country, and excels all that I visited on the whole Western coast of Scotland and the Isles, for the richness of its pasture, if we except some parts of Skye. The black cattle are a very handsome breed, but unless in Glen-Shiel the sheep farming is by no means become general as yet. Barrisdale and Ardintoul have both commenced it, bringing hogs from the south. I am very apprehensive that on being first stocked with sheep, the braxy will prove very destructive, for exclusive of the *toth*, caused by such members of cattle feeding and lying upon it, the grasses are naturally flatulent, and the herbage indigestible, and as they have not all sea-marsh to lay them upon, the only preventatives that are in their power must be the effect produced by burning the ground well, and in the proper management of their flocks.

In the first place, as to burning their ground, they must be careful to lay waste by fire all or the greatest part of their heather that is upon clay or gravelly soils; such parts being without fail, of all others the most instrumental in raising the braxy. Whether this proceeds from the nature of the heather itself, or from the long, foul, grass that is always fostered about the roots of the bushes, I cannot so certainly determine. Perhaps it ariseth from both causes united; but in either respect the fire is an

effectual remedy, and as the ground becomes annually more thickly covered with sweet blades, and sprays of grass which owing to the ashes with which it is sprinkled and impregnated are all rather of a purgative nature, thus by the operation of burning alone, the very spots that were before the bane of the flocks are rendered the most conducive in preserving their health. Even when the young heather again begins to sprout, it is not for many years of a hurtful nature, but is a soft, and most palatable food. And as it is only in the first year of the sheep's age that they are subject in any great degree to this destructive malady, methods may be pursued in the arrangement of the flocks which may be greatly instrumental in allaying its virulence. But as I rather wish to study brevity in these letters I shall reserve my suggestions on that head until a more suitable opportunity.

Loch Duich is an excellent fishing station, but there are neither villages, roads, bridges, nor post office, in the whole country. The gentlemen employ a runner to Loch Carron, where a foot-post arrives once a week from Inverness by the way of Strathconon, where he must often be detained by storms and flooded waters. The old military road, which runs through a corner of the upper parts of the country, leading to Fort-Augustus is, as I before observed, almost impassible, not having been repaired for ages; and all the others are entirely in a state of nature, being merely small tracks worn on the surface by the frequent pressure of the traveller's foot. In particular it was alleged to me that a road leading from the head of Loch Luang through the braes of Balloch into Strathglass would be of the greatest utility to both countries by opening the straightest and quickest communication betwixt the two seas.

Kintail is not much appropriated for the purposes of agriculture. It is indeed interspersed by vallies of small extent which are not of themselves unfertile, but the boisterousness of the weather, renders their produce very precarious.

The mountains in Glenshiel and Seaforth's forest viewed from the hills of Loch Alsh, although lofty and rugged have a verdant appearance. The mountains of Skye contiguous to the Kyles, appear much more dark. I came in upon Loch Carron at the narrowest place, nigh where it opens to the sea, when there was a boat just coming to land, freighted from a house several miles up on the other side of the loch, by some people bound to the place from whence I came. I waited their arrival, thinking it a good chance, but in this I was mistaken. No arguments would persuade them to take me along with them. They alleged that it was depriving the ferryman of his right. But effectually to

remove this impediment, I offered them triple freight, but they dared not to trust themselves with such a sum, for they actually rowed off, and left me standing on the rocks, where I was obliged to bellow and wave my hat for no small space of time. The ferryman charged sixpence and *a dram of whisky*. I then kept the North-west side of the loch, which stretcheth about ten miles into the country, following a kind of formed road; but on which a wheeled carriage seemed never to have gone, nor had the makers ever intended that it should.

The hills on each side of the lake are of a moderate height, but rise much higher as you advance into the country. The arable land was confined to very narrow limits, consisting of great numbers of small detached spots. I was exceedingly gratified at here meeting with a long, straggling village, consisting wholly of neat, modern, commodious houses. Having never heard of it, I made enquiry concerning its erection, and was informed that it had lately arisen under the auspices of Mackenzie of Applecross, who had let it off in feus to the fishermen, and such as chose to settle there. This is a most laudable example set by this gentleman, an example of which every reflecting mind must approve, and which can never be too much encouraged, either by individuals or by public bodies of men. It is only by concentrating these hardy and determined people into such bodies, that they shall ever be enabled to acquire the proper benefit of the inestimable fishings on their coasts, or that ever the germs of manufactures shall be successfully planted on these distant shores.

This spot pitched on by Applecross for so beneficial a purpose is not so commodious in every respect as it might be wished that it were; but perhaps Applecross had no better. In this spot it is impossible to unite utility with compactness and elegance, for there being no valley the houses are drawn out in an irregular line along the side of the loch, and however well situated for taking advantage of trade and fishing, it is a very untoward field for improvements in agriculture.

Passing on, I went past the church, and through a carse, reaching New Kelso to my breakfast, a distance of nearly twenty miles from Ardhill. This is a spacious house, with a well-stocked garden for such a soil. It stands in the middle of a large, coarse plain, a great part of which is uncultivated, and which could only be cultivated with much labour. The history of the erection of this place by Mr. Jeffery, and for what purpose, is too well known to need recapitulation here.

Proceeding up the glen, I lost sight of Loch Carron, crossed a rapid river which issued from amongst the hills to the north, saw numbers of Highland cottages in clusters, sheep, mostly of the

old Highland breed, and some goats, and at last came to a change-house, of which I do not know the name, at the north-east corner of a lake in the middle of the Strath. I recognised it as such by a half-mutchkin pot that stood on the window. I entered, and called for a dram and some meat. The dram was understood, and a half-mutchkin of good whisky brought to me (they do not deal in gills hereabouts), but no meat. I understood that the master and mistress were both absent at some place of worship, as no one ever appeared to me but two girls, who were visibly menials. I again called, and ordered some meat. A girl answered me in Gaelic, and I her in English, for a good while without either of us being the wiser. I then made signs to let her know that I wanted meat, taking care to give the whisky a push that she might not think that I wanted some more of it; but, in spite of my teeth, I was misconstrued, and another half-mutchkin of whisky clapped down to me in another pot. I expostulated a great deal; to no purpose. The girls came both into the room, and being tickled by our embarrassment, opened the flood-gates of their mirth, giggling and laughing aloud. I was inflamed by one of those sudden bursts of passion which sometimes, although not very frequently, quite overcome my reason, springing up in a rage, and, swearing like a trooper, I laid hold of them violently, and turned first the one, and then the other, out of the room, and closing the door behind them with a force as if I wished to throw down the house; while the poor creatures were so affrighted that their limbs almost refused their office of furthering their escape, the girls thinking, I daresay, that they were attacked, and their master's house taken up by a ruffian.

I threw myself again into my seat over my whisky, where in less than a minute I began to repent most heartily of my folly. Never did I yet suffer myself to get into a rage but the reflection cost me dear.

I would willingly have tarried a night hereabout, thinking it a country about the state of which it was worth my while to make some inquiry; but judging it impossible to lodge here, I again called *ben* one of the maids, who entered with great caution, and with the most timid air imaginable. I assumed as mild a demeanour as I was able, offering her what money she thought proper to accept of. Seeing one of the stoups untouched, she charged sixpence.

I again took to my road. I began to grow very impatient, knowing that it would infallibly lead me into the country where I had been last year, and at length, seeing a small, winding, path ascending the mountains to the northward, I took to it

without hesitation. But as my letters are always growing longer I will leave off.

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—I took an abrupt leave of you in my last, while climbing the mountains and just about to take my last look of the country of Loch Carron.

I must here explain a circumstance to you which I believe I have never done yet, and which I ought to have done long ago, that is, what is meant by a *country* in the Highlands. In all the inland glens the boundaries of a country are invariably marked out by the skirts of the visible horizon as viewed from the bottom of the valley. All beyond that is denominated *another country*, and is called by another name. It is thus that the Highland countries are almost innumerable. But on the western coast, which is all indented by extensive arms of the sea, and where the countries that are not really islands, are peninsulas, the above usage is varied, and the bounds of the country marked out by the sea coast. Along the whole of the shores of Argyll and Inverness shires, this latter is the division, but as soon as you enter Rosshire, the former is again adopted. Thus the country of Kintail, the country of Loch Carron, the country of Torridon, the two straths of Loch Broom, etc., comprehend both sides of their respective firths, with all the waters that descend into them.

Shortly after I lost sight of the valley my path divided into twain, equally well frequented. I hesitated long which to take, having no directions saving what I had from the map, but following the left hand one it led me at length into the Vale of Colan, a curious, sequestered place, in the midst of the mountains to the east of Sir Hector Mackenzie's forest. The haughs are of considerable extent, of a deep sandy soil, with a clear stream winding through them; and some of the haughs were very good for such a country. The hills around it were very black, and mostly covered with strong heather.

I spoke to no person here, nor all this way, but again took to the muir, being resolved if possible to reach the house of Letterewe that night, but ere I got into the next valley I was quite exhausted by hunger and fatigue, having travelled an unconscionable length of way, and a slated house appearing on a plain beyond the river I made toward it.

I was obliged to wade through the river once, which being in a swelled state was very deep, and getting to the house asked if it was an inn, and was answered in the affirmative, at which I was very well satisfied. At this place I lodged. It is called Kinlochewe; was built by Sir Hector Mackenzie, in order to accommo-

date himself and others travelling from Dingwall into his country of Gairloch, or toward the ferry of Poolewe, where there is a packet once each week to Lewis, and though he hath annexed several advantages to it, it is very ill kept and in very bad order. He had only a few days preceding that, lodged there himself, and had certainly little reason to be pleased with his accommodation. The floor was well sanded as is the custom in that country. The windows were broken, and the bed was as hard as a stone. They had however plenty of whisky, oat-meal cakes, tea, and sugar, with some eggs, and stinking fish, on which I fared sumptuously.

I spent the following forenoon in the company of a Mr. Mackenzie, a farmer in a glen above that. He conducted me along a part of the road to Letterewe, and showed me the old burying ground of Ellon Mare, on the gravestones of which no name nor epitaph is to be seen, saving one or two rude figures and some initials.

I at length arrived at the house of Letterewe, and was received by Mr. M'Intyre (to whom I was recommended by a friend) with much kindness without any ceremony. This was exactly a man for my purpose. He had been from his youth an extensive dealer, both in cattle and sheep, and had travelled over the whole Highlands and Western Islands, and now in company with some English gentlemen farms an extraordinary extent of land, consisting of the whole estates of Letterewe and Strathnashalloch, the former belonging to Mr. Mackenzie, to whose sister he is married, and the other to Mr. Davidson.

He hath a handsome house and offices, which he, however, is going to enlarge, and having discovered large veins of white marble up in the linns of a rivulet near the house, he burneth it into lime, using it both for building and manure, and manageth the croft lying around his house in a manner which would not disgrace the banks of the Forth. There were to be seen shotts of turnips and potatoes, in drills as straight as a line, and in a forward state of vegetation, and clover and rye-grass so strong that it was beginning to lodge on the ground. The vigilance of this man is remarkable. This piece of land was one continued cairn of stones. Also the attention he pays to every department of his numerous flocks and shepherds is the most exact and constant, and he hath, by his vigilance and attention raised himself, from nothing, to affluence and credit. I had often heard of the man before I saw him. He was known on all the northern roads and markets by the appellation of *little Mackintyre*, he being low of stature, but as mettled at climbing among the rocks as the foxes—his greatest enemies.

As I am not in an humour for writing to-day, I shall close this

letter with an anecdote of him which I had often heard told by Mr. James Welch.

The Hon. Lord Macdonald once at a market recognised the cattle from his farms in M'Intyre's possession, and began enquiring where he got them, who he got them from, etc. He informed his lordship in an indifferent manner, that he got them from Lord Macdonald's factor in Skye. But when the other began enquiring about the prices, and expenses, M'Intyre ignorant of who he was took him off so sharply that he knew not what to say excusing his curiosity, when a gentleman accompanying him introduced them to one another by their names. M'Intyre started, and with great quickness whipped off his bonnet, threw it on the ground, and placed his foot upon it, making an apology which pleased his lordship so much that he shook him by the hand, declaring that he was no stranger to his honesty, and adding, that the M'Intyres and the Macdonalds were the same people.

I am, yours for ever,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—I had conducted you in idea as far as Letterewe on the north-east bank of Loch Maree, and given you some hints of improvements commenced there by the farmer, which are only rendered remarkable by reflecting on the situation of the place.

It is, as I said, on the side of Loch Maree, by which there is access in boats from all corners of the lake, but it is everywhere else surrounded by shaggy cliffs, and bold, projecting promontories, washed around the bottom by the lake, and rising to the height of from one to four hundred yards, in an almost perpendicular direction. It is thus rendered inaccessible to the most expert foot passenger without a guide, and entirely so to horses, unless some passage is explored through amongst the mountains, that I never saw.

I proposed going to Ardlair next day, but was detained by the importunities of Mr. Mackintyre until the morning of the third day. He showed me everything in the vicinity that was worth seeing, and seemed much attached to me, being seldom visited by any from so distant a country.

There was another traveller wind-bound here, of a different description. This was Miss Jane Downie, sister to Mr. Downie, whose house I had lately left, who, from her father's house at the Manse of Urray, in the vicinity of Dingwall, was on a journey to the island of Lewis, to see some relations. Being daughter to a respectable clergyman, she had received a genteel education, a circumstance to which the utmost attention is paid by all families

of rank in the north. To this she added an extensive knowledge of the world, of which she had seen a considerable part for one of her age and sex, for besides her acquaintance with both the Highlands and Lowlands, she had resided some years at St. Petersburg with a sister, who was there distinguished by royal favour and protection.

It was this young lady who first inspired me with the resolution of visiting the remote country of the Lewis, by describing it to me as the scene of the most original and hereditary modes and customs that were anywhere to be met with in the British Isles, and I repented an hundred times that I ever parted company with her before we reached Stornoway, to which port she was going, straight.

On Wednesday we breakfasted early, and set off for Ardlair in Mr. Mackintyre's boat, who still insisted on our staying, assuring me that we would find much difficulty in our passage, if it was at all possible, the wind being so strong, and straight ahead. We had not proceeded far on the lake before we found this verified, and after rowing stoutly for about an hour, in which time we had not advanced a mile and a half, they put the boat ashore on the lee side of a point, declaring that it was impossible to proceed farther.

We were now much worse than if we had set off on foot from Letterewe. However, taking two men with us as guides, we *set a stout heart to a 'strait brae*, and explored a crooked way amongst the rocks; continuing for a long space to climb the hill in quite a contrary direction from the place we were bound to.

Our guides then led us over rocks and precipices, which on looking at I thought a goat could not have kept its feet on, and had it not been owing to the nature of the stones, the surface of which was rough and crusty, it was impossible that we could have effected an escape, especially on such a day. I was in the greatest distress on account of the lady. The wind which had grown extremely rough took such impression on her clothes, that I was really apprehensive that it would carry her off, and looked back several times with terror for fear that I should see her flying headlong toward the lake like a swan.

It was however a scene worthy of these regions, to see a lady of a most delicate form and elegantly dressed, in such a situation, climbing over the dizzy precipices in a retrograde direction, and after fixing one foot, hanging by both hands until she could find a small hold for the other. What would the most of your Edinburgh ladies have done here, my dear sir? I believe if the wind had not changed they might have stayed with little Mackintyre altogether, for they could not have passed over these rocks.

Miss Downie's clothes were partly torn and otherwise abused, and the wind carried off her kerchief altogether. For upwards of a mile we were forced to scramble in this manner, making use of all fours, and in one place I was myself afraid of growing giddy, and durst not turn my eyes toward the lake so far below my feet. We, however, arrived safe at Ardlair at one o'clock, p.m., having been *five hours* on our passage, which in distance would not measure as many English miles, and were received by the Messrs. Mackenzie with great politeness and attention, and we soon became extremely happy, and though we did not forget, laughed most heartily at our late perilous situation.

The weather growing more moderate toward the evening we made a most agreeable excursion round several of the principal island of Loch Maree in a handsome boat with a sail. These islands have a much more bare appearance than they exhibited some years ago, the ancient woods with which they were covered being either entirely cut down and removed, or most miserably thinned. One island on which there are some remains of a temporary residence is covered with wood and rich verdure. We landed on several of them and carried off numbers of eggs from the nests of the gulls, thousands of which were hovering and screaming around us. The Holy Island was so far to the leeward that we could not visit it that night for fear we should not get back.

I was truly delighted with the view from these islands, although it consisted much more of the sublime than of the beautiful. The old high house of Ardlair faced us from a romantic little elevated plain, bounded on the north with a long ridge of perpendicular rock of a brown colour, and the low islands on which we stood were finely contrasted with the precipitous shores already mentioned, on the one side, and the mountains of Sir Hector Mackenzie's forest on the other, whose pointed tops bored the firmament, and appeared of a colour as white as the finest marble.

I was greatly pleased with the Mackenzies, as well as with the old lady of Letterewe, their mother, (the gentlemen present being brethren to the proprietor,) and began to think that the farther north I proceeded I was still going to find the people more intelligent, and possessing qualities more and more estimable. As I had a line of introduction to Mr. John, the youngest, from a friend in Edinburgh, he furnished me with one to an acquaintance in the Lewis.

Next morning we arose and departed. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie of Auchnasheen (towards Woodrigill), one of his farms on which his family resides, and Mr. John and I, again

entered the boat, and having a fair wind we skipped along the surface of Loch Maree with great velocity. We landed on St. Mary's Isle, and I had the superstition to go and drink of the holy well so renowned in that country among the vulgar and superstitious, like me, for the cure of insanity in all its stages, and so well authenticated are the facts, the most stubborn of all proofs, that even people of the most polite and modern ways of thinking, are obliged to allow of its efficacy in some instances. But as mine was only an attack of poetical hydrophobia, including my tendency to knight errantry, which however ridiculous to some, I take pleasure in. I omitted, however, the appendage of the ceremony, which in all probability is the most necessary and efficacious branch of it, namely, that of being plunged over head and ears three times in the lake.

But although I write thus lightly to you of the subject, I acknowledge that I felt a kind of awe on my mind on wandering over the burying-ground and ruins of the Virgin's chapel, held in such veneration by the devout, though illiterate fathers of the present generation. This I mentioned to Mr. Mackenzie, who assured me that had I visited it before the wood was cut down, such was the effect, that it would have been impossible not to be struck with a religious awe.

Shortly after we arrived again at Letterewe, where I took leave of you in my last, and where your fancy must leave me for a few days, until my next arrival, when it shall conduct you through a scene the most awful that has yet been visited.

I remain, sir, your most affectionate servant,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—Leaving the banks of Loch Maree, I mounted the hills of Letterewe, accompanied by Mackintyre and Mackenzie, who, perceiving that my attention was much taken by the uncouth scenery, promised that they would lead me through some which I should not see equalled in Scotland, and I believe they were as good as their word, the whole scenery in some parts of Letterewe estate being dreadful and grand beyond measure; and here, as in places of that nature throughout the Highlands, the principal parts were named after some of the Fingalian heroes. The lake is named after the chief, being denominated Loch Fion, or the Fion Loch.

To enumerate particularly the different appearances of each tremendous precipice that interlards this truly terrific scene is impossible. I neither have time nor words suited to the description, but I cannot avoid taking notice of the black rock, or Craigtullich; for although any other of these views may be matched

in the country, yet this one is certainly not only unequalled, but far out of reach of comparison. It extends a whole English mile in length, along all which extent there is not a passage where a creature could pass, and it is so appropriately termed black that it appears wholly stained with ink, and its dreadful face, all of which can be seen from one view, everywhere distorted by dark slits, gaping and yawning chasms, with every feature of a most awful deformity, conveying to the attentive spectator ideas of horror which could scarcely be excelled by a glimpse of hell itself!

Should a merry companion choose, in order to enjoy the sight of the most profound and exquisite tumble, to give you an unmannerly push from the top of it, you might descend for nearly half a mile in the most straight line towards the centre of gravity. You might indeed happen to leave a rag of your coat on the point of one cliff, or a shoe, or your brains perhaps on another, but these are trifling circumstances. The worst thing attending it would be, that the pleasure arising from a view of your gracefully alighting would be entirely lost from the top, as you would appear of no greater magnitude than a forked bulrush. Remember that it is to your fancy that I am addressing myself, my dear sir. I always wish you to see everything nearly the same as I did.

At a great distance he showed me a large perpendicular rock, with the entrance to a cavern near the bottom. In this dismal hole, in the midst of this huge wilderness, wonderful to relate, a widow and her family hath resided many years! When she first took possession of this dreary abode her youngest son was a sucking infant. Yet she was obliged to cross the mountains once a week to seek milk and other articles of food; while owing to their being so inaccessible she was unable to carry her child along with her, and was obliged to put out the fire and leave him to shift for himself. He had by such lodging and treatment acquired a weakness in his back, and it was feared he would never overcome it, as he still could not walk, but only creep, though I think they said he was six or seven years of age.

Mr. Mackenzie told me that he was once passing that way with an English gentleman, on business in that country, and observing no smoke, he suspected the woman to be from home, so without mentioning anything of the matter to his companion he led him to take a view of the cavern. The gentleman was almost out of his wits when he saw a creature bearing such a resemblance to the human form, come crawling towards him from the interior of the cavern. Alas! my dear Sir, one half of the world knows little how the other half lives. 'Nor how they die either, James,' you will add when you read the following.

In a deep sequestered hollow among these rocks, my friend showed us a shealing far beneath our feet, where a man and his wife lately came to reside during the summer months with their cattle and goats. The woman fell a travailing in childbirth, and for want of assistance, which was impossible there to be procured, there she died and was buried.

From a precipice near to this we had a view of a curious bason of very romantic dimensions, but in order to see it properly we were obliged to lie down full length on our breasts, and make long necks over the verge. I was afraid to trust my head, and ordered Mr. Mackenzie to keep a firm hold of the tails of my coat, but before I could reach so far as to have a proper survey, I was obliged to roar out to be pulled back, my 'conscience having failed me,' as I once heard a boy say in the same predicament.

We proceeded on in company through a large track of this rough country, and were often so immersed among rocks, that I saw no possibility of escaping, but Mackintyre was so well acquainted with the gaps that he always found an open door, as he termed it. Nor did they ever leave me until they landed me in one of the glens of Strathinashalloch, having conducted me full ten miles, and I took leave of them deeply impressed with their kindness and attention. I shall have occasion to take notice of some intelligence received from Mackintyre afterwards.

I now proceeded down a glen several miles in length, which brought me into the Valley of Strathinashalloch, near the head of the lake of that name. The valley is now inhabited only by Mr. Macintyre's shepherds, but there were considerable crops of corn and potatoes left by the tenants who had removed last term. It is of considerable extent, and there is good fishing in the river and loch, which is entirely free. This estate is now the property of Mr. Davidson, and though there are some more detached parts arable, and possessed by the natives, the greatest extent is now farmed by Mr. Macintyre, at the trifling rent of £200; and I am certain, if things continue at present prices, that he may have a clear return of £600 or £700 a year from it, if once he had a proper stock on it, which he had not when I saw it, having only entered at Whitsunday.

He showed me the boundary on one side, and his shepherd the same on the other, and I could not compute that part held by him alone at less than 15,000 acres, all of which is well mixed, good Highland ground, most of it accessible, not being nearly so rough as Letterewe; free of lying stones, and tolerably well sheltered. What an excellent bargain at such a time!

The truth is, there are several low-country gentlemen getting

into excellent bargains by their buying lands in that country, of which Mr. Davidson and Mr. Innes are instances; and I cannot help having a desperate ill-will at them on that score. I cannot endure to hear of a Highland chieftain selling his patrimonial property, the cause of which misfortune I always attribute to the goodness of his heart, and the liberality of his sentiments; unwilling to drive off the people who have so long looked to him as their protector, yet whose system of farming cannot furnish them with the means of paying him one-fourth, and in some situations not more than a tenth of the value of his land; and as unwilling to let fall the dignity of his house, and the consequence amongst his friends, which his fathers maintained. Is not his case particularly hard, my dear sir? All things are doubled and tripled in their value, save his lands. His family—his retainers—his public burdens! These last being regulated by the old valuation, lie very hard upon him, and all must be scraped up among the poor, meagre tenants, in twos and threes of *silly* lambs, hens, and pounds of butter.

I shall follow the idea no farther else I shall run mad, but as the value of these hills is every year more and more conspicuous, I anticipate with joy the approaching period when the stigmas of poverty and pride so liberally bestowed on the highlanders by our south-country gentry will be as inapplicable to the inhabitants of that country as of any in the island. Their riches are increasing, and will increase much more, and when that shall be the case they will require no pride, as that has mostly consisted in maintaining the appearance of a rank to which in reality their circumstances were quite inadequate.

After going over another track of bare rocky land I descended the beautiful strath of little Loch Broom, and before sunset arrived at the house of Dundonnel, the seat of George Mackenzie Esquire, of Dundonnel.

I am, yours, etc.,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—I was received by Dundonnel at the head of the green before the house, he having, it seems, eyed my approach from one of the windows, and he welcomed and introduced me to his family with a respectful attention and ceremony which greatly distressed me; and notwithstanding every endeavour at a more unreserved familiarity, it rather increased than diminished during my stay. Every time that I entered the room, the whole family, small and great, must be on their feet to receive me, so that in spite of Dundonnel's good humour, and he is a remarkably cheerful and unassuming man, I was in no wise easy, on account of

the stir that I occasioned in the family, and the rich meals that were provided.

He hath one master for instructing his family in the languages, and arithmetic; and another for teaching them music and dancing. We had thus plenty of music at night, having always three fiddles in tune; and every one bore a hand at swelling the lively concert, where the Highland strathspeys and reels were the prevailing strains. They were pleased to applaud my performance, which caused me to saw away as if I had it by the piece.

We always remained at the punch-bowl until the blackbird sung at the window, as this was Dundonnel's rule, which custom he would not dispense with. We spent a day in viewing the strath, and to have a better general view of the estate Mr. George and I climbed to the top of a hill on the ridge betwixt the two Loch-Brooms. It extends fully eighteen Scotch miles from east to west, and may be about ten miles broad, at an average, but on the south it is terribly interwoven with Mr. Davidson's ground. It is an excellent pastoral estate, and the vale of the little strath is pleasant and fertile. It hath plenty of natural wood in its upper parts, and the laird hath beautified the vicinity of his mansion-house with extensive plantations, which are in a thriving state.

Most of the reflections in my last may be applied to Dundonnel. His glens are so crammed full of stout, able-bodied men and women, that the estate under the present system must have enough to do maintaining them. The valleys are impoverished by perpetual cropping, and saving one farm on the north-east quarter, held by the Messrs. Mitchell, the extensive mountains are all waste; for the small parcels of diminutive sheep which the natives have, are all herded below nearest the dwellings, and are housed every night. Dundonnel asked me what I thought it would bring annually if let off in sheep walks. I said I had only had a superficial view of it, but that, exclusive of a reasonable extent near the house, to be occupied by himself, it would bring not below £2,000. He said his people would never pay him the half of that. He was loath to chase them all away to America, but at present they did not pay him above £700. He hath, however, the pleasure of absolute sway. He is even more so in his domains than Bonaparte is in France. I saw him call two men from their labour a full mile, to carry us through the water. I told him he must not expect to be served thus by the shepherds if once he had given them possession.

I now understand on enquiry that I must either relinquish my visit to the Lewis, or to Sutherland, for that there was no possibility of obtaining a passage. After leaving Ullapool, and learning on

the third day after my arrival at Dundonnel, that the *Isabella* of Stornoway had been taking in a load of stones on the south shore of Loch Broom, and was only waiting the arrival of one of the crew from the country, to set sail for that port, I took leave of Dundonnel, and set off in order to procure a passage by that vessel. I reached the place by two o'clock, but owing to a contrary wind, and the flow of the tide, they could not sail that night. I knew not what to do then. The crew were out of provisions, and there were none to be had in that place. There was a whole village of Highland cottages hard by, but when the sailors, who could talk Gaelic, could procure no provisions, by what means was I, who had no Gaelic, to support myself! As I was under the necessity of trying what could be done I went to all the houses, but could not get one word of English. There was, it seems, only one man amongst them who made the smallest pretensions towards it, and he being gone a little from home, some of them had the goodness to fetch him. He was the worst talker of English that I ever heard attempt it. It was downright nonsense, a mixture which no man could comprehend. He took me to his little hovel, and gave me whey to drink, but he had no bread until he baked it, which he made shift to do in the most unfeasible manner imaginable.

On parting with Dundonnel he said that if I wanted to be well treated on my passage to the Lewis, or yet to be welcome when I got there, I must necessarily pretend to want either horses or cows. I made some objections which he quite overruled, and I promised to obey; and on this man asking what I was wanting in that country I told him I wanted horses. Unluckily for me the man had horses to sell, and led me many miles out to the hills to look at them, and I could not get quit of buying them on any account until I had to promise to come back that way and buy all the horses in the country, and on that day twenty days he was to have all the horses in the strath collected. I was heartily tired of Dundonnel's plan, and fully convinced of the justness of the old proverb, 'truth tells aye best.' I never more in the course of my journey had recourse to equivocation. The man had no one in the house with him saving a child of four years old. I asked 'What was become of his wife?' His answer was, 'He pe con see hir muter; he pe shild lenoch after her.' There were some of his horses which he denominated *girrons*, others were *pullocks*, and some were *no pullocks*. He had no milk in his house, only some sour whey, the cows being out on the hills at the shealings. He made sowens to our supper, but as he did not use the necessary

precaution to shill, or strain them, they were unconsciously rough with seeds.

I now began to look about me where I should sleep, but he did not long suffer me to remain in suspense, for bringing in a large arm-full of green heather, he flung it down by the side of the wall, then strewing a few rushes over it, he spread one pair of clean blankets over it, and there was my bed. I found fault with nothing, but stripping to the skin, I wrapped myself first in my shepherd's plaid, and then covered me with his blanket. I made shift to pass the night, although not very agreeably, for, as the tops of the heather depressed, the stubborn roots found means more and more to annoy my shoulders and ribs, and so audacious were some of them that they penetrated Donald's white blanket, and I left them so firmly connected, that I am sure on his removing the blanket, a good many of the roots would adhere to it.

Next morning I went on board the sloop, and about seven o'clock A.M., we heaved anchor and got under way, but as the small breeze that was blowing was straight ahead of the vessel, we beat up the whole day without getting out of the loch, sometimes among the Summer Isles, and sometimes hard off the shore opposite them, to the south, and at the close of the day we found ourselves immediately off a rocky point betwixt the channel and the broad loch. Here the boat was sent ashore to bring a lady on board, who was bound to Stornoway. She was not ready, and the master of the vessel was obliged to wait on her, she being mother of the owner. There being no anchorage nigh, he was forced to lie to in the entrance all night, in the worst humour that possibly could be, cursing the whole sex, and wishing them all wind-bound for a season, and especially the old, weather beaten hulk, who caused him to endanger so good a vessel off the face of a rock, while the wind was sunk and the tide so violent.

As the sea was heavy in the mouth of the bay, the vessel wrought incessantly during the whole night. I became very uneasy, but knowing nothing of the nature of the sea fever, I thought I was attacked by the influenza, but how was I vexed next morning at having suffered such a night, when I was shown the house of Woodrigill, at the end of a bay not an hour's walking distant, where I could have lodged with the kind Achnasheen.

I remain, your most obedient,

J. H.

SIR,—I took leave of you in my last while lying on board, sick of the influenza; but *having got no meat for a whole*

natural day, saving a small piece of cake and a little old cheese, I was becoming extremely hungry, and desired two of the crew to row me ashore. I went to the house of Melton, and took a hearty breakfast with Mrs. Morrison, who immediately after accompanied me to the vessel, and we began to steer onward, but the breeze continuing straight ahead, it was near noon before we got into the open channel.

As soon as we got clear of the Summer Isles, the tide then turning to the north, we took a long stretch in the same direction, passed the Summer Isles, doubled the point of Coygarch, and the day being fair and clear, got an excellent view of the mountains of that country. They had a verdant appearance, but a passenger assured me that the fine weather made them appear so, for that they were nevertheless mostly covered with a mossy surface.

Still holding on in the same direction, and having an excellent spy-glass on board, we got a view of the shores of Loch Eynard; and passing the Rhu of Assynt, although then at a considerable distance out on the channel, a prodigious range of the rugged mountains on Lord Reay's country presented itself to view, forming the most striking and perforated outline I had yet seen. I was afterwards convinced that the extraordinary appearance which they exhibited had been occasioned in part by some small skiffs of mist which had been hovering about their summits, and which I had taken for the horizon beyond them, these causing them to appear as if bored through in many places.

Our skipper steered thus far to the north in hopes that the breeze would drop into the north-east before evening. In this, however, he was disappointed, and the tide turning to the south, he tacked about, steering to the south-west, or a little to the west, and a little before sunset the breeze sunk entirely, and there was not a breath. My patience now took its leave of me for some time altogether. Although I was never actually sick, yet I found myself growing squeamish and uneasy, forsaken by the breeze in the very midst of a broad channel, and, for anything that I knew, condemned to hobble on that unstable element for a week, or perhaps much longer.

Mrs. Morrison, who is well versed in naval affairs, and has been frequently known to take the helm into her own hand in dangers, perceiving my face growing long, gave me a dram, and expressed her surprise that I was no worse, having never been at sea before, assuring me that a calm was worse to endure than a gale.

As the sails continued all set, waiting to take advantage of the first breeze, and as they flapped and wrought in conjunction with the waves, the ship rolled exceedingly at times. I, who imputed

no part of it to the rigging, could not forbear, in my then desperate condition, from expressing, with great bitterness and folly, my indignation at the malevolence of the sea, that would not be still and at peace, when nothing was troubling it, asking the sailors 'What was putting it astir now when there was not a breath? It was certainly an earthquake.' There was, however, one comfort. We were in no danger now of perishing for hunger, Mrs. Morison having brought plenty on board from her farm. During the first day, when cruising in Loch Broom, the master and I were forced to content ourselves with a fardle cake between us, and a piece of old cheese, the sailors regaling themselves with some crabbed shell-fish and sea-weeds, which they had scraped from the rocks on shore. Highlandmen are not nice of their diet. But now we had plenty of tea, sugar, eggs, cakes, and fish.

My chagrin was somewhat diverted near the fall of evening by contemplating the extensive prospect. We were becalmed exactly in the middle of the channel which separates Lewis from the mainland, and the evening being remarkably fine and clear we could see distinctly the Isle of Skye, the Shant Isles, the Lewis, and all that range of mountains in Ross-shire and Sutherland, stretching from Torridon to Cape Wrath. By reason of their distance they now appeared low. The sea, though in its natural perturbed state, being unruffled by the smallest breeze appeared an ocean of heaving crystal, of different colors in different directions, presenting alternately spots of the deepest green, topaz, and purple; for which I could not in the least account by any appearance in the sky, which was all of one colour.

Such a scene, so entirely new to me could not fail of attracting my attention, which it did to such a degree that I remained on deck all night. The light of the moon at length prevailed. She hovered low above the Shant Isles, and shed a stream of light on the glassy surface of the sea, in the form of a tall crescent, of such lustre that it dazzled the sight. The whole scene tended to inspire the mind with serenity and awe, and in the contemplation of it I composed a few verses addressed to the Deity, which I will give you bye and bye, and if you apprehend that they move a little more heavily than my verses were wont to do, remember that they are *sea-sick*.

VERSES ADDRESSED TO THE DEITY.

Great source of perfection, and pole of devotion!
 Thy presence surrounds me wherever I roam;
 I see Thee as well in the wild heaving ocean
 As in the most sacred magnificent dome.

While viewing this scene with amazement and wonder,
 I see Thee in yonder moon's watery gleam.
 Thy voice I have heard from the cloud burst in thunder ;
 Now hear it from wild fowls which over me scream ;
 Oh ! teach me to fear, to adore, and to love Thee
 As Sovereign of earth and those heavens I see.
 But oh ! above all, with warm gratitude move me
 For all Thy great mercies bestow'd upon me,
 In all my lone wand'rings, oh guide and direct me,
 As round the bleak shores of the Hebrides I roam,
 From evils and dangers defend and protect me,
 And lead me in peace to my sweet native home.
 And when my life's wearisome journey is ended,
 May I, in Thy presence, those heavens survey,
 So sanded with suns ! amid seraphs so splendid
 To sing, where no night shall encroach on the day.

'Ay James; I never saw you in so serious a mood as this before.' 'Tis no matter my dear sir; I am very often in such a mood, but it never continues long at a time, and I forgot to inform you that it was the evening of the Sabbath.'

During all this time, although we varied our position greatly to the North, and South, with the tides, we were quite stationary as to proceeding in our course, the vessel floating with her stern towards Stornoway. I wished myself fairly on terra firma again; I cared not on which side of the channel.

Early in the morning, all being quiet, I had wrapped myself in my shepherd's plaid, and was stretched among some cables on deck, busied in perusing Shakespeare's monstrous tragedy of 'Titus Andronicus,' and just when my feelings were wrought to the highest pitch of horror, I was alarmed by an uncommon noise, as of something bursting, and which I apprehended was straight over me, when starting up with great emotion, I was almost blinded by a shower of brine. But how was I petrified with amazement at seeing a huge monster, in size like a horse, sinking into the sea by the side of the vessel, something after the manner of a rope tumbler, and so near me that I could have struck him with a spear. I bawled out to the crew to be upon the alert, for that here was a *monstrous whale* going to *coup* the ship, and seizing the boat-hook was going, as I thought, to maul him most terribly. He had rather got out of my reach, and one of the crew took it from me for fear I should lose it, assuring me that I could not pierce him although it was sharp, which it was not.

After the sun rose, the sails began to fill, and we moved on almost imperceptibly towards Stornoway. The whale kept by the vessel the whole morning, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. Being always immoderately addicted to fishing, I was in the highest degree interested. I was also impatient at

such a huge fish being so near me. He was exactly the length of the vessel, a sloop, if I mistake not, about seventy or eighty tons. I once called to one of the sailors to come and see how he rubbed sides with the ship. 'Eh! said he, 'he pe wanting one of us to breakfast with him!'

Your most obedient,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—We at length entered the harbour of Stornoway, and about seven o'clock in the evening cast anchor within a very short space of the houses, having been exactly sixty hours on the passage, a distance of scarcely so many miles.

As soon as I arrived, I went to the head inn, held by Mr. Creighton, a silly, despicable man, but privileged in having an excellent wife. During the whole of that evening I could not walk without taking hold of everything that came in my way, impressed with an idea that all things were in motion. I was very unfortunate in not meeting with the people to whom I was recommended here. I had a letter for Mr. Chapman at Seaforth Lodge, but he was absent in Uig, parting some land, and Mrs. Chapman being in a poor state of health, I never presented myself. I had a letter to Mr. Donald Macdonald, and another to Mr. Robertson, both of Stornoway, and in whose company I spent some time; but the one was obliged to go from home in the packet, and the other did not come home until the last day that I was there.

I wandered about the town and neighbouring country for three days, sometimes in company with one, and sometimes with another. There was a Captain Marshal, from the neighbourhood of Fochabers, lodging in the same house with me, a sober, sensible man, with whom I was very happy.

I was indeed greatly surprised at meeting with such a large and populous town in such a remote and distant country. It was but the preceding week that I ever heard of it, and yet it is quite unrivalled in all the west of Scotland north of the Clyde, either in population, trade, or commerce. I was informed by Mr. Robison, comptroller of the Customs, that, according to the last survey, which was then newly taken, the town and suburbs contained nearly seventeen hundred souls. Mr. Macdonald, to whom I mentioned this, doubted its containing so many, but was certain that there were above a thousand.

There is one full half of the town composed of as elegant houses, with even more genteel inhabitants, than are generally to be met with in the towns of North Britain which depend solely on the fishing and trade. The principal and modern part

of the town stands on a small point of land stretching into the harbour in the form of a T, and as you advance back from the shore the houses grow gradually worse. The poor people have a part by themselves, on a rising ground to the north-east of the town, and though all composed of the meanest huts it is laid out in streets and rows as regularly as a camp. The houses on the shore to the eastward and those at the head of the bay are of the medium sort. It hath an excellent harbour, and is much ornamented by the vicinity of Seaforth Lodge, which stands on a rising ground overlooking the town and harbour. The town is much incommoded by the want of streets or pavements. Even the most elegant houses facing the harbour, saving a small road close by the wall, have only the rough sea shore to pass and repass on, which being composed of rough stones, which fly from the foot, grinding on one another, forms a most uncomfortable footpath.

As the peculiarities observable in the modes and customs of the inhabitants are applicable to the whole island, I shall note a few of them on taking leave of it. I shall only observe here, that the well directed and attended schools, the enlightened heads, and enlarged ideas of a great number of the people of Stornoway bid fair to sow the seeds of emulation, and consequently of improvement in that remote country. It is a general complaint through all the Long Island that the poorer sort are much addicted to pilfering. I persuaded myself that I saw a striking evidence to the contrary in the inhabitants of this town. During the daytime there were thousands of white fish spread on the shores, drying on the sand. When night came they were gathered and built up in large heaps, and loosely covered with some coarse cloth, and when the sun grew warm next day were again spread. Now, my dear Sir, I'll wager you durst not have exposed your fish in such a manner at Edinburgh, for as fine a place as it is.

Although the island is not noted for riots, I had no very favourable specimen of their absolute command over their passions. On the very night of my arrival a desperate affray took place in the room adjoining to that in which I slept. Several respectable men, the collector, and one of the bailiffs, were engaged in it. It was fought with great spirit and monstrous vociferation. Desperate wounds were given and received, the door was split in pieces, and twice some of the party entered my chamber. I was overpowered with sleep, having got none at sea, and minded them very little, but was informed of all by Mr. Marshall. A ship's captain, in particular, wrought terrible devastation. He ran foul of the table, although

considerably to the windward, which he rendered a perfect wreck, sending all its precious cargo of crystal, china, etc., to the bottom, and attacked his opponents with such fury and resolution that he soon laid most of them sprawling on the deck. Some of the combatants being next day confined to their beds, summonses were issued, and a prosecution commenced, but the parties being very nearly connected a treaty was set on foot, and the preliminaries signed before I left Stornoway.

On the evening preceding my departure I hired a lad to accompany me round the island for eighteen pence per day, on condition that he was not to go off Lewis. At Creighton's the entertainment was as good as could be expected, for although they have neither brewer, baker, nor barber in the town, professionally, yet every man privileged with a beard is a barber, and every woman unencumbered with a family is a baker, and I suppose Mrs. Creighton is none of the most inferior practitioners, as we got very good wheaten loaves, though not exactly conformable in shape to those used in our country. Our breakfasts were thus rendered as comfortable as they are anywhere, and though at dinners and suppers we had seldom any beef or mutton, we had great abundance, as well as variety, of fish, fowls, and eggs. I expected my bill to run high, but how was I surprised on calling for it to see that I was charged no more than sixpence for each meal. I was agreeably deceived, and observed to my hostess that a man might eat himself rich here and fat at the same time. 'A very poor specimen of your wit, James!'

Thus being furnished with several letters, some whisky, biscuit, and a full half of a Lewis cheese, as hard as wood, Malcolm and I set out in the morning, and taking the only road in the whole island, proceeded northward through a dreary waste, without ever being blest with the sight of a human habitation, or a spot where it was possible to live upon, there being only one extensive morass the whole way. We passed a flock of native sheep, which was the greatest curiosity I had ever seen. I saw a man coming with hasty strides to waylay us. As I suspected that he would have no English I never regarded him, although he had got within speech as I passed, but Malcolm, who carried considerable weight, being fallen quite behind, he intercepted, and testified his regret that I had passed him, as he meant to treat us at his shealing.

Our road, after carrying us straight on for ten miles, like several of the Highland roads, left us all at once in the midst of a trackless morass, through which it had been cut at the deepness of several yards. The *plan in making roads* being mostly to

clear the channel of whatever incumbrances choke it up. Malcolm being now fallen at least a mile back I scorned to wait, but holding on in the same direction I soon discovered the northern ocean, and the manse of Barvas facing me at some distance, to which I bent my course, and reached it just as the family were rising from breakfast. I produced my letter of introduction, which the minister read, but declared it perfectly superfluous, for that my appearance was a sufficient introduction. I knew that this was to let me know how welcome a stranger was in that country, for alas! I knew that my appearance commanded no great respect. I was only dressed as a shepherd when I left Ettrick, and my dress was now become very shabby, and I often wondered at the attention shown to me.

The Reverend Mr. Donald Macdonald seems to be a person in every way qualified for opening the eyes of an ignorant people to their real interests, both spiritual and temporal. His aspect and manner are firm and commanding, yet mixed with the greatest sweetness. Even when discoursing on the most common subjects, his style is animated, warm, and convincing. He is well versed in agriculture, and the management of different soils, which is of great importance in such a place; yet the people are so much prejudiced in favour of their ancient, uncouth modes, that but few follow his example. He is a Justice of the Peace, and is continually employed in distributing justice, for although the people are not much given to quarrelling or litigation, their rights in their farms are so confused and interwoven, that it is almost impossible to determine what share belongs to each. Supposing ten tenants possessing a farm, which is common enough, and every 'shot' or division of their arable land to consist of ten or more beds, or ridges, they do not take ridge about, and exchange yearly, nor yet part the produce, but every ridge is parted into as many subdivisions as there are tenants. Into tenths, twentieths, fourths, fifths, etc., every one managing and reaping his share, so that it would take a man to be master of fractions to be a tenant in Lewis. The pasture is regulated by the number of cattle, sheep, or horses, each possesses, and as there is no market for these save once a year, at the great tryste, some of the companies are often obliged to encroach on their neighbours' rights, or impose on their goodness. Thus it may well be supposed in what manner the ministers are harassed by continued applications for settling the most intricate differences.

There was a cause tried before Mr. Macdonald when I was there which lasted some hours, but it being conducted in Gaelic, I could only understand it by a general explanation. They sub-

mit, though sometimes reluctantly, to the decision of their pastor. From his court there are no appeals.

I am, sir, your ever faithful shepherd,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—I took my leave of you at Barvas, near the Butt of the Lewis, where I arrived on the longest day of summer, and owing to the bright sky in the north, and the moon in the south, beaming on the ocean, *there was no night there*. Mr. Macdonald and I made an excursion along the shores of the northern ocean. The wind was indeed north-west, but the day was moderate, yet there was such a tremendous sea breaking against the shore as I never witnessed, nor indeed ever thought of before, there being no land to break it nearer than North America or Greenland. Every wave that came rolling against the perpendicular shore burst into the air as white as snow, to the height of several hundred feet. There being no bays nor creeks on this coast where any vessel can anchor, what a dreadful sight it must present to mariners in a storm.

The sea having washed everything away but the solid rock, the shore is in many places perforated by extensive caverns which have never been explored. In one place near to Europa Point, or the Butt of the Lewis, of which we had a fine view, there is a subterraneous cavern across the land from one sea to the other. There is another in Uia which has been penetrated with lights to a distance of nearly a quarter of a mile, and in which are annually felled numbers of large seals. We likewise saw several insulated rocks along the shore, of considerable dimensions, and covered with sea fowls which hatch on them. Mr. Macdonald, who in his walks seems to delight much in contemplating their natural propensities, having little else here to attract his notice, described several of their habits to me. The Solan goose, great numbers of which were continually passing and repassing, he described as the most persevering and indefatigable creature in search of its prey in the world, and adopting the most laborious means of obtaining it. It does not hover and watch over any certain place, but flies straight on over seas and oceans until some chance fish attracts its notice, when it immediately springs up to a great height in the air, and as near as he could judge, always to about the same height, from which he supposed they saw most distinctly, and then, after a few moments' pause taking aim, it darts down into the sea with inconceivable rapidity and force; and if it misses its prey, which must often happen, it again holds on its unwearied course. He described a method of taking them used by some of the fishers, which if not so well authenticated might be looked

upon as fabulous. Well aware of the propensities of the Solan, they take a plank in which they cut some apertures of a proper width. These they fix along with their nets, and leave them swimming on the surface, having a herring or other clear fish fixed to each of the apertures on the lower side. This catching the eye of the Solan goose, he, regardless of the intervening plank, dasheth his head into the hole, commonly with such force as to shatter his skull to pieces.

Mr. Mackenzie showed me a kind of sea-hawk, nearly as big as a Solan goose, the name of which in Gaelic signifies 'squeezer.' Whether properly applied, you may judge by the following description of its proceedings. It is of so vitiated a taste that it seems to depend wholly for subsistence on the excrement of the Solan geese, and as it is only in a certain stage that it is of use for it, it takes the following method of procuring this singular repast. It fixes upon one goose which it pursues without intermission, until it drops its excrement, which the squeezer hath the art to snatch at before it reacheth the water, and well satisfied with its alms, immediately quits that, and fixes upon another. Those that we saw of them were always in pursuit of geese.

The other things that we saw worthy of remark were the hills of sand contiguous to the manse. These are an insurmountable bar to improvement in that quarter, as a dry spring wind always opens them, and lays the whole of the crops of grass or corn adjacent, several feet deep in sand. These hills are accumulating from a sandy beach hard by, from which a strong north-west wind fetcheth immense loads of sand.

On the top of one of these hills is situated St. Mary's chapel, an ancient place of Popish worship. It had formerly been on the very summit of the eminence, but the sand is now heaped up to such a height as to be on a level with the gables. Yet the eddying winds have still kept it nearly clear, so that it appears as a building wholly sunk underground. The baptismal font is still standing in a place in the wall prepared for it. There are many of these in this parish, some of them of large and curious dimensions. There are also on its coasts some of the most entire Norwegian duns that are to be found in Scotland, the entrance to which is from the top. The purposes for which these were intended seem as much involved in obscurity as those of the pyramids of Egypt, to which they bear some resemblance. Mr. Macdonald also showed me a hill of small size from which he had seen sixty ploughs all going at a time. This will give you a very high idea of the fertility of the Lewis, or at least of the extent of the arable land there; and indeed this district of Ness, if it were

not overstocked with people, and that it is under the most clumsy and untoward of all modes of cultivation, is certainly a *fertile place*, and is almost *wholly arable*, and composed of a variety of the richest soils, and what may seem remarkable, it enjoys the driest climate of the whole Western Highlands or Islands, as far as I could learn, even Islay not excepted.

This can only be accounted for by its lowness, there being no mountains of any height in the country. It occupies the north-east corner of the island, and Mr. Macdonald assured me that though in summer the showers came over the Atlantic as black as pitch, they always parted before they came there, one part flying towards the mountains of Lochs and Harris, and the others to the hills of Sutherland; so that while the hay and kelp were rotting in these countries, the people on the north parts of Lewis were often getting theirs winnowed with ordinary expedition. Also that when he first settled there, on seeing the clouds gathering on the Atlantic (for an approaching rain is seen at a great distance) on the open sea, he would make a great hurry in getting his hay or corn put into a way in which it would receive least harm, disregarding the old people, who told him that he needed not make such a fuss, for that 'none of yon would come near him.' Of the truth of this he was by degrees agreeably convinced.

The frosts in winter are never intense, the snow sometimes covers the ground to a considerable depth, but never continues long, and in places where ground is covered with a proper thickness of herbage, the cattle thrive very well lying out on it all the winter.

When the wind blows from any of the eastern quarters, the weather is commonly mild and dry. When from the western, hazy and accompanied with storms of wind and rain, and in the late years of scarcity, when the failure of the crop on the most fertile countries of Britain left the inhabitants almost starving, these islands never had so plentiful crops, either by land or sea, the fishing being equally favourable; and as the value of the cattle rose, they never experienced better times. But now, the case is for them sadly reversed; and whilst we are again swimming in plenty, they are perfectly reduced, by purchasing from other countries those necessaries of life which their own soil and bays have refused for the two last years to yield.

The people of this parish are industrious fishermen, and although their plans are the most simple, you will see by the papers that they always gain the most of the prizes held out by the society for dog-fish, cod, ling, and tusk. They have a

terrible sea to fish on, and as terrible a shore to land upon. I could not avoid the old proverb, '*Rather them as me.*'

Yours sincerely,

J. H.

DEAR SIR,—Before I take my leave of Barvas it may not be improper to give you some idea of the mode of cultivation there, there being more arable land here than in any district of the Long Island, and a greater number of ploughs than in all the Long Island put together, for in this I reckon Ness included.

Their ploughs, numbers of which I saw, are very slender and shabby pieces of workmanship. They consist of crooked trees selected for the purpose. Through each of these a square hole is cut at the most crooked end, and here the stick that serves for the plough-head is fixed, and by wedging it above or below they give the plough more or less depth with great facility, as they give it less or more land by wedging it at the sides. Then almost straight above the heel a small stilt is fixed, and this is the plough. Although I saw several of their ploughs, not being there in the ploughing season, I have only seen two of them at work. A greater curiosity can hardly be exhibited to one who is a stranger to their customs. I could venture a wager that Cain himself had a more favourable method of tilling the ground. The man was walking by the side of the plough, and guiding it with his right hand. With the left he carried a plough-pattle over his shoulder, which he frequently heaved in a threatening manner at such of the horses as lagged behind; but as it had the same effect on them all, and rather caused the most fiery ones to rush on, he was obliged sometimes to throw it at the lazy ones. The coulter is very slender, points straight down, and is so placed that if it at all rip the ground it hath no effect in keeping the plough steady. The horses, impatient in their nature, go very fast, and the plough being so ticklish, the man is in a perpetual struggle, using every exertion to keep the plough in the ground, and after all, the furrow is in many places a mere scrape. The four ponies go all abreast, and such a long way before the plough, that at a little distance I could not imagine they had any connection with the man or it. They were all four tied to one pole, and a man, to whom the *puller* is a much more applicable name than the *driver*, keeps hold of it with both hands, and walking backwards as fast as he can, pulls them on. Those of them that walk too fast he claps the pole to their nose, which checks them. He finds means also to carry a small goad, with which he strikes the lazy ones on the face, asserting that that makes them spring forward. I had once an old brown mare,

if he had struck her on the face he would have got her no farther in that direction. I can scarcely conceive a more disagreeable employment than that of this 'driver' as he is called. The ploughman's post being such a very troublesome one he is mostly in a bad humour, and if the line of horses angle, the plough in spite of his teeth is pulled out of the land to the side on which the line is advanced. This puts him into a rage, and he immediately throws the pattle, or a stone at the hindmost. Now, although the man may be a tolerable good archer, yet passion may make him miss, and the driver runs a risk of meeting with the fate of Goliath of Gath. But granting that this should never happen, and the ploughman's aim should always hold good, yet 'I own 'tis past my comprehension' how a man can walk so fast the whole day in a retrograde direction without falling, (when he must that moment be trodden under foot by the horses). In fact I have seen many people who would be often missing their feet on such land although walking with their face foremost; and it is a fact that many of these drivers are hurt by accidents of the above nature. Upon the whole, a more improper method of tillage cannot well be conceived, as much of the ground is missed, that of it which is ploughed is rather crushed to one side than turned over, and as two of the horses are obliged to go constantly on the tilled land, it is by these means rendered full as firm as before it was ploughed. You may perhaps think that I exaggerate in calling the district of Ness at the Butt of the Lewis *fertile*, but I am convinced that if the ground that I have had any concern with had been tilled in the same manner, it would have produced crops much inferior, if any at all.

The natives are very industrious in gathering manure, and not inactive at making composts. They have one mode of procuring manure, which is, I think, peculiar to themselves. Their houses have very slender roofs, and are incapable of carrying a layer of divot or turf below the thatch, like the cottages in the south, but are merely covered with one light layer of straw or stubble, for instead of reaping, they pull their crops of barley wholly up by the roots, and those who are so fond as to adopt the foolish modern custom of reaping, have their stubble pulled up tightly after them. With this stuff the houses are thatched anew at the commencement of every summer, having been previously stripped to the bare rafters, and that which is taken off carefully spread upon the land about the time when the crops begin to grow green. This is reckoned a valuable manure, and the land that it is spread upon commonly produceth a good crop, but they complain that it is a scourging one. The method of spreading this

manure above is certainly injudicious, for being so well sharpened by the soot and smoke, it might enrich the soil considerably if buried in, or incorporated with it. But perhaps it would not be convenient to strip their houses so early.

I am sure you are now thinking it is high time that I were leaving Barvas. I beg your pardon, my dear sir, though I have kept you a good while there; Malcolm and I were not long there. We left it early in the morning, stretching our course towards Loch Roag on the west coast of Lewis. We wandered on through trackless wastes, the whole of our course being through swamps and deep morasses, whilst our journey was constantly impeded by stagnant lakes, which, as the country was so flat, never appeared until we were hard upon them, casting us widely off our aim. We were all the day uncertain where we should land, but I felt much indifference, having letters for the principal men of each district. We saw a great many sheep, goats, horses, and cattle, all straying at will on the muirs; and numbers of wild deer sprung from before us, and fled with great swiftness towards Ben Barvas. At length, growing hungry we sat down to eat some biscuit and cheese, which I told you before was as hard as wood. I now discovered that I had lost my pocket knife, and Malcolm had either lost his, or else he never had one; and in short, we found it impossible to get one bite of our cheese. Malcolm was despatched to a shealing, which was rather a covered cave, to borrow one. The inmates willingly sent the only one that they had, which was a piece of an old kelp-hook fixed in a deer's horn. This, instead of cutting our cheese, notwithstanding our utmost efforts, did not make the smallest impression. Malcolm was again despatched to a rivulet at a considerable distance, and came back carrying two large stones. On one of these we laid the cheese, Malcolm sitting on his knees held it with one hand and the knife with the other, d—ning them both most heartily; whilst I with the other stone struck with all my force on the back of the knife. By these rude means we at length got it hacked into irregular pieces, and having allayed our hunger, and thirst too, my dear Sir, we returned the knife, and proceeded on our journey. But here I must again take my leave for a few days, protesting that I am at all times,

Yours sincerely,

J. H.

ART. II.—GIORDANO BRUNO BEFORE THE VENETIAN
INQUISITION.

Giordano Bruno e i suoi tempi. Da P. LUIGI PREVITI, S.I.
Prato : Tipografia Giachetti, Figlio e C. 1887.

IN the year 1835 Messrs. Herbert Spencer, A. C. Swinburne, F. Max Müller, J. Stansfield, and C. Bradlaugh, to whom were subsequently added Messrs. Auberon Herbert and P. Taylor, and Mesdames C. Oppenheim and Ashurst-Venturi, were associated in an English National Committee in connection with the International one formed to procure the erection of a monument to Giordano Bruno at the spot in the Campo dei Fiori at Rome where he is generally, or at least popularly, believed to have been burnt alive upon February 17, 1600. It is needless here to give the long list of names which appear upon the other National Committees formed with this object in (Germany, Spain, Austro-Hungary, Portugal, Roumania, Sweden and Norway, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Greece, Russia, and the United States, as well as in Italy itself,) but it may be worth noting that the original members of the Committee for France were Messrs. Victor Hugo, Ernest Renan, Paul Bert, Th. Ribot, A. Aspinas, and G. De Mortillet. (It is certainly a curious fact that all these distinguished persons in so many lands should be found prepared unanimously to crown the author of the *Candelajo*. It is also remarkable that they should all seem to have convinced themselves in the same sense upon the very obscure, open, and debated question of whether, as a matter of fact, he was ever burnt at all. And it is still more remarkable that none of them should have taken the trouble to ascertain beforehand whether the Italian authorities would permit the erection of the proposed statue. The homage now offered to his memory certainly forms a striking contrast to the extreme obscurity in which Giordano Bruno lived and died. The agitation has naturally been greatest in Italy, where it has assumed in an especial degree the character with which it is everywhere likely to be invested, viz., that of a field for the demonstrations

of differing schools of opinion; perhaps because in Italy different schools of religious and philosophical thought are to so large an extent allied to schools of political sympathy. By members of the moderate Conservative party, which probably embraces the bulk of the Italian people, the movement may be said to be regarded with annoyance. The Communal Council of Rome in May last refused to grant a site for such a monument, to which (the admirers of Giordano replied by demanding, in the name of liberty of opinion, that the capital city of Italy be deprived of her freedom; but a fresh turn in the municipal elections now renders it likely that the decision of two months ago may be reversed. The agitation has convulsed the Universities with demonstrations on the part of some groups of the students, which have sometimes amounted to riots.) It has recently supplied the stage (in certain theatres) with a modern drama, which has (at least in certain places) afforded matter for the energies of the officials who under the present Italian Constitution discharge the censorial duties of the English Lord Chamberlain. On the other hand, it has provoked remonstrances, of which the protests drawn forth by the celebration in the University of Rome, in which the present Radical Prime Minister, Crispi, took part, are among the leading. A small literature is naturally arising on the subject, which has produced among others the book named at the head of this article. It is not, however, intended here to write either a review of that book or an essay upon the life and times of the man with whom it deals. The name of Giordano Bruno has been suddenly invested with an importance which it never formerly possessed, either in his own or in foreign countries, and the idea has occurred to the present writer that it may therefore be of interest here to place before the reader a series of abstracts and extracts, with a few complete translations, from the original and contemporary documents which record the events of Bruno's last years, from his arrest at Venice till his death or disappearance from record. These documents, with the single but very important exception of that which closes this article*,

* [As the reader will perceive by the note which we have appended at

are taken or abridged from the long and full series which forms the second part of Fr. Previti's work, and it is in acknowledgment of this fact that the name of his book appears above. The extent to which the completeness of this series is marred by the inexorable secrecy of the Roman Inquisition is deeply to be regretted; but the documents available, including the trial before the Venetian Inquisition, are of great interest as concerning the history of Bruno, not only in regard to the actual time of the proceedings themselves, but also as to his life in the preceding years, of which, as well as of his doctrines, we have here a short account in his own words. The rarity also of the publication of any proceedings of the Inquisition, originally concealed from the world under oaths of secrecy, invests them to the English reader with a strange element of curiosity and interest.

It is at first sight rather difficult to understand what can have induced Bruno to thrust his head, so to speak, into the lion's mouth, by returning to Italy. It may be supposed that he relied, on the one hand, upon the almost certain protection afforded him by his great obscurity, and was actuated, on the other, by the desire to make a little money, which his circumstances must have rendered almost imperatively needful. He had proved a social and literary failure. So slight was the impression which he had succeeded in producing upon those with whom he came in contact, that his name is mentioned, according to Fr. Previti, by only six contemporary writers, viz., Andalio, Regnault, the Wechels, Eglino, Alsted, and Schopp, of whom all but the first and last were editors or publishers of some of his works. It is not to be found either in the registers of the Order of Friars Preachers, of which he was a member, or in those of the Universities of Toulouse and Paris, and the divers

the end, the article here printed is only a part of a longer one which we have decided to divide into two. The document above referred to—which is an excerpt from (the Archives of a Roman charity for the benefit of criminals under capital sentence—as well as the contributions from the records of the Roman Inquisition presently mentioned, belong to the latter part, which we hope to publish separately in October.] ✓

Universities of Germany, where he had lectured, and is only found cancelled in the Matriculation Roll of Marburg. And in like manner no mention of him is to be found made by such men as Michel Castelneau, the French Ambassador in London, in whose house he lived for three consecutive years; Sir Philip Sidney, to whom he publicly dedicated two of his works (the *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante*, and the *Eroici Furori*); Alberigo Gentile, his colleague at Wittemberg; Paolo Sarpi, who knew him at Venice; or Andrew Morosini, the historian of that Republic, to whose society he was certainly admitted. As a matter of fact, if the depositions sworn before the Venetian Inquisition are to be believed, almost nothing was known about him at Venice, and it was not even suspected that he was an ex-friar. At the time of his arrest he had with him some half-dozen works in MS., for which it is therefore to be assumed that he had failed to find any publisher. He had apparently no private means, and, when not living upon the bounty of others, as in the French Embassy in London, seems to have been entirely dependent upon the scanty and uncertain results of giving lessons. In these circumstances it is not surprising that he at last yielded to the repeated invitation of the Venetian Patrician, John Mocenigo, to whom he had been mentioned by the bookseller Ciotto, and who promised him good treatment if he would come to Venice, in order to instruct him in his peculiar system for developing and strengthening the memory.

John Mocenigo, a member of one of the best known families of the Venetian Republic, was a married man thirty-four years of age. He was by no means without literary tastes, as appears by his editing, in 1592, the *Lettere familiari di Giovanni Battista Leoni*, and was held in some social and political estimation, since he had been chosen in 1583 one of the *Savii all'eresia*, the three noble Lay Assessors nominated by the State to attend all sittings of the Inquisition, and without the presence of at least one of whom, any acts of that Tribunal were *ipso facto* illegal and invalid, while the Assessors themselves were bound by oath to reveal to the Doge and Senate, all and any of its proceedings, and also to stop immediately any which might appear to them to be contrary

either to the laws or usages of the Republic, or to any secret instructions which they might have themselves received from the State. The name of John Mocenigo has been assailed with execrations for his conduct to Giordano Bruno, and his action with regard to his guest certainly places him in a very unfavourable light. But it is hardly probable that, as has been sometimes asserted, he deliberately lured him to Venice, in order to hand him over to the Inquisition, and only waited for seven or eight months, that he might insinuate himself into his confidence and entangle him in his talk.* Such an assertion is contrary to the sworn statement made to the Inquisition by Mocenigo himself, from which it appears that he did not even suspect Bruno of being an ecclesiastic until the very day upon which he placed him under restraint in consequence of a personal quarrel. This statement of Mocenigo is in perfect accordance with the simple, clear, and consistent narrative of the bookseller Ciotto: and it is well to remember that these depositions were made separately, and under an oath of secrecy as well as of truth. The ultimate proceedings against Bruno were not based upon Mocenigo's denunciations, which were merely the cause of his arrest, but upon his published and MS. works, the former of which were already accessible, and the latter of which might have been seized at any moment after his arrival in the territories of the Republic. On the contrary, it seems difficult to credit Mocenigo with the motive of religious

* So, for instance, Williams' *Heroic Enthusiasts*, p. 29. 'The Church never lost sight of Bruno, he was always under surveillance, and few dared to show themselves openly his friends. . . . He observed nothing of the invisible net which his enemies spread about him, and while his slanderers were busy in doing him injury, he was occupied in teaching. . . .' Also, pp. 30, 31. 'After several letters from Mocenigo, full of fine professions of friendship and affection, Bruno, longing to see his country again, turned his face towards Venice. . . . He insisted that Bruno should make science clearly known to him, but this was probably only to initiate a quarrel with Bruno, whom he intended afterwards to betray, and deliver into the hands of the Church. The Holy Office would have laid hands on Bruno immediately on his arrival in Italy, but being assured by Mocenigo that he could not escape, they left him a certain liberty, so that he might more surely compromise himself, while his enemies were busy collecting evidence against him.'

zeal. His conscience appears to have troubled him in no way with regard to the opinions of his tutor until they had had a personal difference as to the fulfilment of Giordano's engagement.

Bruno must have arrived at Venice in the month of October, 1591, and proceeded to give Mocenigo the stipulated lessons. What followed, the reader may be best left to see for himself in the statements taken before the Inquisition. (Suffice it to say, that their relations do not seem to have engendered much mutual love. After a while, Bruno went for a time to Padua, whence he returned to Venice, and towards the latter part of May, proceeded to pack up, with the intention of leaving for Frankfort. On Thursday, May 21, Mocenigo had a quarrel with him upon this subject, alleging that he had not fulfilled the terms of his engagement as to the instruction which he had undertaken to give him. Bruno remained unshaken in his determination to leave. On the following (Friday) night, Mocenigo put him under restraint in his own house, and the next morning sent a formal denunciation of him to the Inquisitor, in consequence of which the officials of the Inquisition arrested him the same day and lodged him in the prison of that Tribunal. This denunciation by Mocenigo is the first of the documents which illustrate the closing act of Giordano Bruno's life. It is as follows* :—

'I, John Mocenigo, son of Mark Antony Mocenigo, obliged by my conscience and commanded by my confessor, make known to your very Rev. Fatherhood that I have heard Giordano Bruno of Nola say, on some occasions when he has reasoned with me in my own house,—that it is a great blasphemy on the part of Catholics to say that the bread is transubstantiated into Flesh—that he is an enemy of the Mass—

* This letter is addressed 'to my Rev. Father and Most Worshipful Lord, the Father Inquisitor of Venice,' and begins, 'Very Rev. Father and Most Worshipful Lord,' but in this as in the subsequent documents the translator has thought it best to omit or shorten the titles of honour as much as possible. They occur so very frequently and are so long as seriously to occupy space. He has also omitted complimentary expressions of an entirely conventional character such as are found at the close of letters, etc.

that no religion pleases him—that Christ was an evildoer (*tristo*) and that if He wrought evil to deceive the people, He might well foretell that He would get hung (*impicato*) for it—that there is no distinction of Persons in God, and that, if there were, it would be an imperfection in God—that the world is eternal—and that there are infinite worlds, and that God goes on continually making them to infinity, because he says that He wills whatever He can do—that Christ worked sham (*apparenti*) miracles, and that He was a sorcerer, and so also the Apostles, and that he himself has sense enough to do as much as they, and more—that Christ made it clear that He died much against His will, and did what He could to escape it—that there is no punishment for sin—that souls are created by the operation of nature and pass from one animal into another—and that just as the brute beasts are engendered from corruption, so are men also engendered when their turn to be born again comes after the floods.

‘He has shown an intention of trying to become the founder of a new sect, under the title of the New Philosophy. He has said that the Virgin could not have had a Son—and that our Catholic faith is all full of blasphemies against the Majesty of God—that it would be needful to begin to raise disputes with the friars, because they pollute the world—that they are all asses and that our opinions are doctrines of asses—that we have no proof that our faith is meritorious before God—and that not to do unto others what we would not that they should do unto us is enough for a good life—and that he laughs at all the other sins—and wonders that God should endure such heresies of Catholics. He says that he wishes to study the art of divination, and that he would make all the world run after him—that St. Thomas [Aquinas] and all the Doctors knew nothing as compared to himself—and that he would enlighten all the first theologians of the world, so that they would have nothing to answer.

‘He has told me that he once had a dispute with the Inquisition at Rome about 130 articles, and that if he ran away while he was before it, it was because he was charged with

throwing his accuser—or at any rate the individual he believed to have been his accuser—into the Tiber.

‘As I have told your Fatherhood, by word of mouth, I meant to learn from him, not knowing that he was as bad as he is, and having [only] made a note of all these things in order to give an account of them to your Very Rev. Fatherhood, when I began to suspect that he might leave, as he said he wished to do. I have locked him up in a room, at your disposal; and, as I take him to be possessed [by a devil], I pray you to come to some immediate resolution concerning him.

‘The booksellers Ciotto and Berchtan (*Bertano*) will be able to tell the Holy Office the same things. Berchtan has spoken to me particularly about him, and told me that he is an enemy of Christ, and of our faith, and that he has heard him utter great heresies.

‘I also send your Very Rev. Fatherhood three printed books by the same, in which I have hastily marked some passages, and also a little work in his handwriting, concerning God, from which some of his general principles may be deduced, and a judgment formed upon them.

‘The man has also frequented the literary meetings (*academia*), at the house of the Ser Andrew Morosini, which are frequented by many gentlemen, who may, perhaps, have heard him express some of his ideas.’

This denunciation was, as before remarked, written on Saturday, May 23rd, and on the same day the officials of the Inquisition came to Mocenigo’s house, formally arrested Bruno, and took him to their prison. Sunday passed over quietly, but on Monday, Mocenigo sent in a second denunciation, in the following terms:—

‘The day that I locked up Giordano Bruno, I told him that I would not accuse him of the many abominable (*scellerate*) things which he had spoken against Our Lord Jesus Christ and against the holy Catholic Church, if only he would consent to teach me as he had promised to do in return for my many courtesies and gifts. He answered that he had no fear of the Inquisition, because he did no harm to anyone by living as he did, and that he did not remember ever having said anything

wrong to me, and that even if he had, it had not been in the presence of witnesses, and that, consequently, he had no ground for fearing that I could do him any harm on that score, and, at the worst, if he were placed in the hands of the Inquisition, the most they could do would be to make him put on the frock which he had dropt.

‘I said to him, “Then you are a member of a religious Order?” He answered, “I only had the minor orders, and therefore in any case I could easily settle matters.” I replied, ‘How could you easily settle matters, if you do not believe in the Most Holy Trinity, if you speak so ill of Our Lord Jesus Christ, if you think that our souls are made of mud, and that every action in the world is the result of fate, as you have told me before now? The first thing you have need to do is to settle your opinions, and then you can easily settle the rest, and if you so please, I offer to give you all the help in my power, because, as you know, although you have shown yourself so wanting in the fulfilment of your promise to me, and so ungrateful for the civilities which I have shown you, I wish to be your friend in every way.’ To this he answered nothing except to beg me to let him go free, and that he had packed up his things and talked to me of going away, without really meaning to do it, but only to check my impatience to learn, with which I had always been tormenting him; and that, if I would let him go free, he would teach me everything that he knew, and I alone should know the secrets of everything which he had ever done, and beautiful and precious things which he meant to do, and that he would become my slave for no more remuneration than that which he had already received; and that if I wished for everything which he had in my house, he left me free to take it, for everything he had, had come from me, and all that he wanted was that I should give him a copy, at any rate, of a book of magical formulæ (*congiurationi*) which I have found among some of his papers.

‘I have been desirous to give an account of all this to your Very Rev. Fatherhood, in order that you may be able, taking it into account along with the rest, to form a decision as to the

facts, according to the prudence of your judgment and holy mind.

‘There are some money, goods, papers, and books belonging to him, as to which you will please to give your orders.

‘And as your Lordship has shown me so much kindness in forgiving me my error as regards the sending in of this accusation, I entreat you to be pleased to excuse me to the Most Illustrious Lords [of the Inquisition], in consideration that I meant well, and that I was not able to discover everything at once, besides that I did not know this man’s depravity until after he came to stay in my house, which may be some two months ago, for, since his arrival here he has lived part of the time in an hired chamber in this city, but for the most part he has been at Padua. And besides, I wished to profit from him. And as for the way I have gone on with him, I could always be sure that he would not leave me without giving me notice, so that I have always promised myself that I should be able to hand him over to the censures of the Holy Office.’

This letter, like the former, was written at Mocenigo’s house, but he seems to have carried it himself to the Inquisitor. The latter has left a note that he saw him, put some general questions to him, as to his age, etc., and caused him to swear upon the Scriptures that both the denunciations were true, and also that he would preserve absolute secrecy as to the proceedings.

On the following morning—Tuesday, May 26th,—the trial began. There were present, with the Inquisitor, the Papal Nuncio, the Patriarch of Venice, and the Lay Assessor, Aloysius Foscari*.

After the Captain of the Guard had given formal evidence of the arrest, the first witness called was the bookseller John Baptist Ciotto. His statement is chiefly interesting with regard to Bruno’s position at Frankfort, and Mocenigo’s invitation to

* Considering that this is the statement of the minutes of the Court, and that the whole thing was conducted under oaths of secrecy, it is interesting to find in Williams’ *Heroic Enthusiasts*, p. 32, that ‘most of the provinces of Italy were represented by their delegates in the early part of the trial.’

him to come to Venice. Ciotto said he had first made his acquaintance about eighteen months before, when they were both lodging in the Carmelite Convent at Frankfort. Mocenigo had bought a copy of Bruno's book, *De monade, numero et figura*,* in his (Ciotto's) shop at Venice, and in consequence had asked him if he knew the author, as he thought of inviting him to Venice to teach him his system of memory. Ciotto had conveyed Mocenigo's letter to Bruno. He knew only two other books by Bruno, viz., *Gli Eroici Furori*, printed at Paris, and *De l'infinito, universo, et mondi*, printed in London, but falsely bearing the name of Venice. He had never himself noticed anything in Bruno contrary to sound religion and morality, but in consequence of a request made to him by Mocenigo, he had made enquiries at Frankfort at Easter last past (1595), and there found that he was thought little of, that his system of memory had never given satisfaction, and that, as to religion, he was believed to have none whatsoever. Ciotto was not aware that Bruno had been arrested.

The next witness called was the bookseller, James Berchtan, of Antwerp. He had first met Bruno about three years before, at Frankfort, when, knowing him by some of his works, he had sought his acquaintance. He had afterwards met him at Zurich. He had never noticed anything about him contrary to religion or morality; but the Carmelite Prior at Frankfort had told him that he believed him to be a man destitute of any religion. Bruno lived by giving lessons, and was regarded as eccentric, not devoid of talents or information, but given to the pursuit of chimeras and new devices in astrology. He knew of no intimate friends of Bruno at Venice. He had seen several of his works, including the *Cantus Circæus* and a book on *Memory*,† both printed at Paris, and that *De specierum*

* The witness blundered over the name of the book, but in the end gave the title correctly enough to make identification possible.

† It seems uncertain what book he meant. The most probable appears to be that *De imaginum, signorum, et idearum compositione*, but that bears the name of Frankfort. In naming the third work, he may also have made a confusion with the *De lampade combinatoria Lulliana*, printed at Wittemberg.

scrutinis et lampade combinatoria, printed at Prague; but believed he had somewhere a complete list of Bruno's works, which, if he could find it, he would send to the Tribunal.

After this, there was brought forward a man of middling stature, with a dark brown beard, and apparently about forty years of age. He took an oath upon the Scriptures to speak the truth, and then immediately said, without waiting to be asked any question :

‘I will tell the truth. I have been threatened more than once with being brought to this Holy Office, but I always thought it was a joke, because I am perfectly ready to give an account of myself.’

In answer to questions, he said :

‘When I was at Frankfort last year I had two letters from John Mocenigo, a Venetian gentleman, inviting me to come to Venice. According to what he wrote me, he wanted me to teach him the mnemonic and inventive art. He told me he would treat me well, and that I should have nothing to complain of him. So I came here, some seven or eight months ago. Since then, I have taught him some rudiments of these two sciences. I lived first outside his house, and afterwards in it. As it seemed to me that I had done and taught to him as much as was needful, and as much as I owed him in respect of what he had asked from me, and was consequently turning my mind to go back to Frankfort in order to print some of my works, I asked his consent, on Thursday last, to my departure. When he heard this, he fancied that I wanted to leave his house so soon, not in order to go back to Frankfort, as I told him, but in order to give lessons to other persons in the same sciences which I had taught to him, and in others. He pressed upon me to stay. I remained quite determined to go. Thereupon he began to reproach me with not having taught him as much as I had promised, and next, to threaten me, by saying that if I would not stay willingly, he would find a way to keep me. The night of the next day (that is, the Friday), when the said Ser John saw that I persisted in my intention of leaving, that I had already settled my affairs, and that I had made arrangements about sending my things to Frankfort, he came

to me after I was in bed, under the pretext of wishing to speak to me. When he came into my room he was followed by his own servant, whose name is Bartolo, and by about five or six other men, who were, to the best of my belief and judgment, gondoliers from the street. They made me get out of bed, and took me to a garret, where they locked me in. Ser John said that if I would stay and teach him the elements of the recollection of words, and the elements of geometry, as he had asked of me before, he would set me at liberty, but that if not, something very disagreeable would happen to me. I continued to answer him that I thought I had taught him as much and more than I needed, and that I had done nothing to deserve such treatment. He left me there till next day, when there came a captain and some men, whom I did not know. He made them take me downstairs into an underground cellar in the same house, and there they left me until the night. Then there came another captain and his officers; and they brought me to the prisons of this Holy Office. I believe I have been brought here by the work of the said Ser John, who has made some denunciation here against me, because he was irritated by what I said to him.'

Asked as to his name, family, occupation, etc., he said :

'My name is Giordano*. I am of the family of the Bruni, of the city of Nola, twelve miles from Naples, and was born and brought up there. My profession has been and is that of letters, and of every science. My father's name was John, and he was a soldier by profession. My mother's name was Fraulissa Savolina. They are both dead.'

In reply to further questions, he said :

'I am about 44 years of age. From what I have heard from my relations, I believe I was born in the year 1548. I was sent to Naples to learn Humanities, Logic, and Dialectics. I

* *Giordano* ('Jordan') was the new name which he took when he entered the Dominican Order. His baptismal name, as he afterwards stated, was Philip. The family name *Bruno*, is, as need hardly be remarked, the same as *Brown*. Hence he would be called in English simply Philip or Jordan Brown.

used to hear the public lectures of a man who was called "il Sarnese," and I had private lessons in Logic from an Augustinian Father called Fra Theofilo, of Verrano, the same that taught Metaphysics afterwards at Rome. When I was about 14 or 15 years old, I took the habit of St. Dominic, in the monastery or convent of San Domenico, at Naples. I was clothed by a Father who was then Prior of the convent, and whose name was Master Ambrose Pasqua. When the year of probation was over I was admitted to solemn profession by the same Prior, in the same convent. I believe that no one else professed along with me except a lay brother. I was afterwards raised to Holy Orders, and to the Priesthood, at the proper times. I sang my first Mass at Campagna, a city of the same kingdom, at a distance from Naples, being then in a convent of the same order, called St. Bartholomew's. I continued to wear the habit of the Order of St. Dominic, to celebrate Mass and the Divine offices, and to obey the Priors of the monasteries and convents where I was, until the year 1576. That was the year after the Jubilee. I was then at Rome in the convent of the Minerva, under Master Sixtus, of Lucca, the Proctor of the Order. (I had gone there to report myself, because proceedings had been twice begun against me at Naples. The first time was for having given away some figures and images of Saints, and kept nothing but a crucifix, for which I was accused of despising the images of the Saints. The other time was for having said to a novice who was reading an history of the Seven Joys in verse, What did he want to do with that book? But to throw it away, and take to reading some other book such as the Lives of the Fathers. These proceedings were renewed when I went to Rome, along with other accusations which I do not know.) On account of this I left the Order and gave up wearing the habit. I went to Noli in the territory of Genoa, and there I lived for four or five months by teaching grammar to boys.'

This closed the first examination of Bruno. Nothing was done upon the two succeeding days, Wednesday and Thursday, May 27 and 28. Upon the Friday, Mocenigo addressed a fresh denunciation to the Inquisitor. This third denunciation

contains an offer to swear to its truth, but there is no indication that such an oath was ever administered. It is remarkable, as being the only one which makes an imputation of immorality. It is as follows:—

‘As your Very Rev. Fatherhood has charged me to call to mind carefully whatever I have heard said by Giordano Bruno against our Catholic religion,—(I remember having heard him say—besides the things which I have written already—that the usages of the Church are not those of the Apostles, for that the Apostles converted people by their preaching and the example of their good lives, but that now-a-days anyone who does not wish to be a Catholic has to meet chastisement and punishment, for they use compulsion, and not love,—that this world cannot go on as it is, because no religion is good, but only ignorance,—that Catholicism pleases him much better than the others, but that even it has need of great changes, and is not well as it now is,—but that soon, very soon, the world will see itself reformed, for that such corruptions cannot go on, and that he hopes great things of the King of Navarre,—and that the reason why he was in an hurry to publish his works, and to get himself some reputation in this way, was that he hoped that, when the time came, he might be a commander—and that he should not always remain poor, because he should get some of other people’s hoards. He said to me moreover, touching the ignorance which prevails at the present day and which is greater than any which the world has seen before, that there are people who boast of knowing more than was ever known before, for they say that they know something which they do not understand, namely, that God is One and Three, which thing is impossible, ignorant, and extremely blasphemous against the Majesty of God.

‘I told him to hold his peace, and to please to be quick with what he had to do for me, for that as I was a Catholic and he was worse than a Lutheran, I could not bear with him. To that he said:—“Oh, you will see how you will profit by your belief.” And then he laughed and said to me [as a jest]:—“Wait for the Day of Judgment, when all will rise again, and then you will see at once the reward of your merit.”

‘Another time, he said to me that, as he thought this Republic extremely wise in other things, it was impossible that it could stultify itself by leaving the friars so rich, and that they ought to do as they have done in France, where the noblemen enjoy the incomes of the monasteries, and the friars eat a little broth, which is a good thing, for everybody who becomes a friar now-a-days is an ass, and to let them enjoy so much property is a sin.

‘Besides this, he told me that he was very fond of women, although his collection had not yet reached the number of Solomon’s; and that the Church was very wrong to make a fault of a thing which is so useful to nature, and which he thought a very good work.

‘This is all that I can remember having heard him say, besides what I have written already.

I assure your Very Rev. Fatherhood, on my oath, that it is all perfectly true . . .

‘I send also one of the said Giordano’s books, in which I have marked a bad passage. . . .’

On the following morning (Saturday, May 30,) Bruno was again brought before the Inquisitor with whom sat the Auditor of the Papal Nuncio, and the Lay Assessor, Aloysius Foscari. He was again sworn to speak the truth, and in reply to further questions as to his past life, said—

‘I remained at Noli, as I have already said, for more than four months, teaching grammar to little boys and the globe (*sfera*) to some gentlemen. After this I left Noli, and went to Savona, where I stayed about 15 days. From Savona I came to Turin. I did not find anything to do there such as I sought, so I came to Venice down the Po. At Venice I lodged for a month and a half in the Frezzaria, in the house of some one employed in the Arsenal, whose name I do not know. While I was there I had a little book printed, called *Dei segni dei tempi*. I had it printed in order to get together a little money to live upon. I showed it first to the Rev. Fr. Mr. Remi, of Florence. From Venice I went to Padua, where I found certain Dominican Fathers whom I knew. They persuaded me to put on the habit again, although I did not mean to return

to the Order, because they thought that it would be easier for me to travel in the habit. I therefore went to Bergamo and got made for myself a cheap white stuff frock, over which I put the scapular which I had kept when I left Rome. Thus attired I started for Lyons. When I was at Chamberi, I went to lodge in the convent of the Order. There I found myself treated very coldly, and when I remarked upon this to an Italian Father who was there, he said—"Take notice that you will meet with no love in these parts, and the farther you go on, the less you will find." Upon this I changed my course and went to Geneva, where I put up at an inn. Soon afterwards, the Marquis of Vico, a Neapolitan who was staying in the city, asked me who I was and if I had come there to embrace the religion of that city. I told him who I was, and why I had left the Order, and I said I had no intention of embracing the religion of that city, because I did not know what religion it was, and that I wanted to remain there in order to live in freedom and to be safe, more than for anything else. He persuaded me in any case to drop the habit which I wore, and I took the cloth, and had made for myself a pair of shoes and other things, and the Marquis and other Italians gave me a sword, an hat, a cloak, and other needful clothes, and got me work at correcting proof-sheets. I did this for about two months, during which I sometimes went to the preachings and sermons both of Italians and Frenchmen, who lectured and preached in the city. Among others, I attended several times at the lectures and sermons of Nicolas Balbani, of Lucca, who was lecturing upon the Epistles of St. Paul and preaching upon the Gospels. (However, when they told me that I could not continue to stay there if I would not embrace the religion of the city, and that otherwise I should have no help from them, I made up my mind to leave, and went to Lyons. At Lyons I stayed a month, and, as I could find no means of gaining my livelihood, I went thence to Toulouse, where there is a famous University. At Toulouse I met with some intelligent people and was asked to lecture upon the globe (*sfera*) to divers students. These lectures, and others upon philosophy, I gave for about six months. The ordinary Chair of Philo-

sophy became vacant. It is given by competitive examination, and, as I had obtained my affiliation as an M.A., I entered for the competition and obtained the place.* I lectured at Toulouse for more than two years upon Aristotle *De Anima*, and other philosophical subjects. After this, in consequence of the Civil Wars, I left and went to Paris. There I began to give a course of lectures extraordinary, for the purpose of making myself known. They were thirty in number and were upon the Thirty Divine Attributes, taken from the First Part of St. Thomas [Aquinas]. I was then asked to take an ordinary lectureship, but here I stopped and would not take it, because the Public Lecturers of Paris go regularly to Mass and other Divine Services, which is a thing which I have always avoided doing, knowing that I had incurred excommunication by leaving my Order and dropping the habit. At Toulouse I held an ordinary lectureship, but was not obliged [to attend Mass] as I should have been at Paris if I had accepted an ordinary lectureship there. By my lectures extraordinary, I acquired such a name that King Henry III. sent for me one day, and asked me if the memory which I had was natural or due to magic. I satisfied him and showed him for himself by what I said and did, that it was not magic but science. After this I caused print a book upon *memory*, intituled *De Umbris idearum*, which I dedicated to His Majesty, who upon this occasion appointed me a salaried lecturer extraordinary.† I went on accordingly giving lectures at Paris, for something like five years. After this, on account

* Professor Gaggia expresses great doubt as to the truth of this assertion.

† The language used by Bruno regarding Henry III. is an interesting specimen of that which he was prepared to employ towards the great when there was anything to be obtained from them. 'A King so high-minded, so great and so mighty, that from the noblest centre of Europe's heart the fame of his glory rolls in thunder-peals around the uttermost poles of the earth. When, like a lion in his lofty cavern, he roars in anger, he strikes dread and deadly terror into all the other mighty hunters of the forest. When he lays him down and is at rest, he diffuses around him such a breath of liberal and kindly love, as kindles the neighbouring zones, warms the icy Bear, and melts the rigour of the Arctic deserts which lie for ever under the guardianship of the fierce Bootes.' (Cited by Gaggia. *Giordano Bruno*, p. 16.)

of the disturbances which had arisen, I asked leave to go, and went to England with letters from the King to his ambassador in London, M. Michel de Castelnau de la Mauvissière. I stayed in England in his house for two years and an half, without any employment except that of being a sort of gentleman in waiting upon him. During this time I never went to Mass either in his house or outside it, for the reason which I have already stated. When this ambassador returned to France, I went back with him to Paris, and there I stayed about a year, in the society of gentlemen whom I knew, but living mostly at my own expense. I left Paris once more on account of the disturbances, and went into Germany, to Mez or Maintz,* which is the seat of an Archbishop, who is the first Elector of the Empire. There I stayed about 12 days, but as I could not find either there or at Wurzburg, which is not far distant, such treatment as I wanted, (I went to Wittemberg in Saxony. There I found that there were two factions, one composed of Calvinistic Philosophers, and the other of Lutheran Theologians, among the former of whom was the Professor of Law, Alberigo Gentile, whom I had known in England. He favoured me, and enabled me to lecture upon the *Organon* of Aristotle. This I did, along with other lectures upon philosophy, for two years. In the meanwhile the old Duke, who was a Calvinist, was succeeded by his grandson, and the father [of the new Duke], who was a Lutheran, began to show favour to the party opposite to that which favoured me.) I therefore left Wittemberg and went to Prague, where I stayed six months, and had printed a book upon Geometry,†

* It was on his way to Maintz that he stopped at Marburg, and had himself put down on the Matriculation Roll. Fr. Previti suggests that the 'Mez' of the MS. may possibly stand for 'Mar,' but the present writer confesses he thinks that it is more likely to indicate 'Maintz' and that Bruno had either forgotten his visit to Marburg or thought it unworthy of mention: the word which is represented above by 'Maintz' is 'Magonza' and it is possible that the passage ought to be read 'Maintz *alias* Magonza,' Bruno giving both the German and the Italian names of the place.

† It is the *Jordani Brunii Nolani CLX articuli adversus hujus tempestatis Mathematicos atque Philosophos*,

which I dedicated to the Emperor, who gave me 300 thalers. With this sum I went on to Brunswick, where I remained a year at the Academia Julia. During that time the Duke died, and his grandson who succeeded him, gave me 80 scudi (of those parts) for a funeral speech which I composed upon him in competition with many other members of the University. Thereupon I left Brunswick and went to Frankfort, in order to get two books printed, one, *De triplici minimo et mensura*, and the other, *De monade, numero, et figura*. At Frankfort I lodged for about six months in the Carmelite Convent, which was the place assigned to me by the printer, who was bound to find me lodging. From Frankfort I came to Venice, seven or eight months ago, as I stated in my last deposition, upon the invitation of the Ser John Mocenigo; and those things have since taken place which I have related in my last deposition; and I was going to Frankfort again from here in order to get other works of mine printed, and one in especial upon the Seven Liberal Arts, with the intention of taking these and some others of my printed works, both those which I [still] approve, and some that I do not approve, and going to present myself at the feet of His Blessedness [the Pope], of whom I have heard say that he loves the learned, and explaining my case to him, and trying to obtain leave to live as a clergyman outside my Order. When the Chapter of the Order was held here lately, attended by many Fathers from Naples, I spoke about this to some of them, and in particular to Father Dominic of Nocera, the Master of Studies, to Father Serafino of Nocera, to Friar John, as to whom I do not know whence he comes except that he is from the Kingdom of Naples, and to another who himself left the Order but who has taken the habit again, he is from Atripalda, I do not know his name, but in the Order he said he was called Friar Felix. Besides these Fathers, I have spoken on the subject to the Ser John Mocenigo, who promised to help me in anything that was good.

Asked what he meant by works of his own which he did not now approve, Bruno replied that in some of his printed works he had not spoken from a sufficiently Christian standpoint, but too much from that of a mere philosopher, and improperly

(*dishonestamente*), and, in particular, that he had treated of things which Christianity teaches us to ascribe to the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, too exclusively upon the grounds of reason, and not of faith. For particular cases he referred to his works, not being able to recall any one point at the moment, but would answer to the best of his power any questions which might be put to him.

This closed the second day of Bruno's examination. The next day (Sunday) the Inquisitor met Fr. Dominic of Nocera, and asked him to send in a written statement, which he did. It entirely confirms the statement of Bruno as to the conversation which had passed between them. On the Tuesday (June 2) the accused was brought up for the third time. There were present, besides the Inquisitor, the Patriarch of Venice, the Papal Nuncio, and the Lay Assessor Sebastian Barbadico. Bruno was again sworn, and the examination was continued.

Asked for an account of his works, he gave in a written list of them, and stated that they had all been composed by him except the last (*De Sigillis Hermetis et aliorum*), which was a mere transcript from a MS. He admitted that nearly all of his books, including all those purporting to be printed at Venice and some at Paris or elsewhere, had really been printed in England, and said that this had been done by advice of the printer, who thought it would get them a better sale. He continued, in reply to further questions, that his books treated of divers matters, as might be seen from their titles, but that, speaking generally, they were purely philosophical. Being therefore written from a point of view entirely natural, and from which the question of revelation was expressly excluded for the sake of argument, he believed that there was nothing in them which could be taken to be an attack upon religion, although, for the reason above expressed, there were things in them which were in themselves incompatible with revealed doctrine.

The examination now enters upon the stage of Bruno's doctrine. This is particularly interesting. There does not, indeed, seem to be any divergence of opinion as to the real

nature of what is often called the Nolan Philosophy, among those who have taken the trouble to look into it, whether they be the admirers or the opponents of Bruno. The only difference between them is whether the opinions in question are true or not. All are agreed that Bruno's doctrine is not only Pantheism, but Pantheism of so low a form as to be, to any plain man's mind, practically indistinguishable from Atheism. 'His own works,' says his opponent, Professor Gaggia, 'are the most striking proof that the opinions of Bruno are not only (to use the words of Berti) irreconcilable with any dogmatic Christian teaching, but also, as I will add, with any religion.

. . . Call Brunism what you like—Monism, Pantheism, Panmonotheism, Objective Realism, Objective Idealism, Emanationism, Immanism—I call it plainly the Negation of God, of that God, I mean, of whom I first heard at my mother's knee.' 'To him,' says his ardent admirer, Stiavelli, 'all religions were beasts to be rid of.' A kind of obscurity is, however, sometimes introduced by the fact that he occasionally uses, under protest, and in a sort of allegorical sense, terms drawn from the vocabulary of Theism or of Christianity. Thus, by the term 'God' or 'God the Father' he meant the *material universe*;* by 'God the Son,' *intelligence*; by 'God the Holy Ghost,' *love*; by 'Providence,' *the fixed laws of nature*; by 'the soul,' *vitality*, in the sense in which (as he remarks in his book *De Causa, &c.*) it may be predicated equally of a man or of a sea-weed. And so on. Bruno was now to explain this system to the Inquisition, and, limited as is the space here at the disposal of the present writer, it is impossible to do the accused any justice without quoting him at some length.

Asked whether he had ever, either publicly or privately in his lectures in different places, taught, held, or maintained anything contrary to the Catholic faith according to the terms of the Roman Church, he replied by again drawing a distinction between (a) his own teaching, which he asserted to be orthodox to the best of his belief, (b) his statements as matters of historical fact as to what were the opinions of others, and

* He prefers the term 'Jove,' if something of the kind was to be used.

(c) philosophical contentions in discussions in which the hypothesis of revelation was, for the sake of argument, formally set aside for the time being. He referred to his works, and then continued :

‘ I hold the existence of an Infinite Universe, or effect of the Infinite Divine Power, because I think that it would be a thing unworthy of the Divine goodness and power, that, being able to produce a world other than this, and infinite others, it should have produced only a finite world. I have taught the existence of infinite particular worlds like this world of the Earth, which I, along with Pythagoras, understand to be a planet, such as are the moon, the other planets, and the other stars, which are infinite [in number], and that all these bodies are worlds, and countless, and which therefore constitute the Infinite Universe in Infinite Space, and this I call the Universal Infinite, in which are innumerable worlds, in such a way that there is a double kind of Infinity of greatness in the Universe and of multiplicity of worlds ; and by this is understood* (*s'intende*), a denial of the truth (*repugnata la verità*) according to faith. Moreover, I place in this Universe an Universal Providence by the power whereof everything lives, grows, moves, and attains its perfection ; this I understand in two ways : first, in the same way in which the soul is present in the body in all and every part, and this I call Nature, a shadow and trace of the Divinity ; and secondly, in that unspeakable way in which God, by His essence, presence, and power, is in everything and over everything, not as a part, not as a soul, but inexplicably. Moreover in common with the theologians and greatest philosophers, I understand that in the Divinity all the attributes are one and the same thing. I understand three

* This seems to refer to a statement at the beginning of his answer that it had been ‘judged at Paris’ that some of his philosophical theses were repugnant to faith. It will be observed that he avoids stating that any difficulty about two co-extensive Infinities had ever occurred to himself, which could only have been the case supposing the existence of an Infinite other than that consisting in a material universe. But this explanation was, naturally enough, not one which he pressed upon the attention of the Inquisition.

attributes, Power, Wisdom, and Goodness—or Mind, Intelligence, and Love. Thereby things have, first, being, by reason of the mind; then, ordered and distinct being, by reason of the intelligence; and thirdly, harmony and symmetry by reason of love, which I understand to be in all and above all, since nothing which is has not being, just as nothing which is beautiful has not beauty, and as in the Divine Being there is nothing absent, and thus, by way of reason and not by way of substantial truth, I understand distinction in the Divinity. Believing that in this sense the world is a thing produced by a cause, I understood that being is in all points dependent upon the first cause, so that I did not shrink from speaking of “creation,” by which I understand with Aristotle that God is that Being on whom the world, along with all Nature, depends, so that, according to the explanation of St. Thomas [Aquinas], whether it be eternal or whether it be temporal, it is by its very nature dependent upon the first cause, and there is nothing independent in it. Then to come to speak of each of the Divine Persons, not philosophically but as to that which belongs to faith, I, standing within the limits of philosophy, have not understood, but have doubted, and have held with wavering faith, that Wisdom and Son of the Mind, Whom philosophers call *Intelligence* and theologians *the Word*, Whom one ought to believe to have taken human flesh: not that I remember ever having given any sign of such [doubt] either in writing or by word, unless it be that anyone have ever gathered it indirectly from my tone or from any statement of mine as to what can be proved by reason and concluded by the light of nature. Thus also as regards the Divine Spirit as a Third Person, I have not been able to understand it as one ought to believe it, but according to the Pythagorean manner conformable to that which Solomon shows, I have understood it to be the Soul of the Universe, or present throughout the Universe, as saith the Wisdom of Solomon (I., 7), “The Spirit of the Lord filleth the world, and that which containeth all things,” which is quite conformable with the Pythagorean doctrine) expressed by Virgil in the *Æneid*:—

Principio cœlum, et terras, camposque liquentes,
 Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra
 Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per arctus
 Mens agitat molem.

And so on. From this Spirit, which is called the Life of the Universe, I understand in my philosophy that life and soul come to everything which has soul and life, which I understand to be immortal, as all also are immortal with regard to the matter (*substantia*) of their bodies, since death is only a redistribution of elements, a doctrine which seems to be expressed by the Ecclesiastes, where he says "There is no new thing under the sun. . . . The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be," and the rest.'

Question.—'As a matter of fact, has deponent held, and does he hold, and believe in the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, One in Being but distinct in Persons, as has been taught and believed by the Catholic Church?'

Answer.—'Speaking as a Christian, and according to Theology, and to what every faithful Christian and Catholic ought to believe, I have, as a matter of fact, doubted as to the [giving of the] name of Person to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, not understanding that these two Persons are distinct from the Father, otherwise than in the way which I have already expressed speaking philosophically, and taking the Intelligence of the Father to be the Son, and the Love, the Holy Ghost, without recognising the term "Person," of which St. Augustine says that it was not old but new, and of his own day; and this opinion I have held since I was eighteen years of age until now; but, as a matter of fact I have never denied, taught, nor written, but only doubted in my own mind, as I have said.'

Asked whether he had believed with the Catholic Church as concerns the First Person, or had ever doubted concerning Him, he answered:—'I have believed and held undoubtingly all that a faithful Christian ought to believe and hold concerning the First Person.' In answer to further questions he answered that he had held the Second and Third Persons to be really One in Being with the First, because, being undivided in Being they cannot suffer inequality, and all the attributes which

belong to the Father belong also to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. He continued that he had doubted how the Second Person had taken flesh and had suffered, but had never said so, except as stating what other people had thought, as, for instance, Arius. This, he suspected, had been one of the things written about him to Rome in 1576. He remembered also having explained what he believed to have really been the doctrines of Arius, at Venice.

The Court here adjourned. When the examination was resumed, the extremely small interest taken in the prisoner and the proceedings is evidenced by the fact that all the Inquisitor's companions had deserted him: the Lay Assessor, Barbadico, had given leave to go on in his absence, and the Nuncio was represented by his Auditor, and the Patriarch by his Vicar. Bruno, again asked whether he had ever said or written anything contrary to the Catholic Religion, or directly or indirectly opposing the Holy See, replied by repeating the same distinction as before with regard to the different elements in his works.

Asked as to the Incarnation, he replied, as before, that he had doubted as to how it had been, but had never written, and did not remember ever having said, anything about it. Farther interrogated, he again professed his belief in the Trinity, but his objections to the word 'Person,' citing the words of Augustine, '*Cum formidine proferimus hoc nomen personæ, quando loquimur de divinis, et necessitate coacti utimur.*'

Asked what, since he had doubted concerning the Incarnation, he had thought of Christ; he replied:—'I have thought that the Divinity of the Word was present with (*assistesse à*) the humanity of Christ indivisibly,* and I have not been able to understand that the union was like that of body and soul, but a presence such that it could be truly said of the man that he was God, and of the Divinity, that It was man, and this by reason of the fact that between infinite and Divine being, and finite and human being, there is no such proportion as there is

* It is needless to point out that if 'God' simply means 'matter,' the same thing might be said of a dog or of a stone.

between soul and body or any other two things which can constitute a common subsistent, and this is, I believe, the reason why St. Augustine (in some place which I cannot at this moment call to mind) expresses a dislike to the application of the word "Person" to this case. In short, as to my doubts upon the Incarnation, I believe I have wavered concerning the ineffable mode of the same, but not as against the Scripture, which says, "And the Word was made flesh," or the Creed [which says] "And He was incarnate," etc.'

Asked to speak more clearly, he answered that his doubt about the Incarnation had been whether it was theologically tenable that the Divinity was with the Humanity otherwise than by way of presence, (*modo di assistentia*) without thereby intending anything against the Divinity of Christ, or of that Divine Thing (*supposito*) Which is called Christ.

Asked what his belief was upon the miracles, actions, and death of Christ, he answered as to the miracles only. The reply is consistent with orthodoxy, and includes the statement that they were 'divine, true, real, and not sham (*apparenti*), and that he had never thought, spoken, or believed otherwise.'

Asked as to Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass, he professed the most unswerving and complete faith in both. He said he had not gone to Mass, from reverence, fearing to present himself there in his state of excommunication, although he had attended other services, such as Vespers, and sermons: that he had not only abstained from receiving the Communion with Calvinists, Lutherans, etc., but even from speaking with them on this subject, from which they had been led into the error of thinking that he was a man without any religion.

Asked if he had ever said that Christ was not God, but an evildoer, who could easily foretell from his own acts what his end would be, and who made it clear enough that he died against his will—Bruno denied vehemently that he had ever thought or said such things, and repeated several times with signs of great distress, that he could not imagine how they could ever have been ascribed to him.

Asked as to the Motherhood of the Blessed Virgin, he answered that he had always held that Christ 'was conceived

by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,' and was ready to bear any punishment if he could be found to have said or held the contrary.

Asked as to Confession and Absolution, he replied:—'I know that the Sacrament of Penance has been ordained to purge away our sins, and never, never, never, have I spoken of this matter, and I have always held that whoever dies in mortal sin is damned.' Further questioned, he said:—'During sixteen years I have only tried to go to confession twice. Once was to a priest at Toulouse. The other time was to another priest at Paris, when I was in communication with the Bishop of Bergamo, who was then nuncio there, and with Don Bernardino da Mendoza, about going back into my Order. And they told me that they could not absolve me, because I was an apostate, and that I could not go to the Divine Offices. And that was why I did not confess or go to Mass. But I meant some day to get myself free from these censures, and to live as a Christian and a friar. And whenever I have sinned I have asked the Lord God to forgive me. And I would gladly have gone to confession if I had been able. For I have never had any doubts about this Sacrament, nor about any of the others. And I firmly believe that unrepentant sinners are damned and go to hell.'

Asked whether he believed the soul to be immortal, and in the transmigration of souls, as the Inquisition had been informed, he answered that he believed in the immortality of the soul, and explained the sense in which he had discussed the transmigration of souls from a purely philosophical stand-point.*

* Some of his classical passages regarding the soul and the doctrine of transmigration are in the *Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo*, whence they are cited by Prof. Gaggia (*Giordano Bruno*, p. 27). Thus he says, for example, that since all things palpable, whether men, beasts, vegetables, or anything else, do not differ from one another essentially but only incidentally, and that nothing in the Universe can be annihilated or can undergo any change beyond a re-arrangement of its component elements (such as is consequent upon death), the doctrine of metempsychosis, that is, of the passage of the spirit into another body, begins to present itself to his mind in a favourable and probable light.

Asked if he had studied Theology, he answered that he had done so but little, his pursuits being almost entirely philosophical.

Asked if he had spoken evil of Theologians, he answered that he had perhaps spoken disapprovingly of some Protestant Theologians, but never of orthodox Catholic Theologians, whom he had always esteemed, 'especially St. Thomas [Aquinas], whose works I have always kept by me, read, studied, and held very dear.'

Asked what he meant by 'heretical theologians,' he answered, all who profess to be theologians but do not agree with the Church of Rome.

Asked if he had read any books of such, and, if so, what, he answered that he had read books by Melancthon, Luther, Calvin, and others, out of curiosity, but had never kept them by him (being formally anti-Catholic) as he had kept books of other condemned writers, such as Raymond Lullio. He proceeded to speak with great contempt of the Protestant writers, and to praise the Catholic, 'especially St. Thomas, whom I have always esteemed and loved as my own soul,' and he refers to his own work *De Monade, etc.*

Question.—'Then why did you dare to say that the Catholic Faith is full of blasphemy, and that it is of no merit in the sight of God?'

Answer.—'I have never said anything of the sort, either in writing, word, or thought.'

Question.—'How many things are necessary for salvation?'

Answer.—'Faith, Hope, and Charity.'

Question.—'Are good works necessary for salvation? Or is it enough not to do unto others as we would not that they should do unto us, and to lead a moral life?'

Answer.—'I have always held and do hold that good works are necessary for salvation.' He proceeded to cite his book *De causa, etc.*, and especially the following passage upon justification by Faith only:—'Those kinds of religionists who teach the people to believe in faith, without works, which are the end of all religions, are more worthy to be extirpated from the earth than serpents, dragons, or other beasts which are

poisonous to mankind, because, if people are savage, such faith makes them more savage still, and, if they are naturally good, it makes them become bad.' He proceeded to impugn the employment of the word 'religion' to indicate systems teaching Justification by Faith only, after which he made the well-worn pleasantry of calling the *Reformation* the *Deformation*.

He was then questioned as to what he was alleged to have said regarding the religious Orders, and the imminent necessity of a General Reformation. All this he denied absolutely, asserting that some of the statements were actually contrary to the things which he had really said, and expressing surprise that they should be imputed to him.

The examination then passed to the opinions which he was said to have expressed against religious persecution. These also he denied, appealing to his published works.

The reply is very important in view of the astonishing fact that Bruno's admirers very often call him a Martyr to the principle of liberty of thought. He said:—

'It is true that I remember having said that the Apostles did more by their preaching, their good life, their example, and their miracles, than can be done now by force, but not in the sense of thereby denying any remedy such as the Holy Church uses against heretics and bad Christians, as I have said above, and shown in my book, when I say that it behoves to extirpate those who, under pretext of Religion or Reformation, take away works; and you may judge by many other places in my works whether I have blamed or do blame such remedies and the proceeding to due chastisement against the stubborn.'

Asked whether he had ever said that the miracles of Christ and His Apostles were shams performed by magic, and that he himself had only to choose to do so, in order to do the same and more, and make all the world run after him, he raised his hands and cried:—'What is this? Who has ever accused me of such devilries? I have never said or dreamt such a thing. O God! what is this? I would rather have died than that such things should be said to me.'

Asked whether he had used the expressions 'You will see how you will profit by your belief,' and 'Wait for the Day of

Judgment, and then you will see at once the reward of your merit,' he denied vehemently, appealing to his published works to show the absurdity of attributing them to him.

Asked as to the sexual act outside of marriage, he expressed regret for having said thoughtlessly in worldly company that simple fornication was next door to a venial sin. The other sayings attributed to him on these matters he either denied or explained. It is noteworthy that no more questions upon such topics were addressed to the author of the *Candelajo*.*

* Professor Gaggia, of Brescia, in a published lecture, gives references to Bruno's printed works, showing that his advocacy of views such as are above indicated had not been by any means confined to expressions used 'thoughtlessly, in worldly company,' and of Bruno's great dramatic work, the *Candelajo*, he says:—'I confess that I have read this shameful comedy. I read it because it was my duty to read it. But my eyes sometimes rebelled against the task, and my soul felt oppressed and frightened as if a legion of evil spirits were assailing it. The foulest obscenity of the gutter overflows in every part of it. He has lavished the most loathsome filth upon it. Without the wit and grace with which Machiavelli bedizens the indecencies of his *Mandragola*, without any of the sparkling dialogue of Pietro d' Arezzo or of Ariosto, Bruno has gathered out of these authors everything which he could find in them in the shape of cold-blooded lewdness, and collected it together with what he himself calls a deuce of a power of talking dirt (*latrinesco*) enough to make heaven sick.' (*Giordano Bruno*, pp. 40, 41, 12). *Il Candelajo* was published at Paris in 1582, but many think that it was written much earlier: some even attributing it to the period when he was exercising the Priesthood at Naples. It is dedicated to 'the lady Morgana,' and it has been conjectured with much probability that the name of the enchantress veils the identity of some Neapolitan woman his relations with whom formed the turning-point of his career. This comedy, taken along with the language which he elsewhere employs concerning women, and of which Professor Gaggia gives an interesting collection (although there is one word which comes between 'cesso' and 'carogna' which he can only represent by . . .) throws a striking light upon the attitude adopted towards them by a man (!) who, like all others, had had a mother. The word *Candelajo* itself will not be found in any ordinary Italian Dictionary, and has a peculiar meaning which it is not necessary here to give.

Are we, or are we not, to believe that when Mesdames C. Oppenheim and Ashurst-Venturi gave their names to appear publicly as promoting the monument to Bruno, they knew what was his attitude and language in relation to their sex?

The Court then addressed him very gravely, pointing out to him that his career had been such as to make it not incredible that he had said and held more than he had now admitted, such as—and here they read him a sort of catena of statements attributed to him by Mocenigo, though of course without giving the name of the latter. Hence they entreated him most seriously to look into himself, and to be perfectly honest and thorough in his statements, assuring him of their desire to treat him with all the tenderness which they could conscientiously use, having regard to the good of his own soul. They warned him, however, that if he persisted in denying facts of the truth of which the Court had conclusive evidence, he would be liable to be treated as impenitent. To this Bruno answered:

‘So may God forgive me my sins as I have spoken the truth on everything I have been asked, as far as my memory served me. Still, for my greater contentment and satisfaction, I will think again over all that I have ever done, and if I remember anything that I may have said or done against the Christian and Catholic Faith, I will own it freely. I protest that I have spoken what is just and true, and will so speak in the future, and I trust that I shall never be convicted of acting otherwise.’

Thus ended by far the longest and most important day of the trial of Giordano Bruno before the Venetian Inquisition. It is at first sight rather puzzling to understand why he admitted so much, even making allowance for the alarm which he may now have been beginning to feel, and for the possibility of some emotions of regret at his past life, such as are perhaps evidenced by his two attempts to go to confession when in France. The difficulty of explaining his conduct especially applies to those passages in his deposition where he states, as it were gratuitously, that he had had mental doubts upon certain points, but could not remember ever having before expressed them. The true solution is perhaps to be found in the fact that he must have been very much in the dark as to what the Tribunal really knew concerning his opinions and practices, either by acquaintance with his works, or by the evidence of witnesses. It is well to remember, that

in Mocenigo's second denunciation, he states that Bruno had said to him 'that he did not remember ever having said anything wrong to him (Mocenigo), and that, even if he had, *it had not been in the presence of witnesses*, and that consequently he had no ground for fearing that he could do him any harm on that score.' We find him denying a good deal outright. The answers in some cases certainly seem to point to Mocenigo's having misunderstood or misinterpreted him. As to others, the reader will perhaps be able to form his own opinion as to which of the two is the most likely to have been lying. A good deal more, Bruno explained in a more or less satisfactory manner. As to the last class of admissions—those of mental doubts, never before expressed, as far as he could remember—he may have calculated that the Inquisition either would or would not know from other sources whether he had broached these doctrines or not: if they were to know that he had, he could then represent his present denial of the fact as merely a failure of memory; if they did not, he could not have damaged himself much by the avowal: and in either case, he would be able to claim the credit of honesty and straightforwardness. Finally, he covered everything with profuse, solemn, and repeated protestations of regret for the past, and of desire and intention of amendment for the future. The whole picture is certainly not an agreeable one to contemplate.

On the next day, Wednesday, June 3rd, he had to compare again, now for the fourth time. The entire indifference felt concerning him and his whole case, was again manifested by the Lay Assessor, Barbadico, sending permission to go on in his absence, and by the Nuncio and Patriarch being represented by their Auditor and Vicar, respectively.

Bruno was now asked if he had been able to think of anything more to say, and everything he had already deposed was carefully read over to him. When this vast task was completed, he said he remembered having been entirely indifferent to all Church regulations, as to Days of Fasting and Abstinence, etc., having simply done in this respect as his

companions for the time being had done, and often not even knowing what day or season it was.

Asked what he thought of such rules, he answered that he thought them godly and holy, and 'so God help him' he had never broken them out of mere contempt. He added that he had attended Protestant services from curiosity more than taste, and had always gone away 'when the hour came for them to distribute the bread after the manner of their Supper.' The Court remarked that this seemed hardly probable,* considering his conformity in other things; but he maintained his statement.

He continued, that he wished to explain what he had meant by saying that he had had doubts as to the Incarnation. He had, he said, never doubted that Christ was the Son of God, and born of the Blessed ever-Virgin Mary, nor anything else regarding His Person, and certainly had never expressed any such doubt, but, to relieve his conscience, he had said that he had doubted as to the Incarnation, and feared he had failed to express himself clearly. He now wished to explain that his doubt had been whether the disproportion between the Infinite and Divine and the finite and human was not such as to render impossible their union in one hypostasis (*supposito*) as soul and body make one man, and that consequently the union must have been by a presence of the Divinity with the Humanity (*che la Divinità assistesse all' umanità*), so that, when we speak of the Eternal Trinity, we must regard the Humanity as a Thing added, as the Abbat Joachim seemed to have understood. But that he did not mean to indicate a Quaternity, such as Joachim spoke of. And that in any case he accepted the teaching of 'our Holy Mother the Church.'

Asked whether his doctrine, thus explained, did not imply an Human [as well as a Divine] Personality in Christ, he admitted he saw this difficulty, and had only stated his teaching

* The Court seems here to have shown a curious guilelessness. The author of the *Candelajo* was not likely to have become a communicant of any church, nor, in especial, to have taken kindly to the social regulations of Geneva.

'to explain, and confess his error,' and would not have fallen into it if he had given the subject more thought.

As to other points, such as the Miracles of Christ and His Apostles, the Church, the Sacraments, the Religious Orders, and the sexual act, he iterated his former declarations, citing in support the testimony of his works.

Asked as to the creation of the human soul, and whether it is simply engendered from corruption, &c., he replied that he had only said such a thing as stating historically what had been the belief of Lucretius, Epicurus, &c.

Asked if he had ever kept a book of incantations, or leant to Divination, or the like, he answered that he had always despised such things, and never kept such books. The only thing concerning Divination was that, as he had told many persons, he had intended, out of curiosity, if he ever had leisure, to study [the branch of] judicial astrology [called Horary Questions] to see if there was anything in it.

Asked if he had ever said that the world was ruled by fate, and not by the Providence of God, he absolutely denied, appealing to the testimony of his works.

Asked if in his writings he had ever made mention of the 'Supper of Ashes' (*Cena delli Ceneri*), and what he meant by it*, he answered that he had published an astronomical book of that name, so called because it was based on his conversation with some doctors (*medici*) at a supper in the house of the French Ambassador in England, one Ash Wednesday; that there might be errors in the book, which he could not now remember; but that the main object of it was to turn the doctors and their opinions into ridicule.

Asked if he had praised heretics, he replied that he had praised some for their individual virtues, but admitted that he had done wrong in calling Queen Elizabeth *Divine* (*Diva*).

* *Query.* Were the authorities of the Inquisition really ignorant as to the nature of this book, *La Cena de le Ceneri*, printed in London (with a false statement of being printed at Paris) in 1584? Or did they merely ask this question in order to throw Bruno off his guard, by generating the idea that they knew less about his works than they really did?

Asked if he knew the King of Navarre, had great hopes of him, as to a General Reformation, &c., he answered that he did not know him; believed his profession of Protestantism to be insincere; hoped that, if he obtained the Crown of France, he might treat him as well as the last king had,—and denied the other points. He denied also that he had ever expressed the hope of becoming a soldier or being enriched with other men's goods.

Asked if he had anything more to say, he replied in the negative.

Asked if he now renounced his errors, he said:

'All the errors which I have committed up to this day in matters concerning the Catholic life, and the monastic profession to which I belong, and all the heresies which I have held, and the doubts which I have had concerning the Catholic Faith and concerning things determined by Holy Church, I do now renounce and abhor; and I repent of ever having done, held, said, believed, or doubted anything otherwise than as a Catholic; and I beseech this Sacred Tribunal, which knows my weakness, to be pleased to embrace me again within the bosom of Holy Church, and to provide me with remedies adapted for my salvation, and to treat me with mercy.'

He was then questioned as to the proceedings taken against him at Rome in 1576, but could tell nothing more, speaking again of the pictures of Saints, the book on the Joys of the Blessed Virgin, and the conversation on the doctrines of Arius. He said, however, that at Naples he had secretly kept and used a prohibited book of Erasmus upon St. John Chrysostom and St. Jerome, which he had heard had been found after his departure.

Lastly, in reply to a question, he stated his baptismal name.

The next day, June 4th, he appeared once more before the Inquisitor, who was now again accompanied by the Papal Nuncio, the Patriarch of Venice, and the Lay Assessor, Sebastian Barbadico. The whole of his depositions were read over to him again, and he was asked if there was anything which he wished to add, alter, or withdraw, but he replied in the negative, and confirmed the whole again upon oath. He

was next asked if he had anything more to say as to incantations and divination, and replied that there was nothing but the book which he had had copied at Padua, to use in connection with Judicial Astrology, but he had not read it, and did not know if there was anything in it except natural divination. He was then asked if he had at Venice any enemy or ill-wisher, and, if so, for what cause? He answered:—‘I hold no man here for my enemy, except John Mocenigo, and his followers and servants. He has wronged me more than any man living. He has stabbed (*assassinato*) me in my life, my honour, and my property. He imprisoned me in his own house, and seized my writings, my books, and my property. And this he did because he wished not only that I should teach him all that I knew, but also that I might not be able to teach anyone else, and he has continually threatened me in my life and honour if I would not teach him what I knew.’

This closed the fifth examination. There followed a long interval. On June 23rd, the historian, Andrew Morosini, was examined before the Inquisitor, in presence of the Patriarch, the Auditor of the Nuncio, and the Lay Assessor, Thomas Mauroceno. There is nothing of any importance in his evidence. He said Bruno had been introduced to him as a man of letters, by the bookseller Ciotto, and had attended the literary parties in his house, but he had never suspected anything heterodox in him. Ciotto was then recalled and re-examined, but could state nothing fresh, except that Bruno had spoken of the book upon the sciences, which he purposed presenting to the Pope.

There was then another long interval. At length, upon July 30, Giordano Bruno appeared for the sixth and last time before the Inquisitor, who was accompanied on this occasion by the Patriarch, the Auditor of the Nuncio, and two Lay Assessors, John Superanzi and Thomas Mauroceno. It would seem that the Court had now formed a strong suspicion that Bruno had not been speaking frankly. Perhaps the Inquisitor had been spending some of the past weeks in an attentive study of his works. The proceedings possess a special and ghastly interest as the last detailed utterances of Bruno which are now

accessible. It is therefore as well here to give them at length. As soon as he had been sworn, he was asked 'whether, having had an opportunity of thinking, he had resolved to speak the truth better, as he might now remember more easily the matters remembered in his former depositions.'

Answer.—'My Lords, I have thought, and certainly it does not occur to me to say anything else, or to add anything to my depositions. It seems to me that in my depositions I have given a full account of what has occurred to me, according to the order of the places where I have been and the things which I have done during the time of my apostasy.'

Question.—'The fact of so many years of apostasy and such prolonged contempt of censures, renders you liable to great suspicion as to Faith. It may be that you have had wrong opinions upon points other than those to which you have deposed. You therefore can and ought now to put aside every other feeling and to deliver your conscience.'

Answer.—'It seems to me that the points to which I have confessed, and the things I have expressed in my writings, sufficiently show the gravity of my fault. However, I confess it as it is. I acknowledge that I have given no little cause for suspicion of heresy. But I again say that I have always felt remorse in my conscience, and had the intention of amending, although I sought to do this as easily and safely as possible, by avoiding returning under the constraint of monastic obedience. And during those times I set myself in order to please His Holiness, so that I might obtain leave to live more freely than one can in the Catholic and religious state. So that, as concerns the things alleged and others which may be known, I surely believe that nothing will be found in contempt of the Catholic Religion, but only fear of the severity of the Holy Office, and love of liberty.'

Question.—'There is no appearance of there having been in you any such disposition to return to the Holy Faith, because when you were in France and in other Catholic countries where you were for many years, you did not enter into communications with any Prelate of Holy Church, with a view to return to obedience and to the truth of the Catholic Faith.'

Moreover, since you came to Venice; not only have you shown no such disposition, but you have taught false and heretical dogmas and doctrines.'

Answer.—'I have already deposed that I discussed my case with the Lord Bishop of Bergamo, the Nuncio in France, to whom I was introduced by Don Bernardino Mendoza, the Ambassador [of His Most] Catholic [Majesty], whom I had met at the English Court; and not only did I discuss my case with my Lord the Nuncio, but I now add that I prayed and earnestly besought him to write to Rome to His Blessedness [the Pope] to get leave for me to be received into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and not to be obliged to go back into my Order. Sixtus V. was then living, and the Nuncio was afraid he could not get me this favour, and would not write, but he offered to write and to help me if I would return into my Order. And he sent me to a Spanish Jesuit—whose name, I remember, was H. Alons, and who can testify for me if he is alive—and I discussed my case with him, and he assured me that it was needful to procure from the Pope my absolution from censures, and that they could not do less than make me go back into my Order. He also told me that being excommunicated as I was I could not attend the Divine Offices, but that I could go to hear sermons, and say my prayers inside a church. And since I have come to Venice I have never taught heretical doctrines or dogmas. I have only talked upon philosophical matters with many gentlemen. Information can be obtained from them. And when I have had occasion to speak of Germany or England I have blamed their state of religion as being profane, ignorant, and injurious to the State. I have written in my different treatises, as I have said in my depositions, and the same can be seen in them. If I have not procured absolution from censures since I have been in Venice, it is not that I had abandoned the intention I have always had of returning to the Catholic Church. I intended to go back to Frankfort to get printed some of my works upon the Seven Liberal Arts and the other Seven Inventive Arts, and to dedicate these works to the Pope, and so to gain his favour and to obtain some extraordinary concessions that I might be received

into the bosom of Holy Church, and yet be able to lead a clerical life outside cloisters, so that when I returned among the Friars of my Province, I might not be reproached with having been an apostate, and so despised by all.'

Question.—'You say, Get information from different gentlemen, for that so it will be found that you have not taught heretical dogmas, but only talked philosophy. But it has been proved by the depositions of some witnesses that you have done the contrary and have taught false doctrines.'

Answer.—'Except my accuser, whom I believe to be the Signor John Mocenigo, son of the most illustrious Master Antony, I do not believe that anyone will be found to say that I have taught false or heretical doctrines; and I do not suspect that any other man says anything against me in regard to Holy Faith.'

Question.—'Where and with whom have you discussed literary matters?'

Answer.—'I have discussed letters in the assemblies which are held in the house of the most Illustrious Signor Andrew Morosini, which I believe is at St. Luke's, on the Grand Canal, and whither many gentlemen and men of letters resort, and I have also had discussions in some book-shops, but I do not know the particular persons, for I did not know who they were.'

Question.—'It is necessary that you should well consider and remember your position. You have been for many years an apostate [from your Order, and] lying under Church censures. It may therefore easily be the case that you are guilty on other points and in other actions than those which are contained in your depositions. Be ready therefore to confess them in order duly to purge your conscience.'

Bruno answered:—

'It may be that during so long a lapse of time I have still farther gone astray, and that I have wandered away from Holy Church in more ways than I have stated, and that I have become entangled in still more censures, but I have thought well over it, and I do not call anything else to mind. I have freely confessed and do now confess my errors. And I am here in the hands of your Most Illustrious Lordships, to receive

medicine for my [soul's] health. I cannot express fully enough my sorrow for my misdeeds, nor say what I feel as earnestly as I desire.' Here he sank upon his knees and thus continued:—'I humbly implore pardon from the Lord our God, and from your Most Illustrious Lordships, for all the errors which I have committed, and I am here ready to carry out whatever your wisdom may decide and judge to be expedient for my soul. I entreat your Lordships moreover rather to lay upon me a punishment which shall be even excessive as a chastisement rather than to lay upon me one of such a public character as may bring disgrace upon the sacred habit of the religious Order which I have borne. And if the mercy of God, and of your Most Illustrious Lordships, grants me life, I promise to make so notable a reform in my life as shall make up by change and edification for the scandal which I have given.'

It required repeated orders from the Inquisitors to make him rise from his knees. He was then asked: 'Does it at present occur to you to say anything more?' He answered: 'It does not occur to me to say anything more.' The clerk adds that the whole of his depositions were read over to him, and that he confirmed them.

Thus ended the trial of Bruno before the Venetian Inquisition. It certainly excites a variety of feelings to find it described in Williams' *Heroic Enthusiasts* in the words:—'Serene and dignified before this terrible tribunal, he expounded his doctrine, its principles, and logical consequences.'

[The preceding pages form the first part of an article written under the original title of 'The Close of Giordano Bruno's Life,' but which, owing to its length, we have thought it best to divide. The reader has here the whole of that portion which relates to the trial at Venice, including Bruno's account of his own life and teaching. The subsequent portion—which relates entirely to his imprisonment at Rome and discusses at length the vexed question of his ultimate fate—we hope to publish in October.]

ART. III.—TRANSITION IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.

THE half century over which the beneficent reign of Queen Victoria has already extended has witnessed many changes, some of them of a far-reaching kind, in the Highlands of Scotland. In addition to greatly increased travelling facilities, and a vast extension of the educational machinery, strictly so called, a marked improvement has taken place in the construction of the people's dwellings, and in their manner of cultivating the soil. There are also very considerable changes observable in the departments of dress, diet, and wages, especially among crofters and the working classes generally, and the transition period in question reveals an ominous falling off in the use of the Gaelic language, a widening interest in political life, a remarkable increase in newspaper-reading, and other developments, less apparent, it may be, but none the less real or important.

The agencies that have had most to do with expediting this transition—and which are themselves features of the altered times—are the increased means of communication with the outside world, and the widely extended advantages conferred by the Education Act of 1872 and some similar concessions of an earlier date. These two agencies, which we enumerate among the changes of the period referred to, in respect of their influential importance deserve to be looked at with some minuteness.

The proverbial distance 'from Land's End to John O'Groat's,' which fifty years ago meant a week's journey, may now be overtaken in about twenty-four hours, and Stornoway, in the outer Hebrides, not many years ago three days' journey from Glasgow, may at this moment be reached from the latter place in twenty-one hours. This progress is the result in a great measure of the construction, within the period alluded to, of two lines of railway, 'the Sutherland and Caithness,' and 'the Dingwall and Skye' lines, both of which have opened up an extensive tract of country available for considerable development from a commercial point of view, particularly in the matter of the fishing industry, and

abounding, especially in the case of the latter line, in scenery of a varied and most attractive description. Steamships from Glasgow, and from Aberdeen and Dundee, now regularly visit every harbour and almost every creek in even the most remote portions of the West Highlands, and by this means, with the aid of railway communication, as already mentioned, journeys that fifty years ago occupied more than a week, can at this moment be accomplished in less than a day. Telegraphic wires now extend to the most northerly districts of the mainland and to several distant corners of the Western Isles, and it will thus be seen how very greatly modified, how almost entirely removed in fact, is that character of *remoteness* which an isolated situation long gave to the Highlands, and which retarded that process of assimilation which has become so marked and rapid within recent years.

The influence of the educational progress already referred to in hastening this assimilating work is equally striking, and as this factor is of special importance some details may be permissible. In some parts of the Highlands, according to recently published statistics, educational progress would appear to be more slow than might have been expected. Taking the five counties which are included in 'The Highlands'—Argyll, Caithness, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland—we find that in the case of the first-mentioned county, of those who there married in the year 1862, thirteen per cent. of the males, and twenty-eight per cent. of the females signed the Marriage Register *by mark*. Nineteen years later, in 1881, the proportions so signing fell to ten and fifteen per cent. respectively. In Caithness, in the same period, the improved education may be estimated by a similar decrease from 7 and 9 per cent. to 4 and 7; in Inverness, from 30 and 49 to 17 and 27; in Ross and Cromarty, from 34 and 49 to 24 and 47; while in the case of Sutherland, which at the first date mentioned (1862) compares very favourably in this respect with other portions of the Highlands, though the percentage of females who signed by mark fell from twenty-five in 1862 to twenty-one in 1881, the percentage of males so signing, strange to say, had, in the same period, increased from 9·09 to 10·14. These figures, however, must not be understood

to imply that education has been making but slow progress since 1862. There are several circumstances that will very materially alter the disappointing look they at first sight present. It is a remarkable fact that among a large section of the Highland people there is a peculiar dislike to the writing of one's name in any *printed* document, and, though to some it might appear inconceivable that such a strange prejudice would be found to exist in the case of a bridegroom or bride on being asked to sign their names in the marriage schedule, we feel confident that this extraordinary aversion, supplemented perhaps to some extent by the nervously agitated fear in not a few cases that they 'could not write it well enough,' accounts to a great extent for the large percentage of mark signatures up till quite recently found in the Marriage Registers in many of our Highland parishes. While writing on this portion of our subject it may be proper to remind the reader of the extraordinary fact disclosed in connection with the contest for the representation of the County of Ross in 1885, when it was found that of the 7,867 electors who voted on that occasion no fewer than 1,908, or nearly *one-fourth*, were returned as 'illiterate,' or 'unable to read' or write. We have no hesitation in maintaining—and we speak from a long and intimate acquaintance with the people and places concerned—that a considerable number returned as 'illiterate' were perfectly able to read and distinguish between the names of the candidates, and that they professed inability to read for something of the same reason that induces certain of their fellow-Highlanders, in different circumstances, to allege inability to write. It is, besides, true that in the case of the contest referred to some of the crofter electors, wishful to give the strongest and *most public* expression to their prejudice against the landlord candidate, adopted the expedient of assumed illiteracy, in order that the destination of their votes might be as much as possible known.

But in estimating the significant advance in educational progress of the latter half of the period we speak of—the interval, that is, since 1867 until this year (1888)—a further modification of the disappointing aspect of the statistics above quoted falls to be made. The widely extending educational improvement so noticeable during these twenty years, and

especially during the last ten years, shows itself mainly among those of the population who, in respect of age, could hardly be expected to figure in the Marriage Registers of 1882. If the same records for this year were examined at its close, those acquainted with the actual state of matters in the Highlands would in no way be surprised to find that the highest percentage of mark signatures discovered would be as low as the lowest in the statistics already given. No doubt, in very remote corners of the Highlands, where travelling facilities are in their infancy and educational advantages necessarily slow in establishing themselves, a good many *marks* may be met with, but over the mainland generally inability to write is at this moment in a high degree exceptional. We know of several parishes on the mainland where at this moment there are not *four* per cent. of the marriageable young men and women unable to write their names, and we could name more than one parish in which the percentage would not exceed the half of that figure.

In speaking of the extension of the educational machinery consequent on the legislation of 1872, it must be remembered that in not a few Highland parishes the appliances existing at that date were found to be sufficient, no new schools requiring to be built nor additional teachers appointed. This was the case chiefly with regard to the mainland; while over a great portion of the insular and remoter districts a considerable addition had to be made in the matter of accommodation and teaching staff. The planting of new schools, however, was in some instances slow, and in one district of the Western Isles it was not until 1882, or ten years after the passing of the Education Act, that the additional accommodation required was provided.

It will naturally occur to the reader to ask the important question, whether during the period under review, and as the result of the extended advantages spoken of, any marked increase has taken place in the matter of school-attendance in the Highlands. Speaking broadly, the Compulsory clause in the Act referred to, has not, so far as this portion of the country is concerned, had that effect on school attendance which it was intended to have. It had always been the ambition of the average Highland parent to give to his children the best possible education

within his reach, and the circumstances that interfered with the carrying out of this desire, and that led to irregularity of attendance at school, remained in operation after the passing of the Act. Crofters have never been much given to enclosing their lands, and at this moment default officers on their visits to the houses of these people to enquire into the cause of irregular attendance at school, frequently have given them as the reason that 'we have nobody to do the herding, and some of the bairns must stay at home.' Others, again, plead that some of the older children are required at home for nursing, while not a few represent that they don't consider their children well enough clad to be sent to school. A glance at these apologies will show how difficult it is to put the Compulsory clause in force among a large proportion of the Highland people, and as a matter of fact, though many of the teachers have, especially of late, been complaining loudly of irregularity of attendance, it is only in a very few cases that the defaulting parents have been formally proceeded against.

Of course the Act has increased the school attendance to a considerable extent, inasmuch as it has led to schools being planted where formerly many children were placed under serious disadvantage, by reason of their great distance from a school, but, with regard to school-going generally, the Compulsory clause must be pronounced to be, so far as the Highlands are concerned, to a considerable degree inoperative. In the year 1884—a date which gives a pretty conclusive testing interval after the passing of the Education Act—while on the school registers of the five Highland counties, Argyll, Caithness, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland, there were in the aggregate 48,149 scholars, the average attendance at the same date at all the schools was only 33,724.

But all the same education has, within the last twenty years especially, made rapid and wide progress in the Highlands, and that is the fact we have mainly to do with at present. There are parishes where in 1866, or thereabouts, one-tenth of the population could be found unable to read or write, in which at this moment it would be impossible to find one-sixtieth so illiterate. As has been already indicated, this progress is, naturally enough, more noticeable in the case of the main-

land portion of the Highlands, but in a very little time a like progress will fall to be reported in regard to the insular and remote districts. And is there, it may be asked, any perceptible change in the social or other situation in the Highlands in consequence of such educational progress? It may sound strange, but it is the case, that this progress is bringing tangible benefits, inasmuch as it is directly tending to diminish the native population. In proportion as the younger members of crofter families are educated, they come to entertain a higher ideal of life and prosperity than the old home and its surroundings can afford or sustain, and thus, for several years past, considerable numbers of young men and women have been annually leaving the Highlands for situations in our southern towns. The consequence is that, as a comparison of census returns will at once shew, there has been in almost every parish a steady falling off in the population during the last twenty years. A clear enough exception, no doubt, is found in the case of the island of Lews, in Rosshire, where the population has increased within recent years, but this is one of those portions of the Highlands where educational progress has been necessarily slow, and there too, certainly, in the matter of the wretched poverty of 'congestion,' the crofter system is seen in some of its least inviting forms.

It is beyond our province in this paper to discuss the crofter question minutely, but in view of the crofter agitation, of which so much has been heard of late, and as it is an important movement developing during the period treated of, it is necessary to make some reference to it, more particularly as, more than most people seem to understand, the educational progress just commented upon has had an influence in originating and directing the movement in question.

By people at a distance, and by unreflecting persons in the very heart of the 'agitated' districts, it might naturally have been inferred that the Crofter Agitation, which began about the year 1880, and became so widespread during the latter half of the next half-dozen years, was caused by the smallness of the crofts and by rack-renting. There is some force, or rather a good deal of force in the first mentioned alleged cause—the

limited extent of the crofters' holdings—but, as a matter of fact, rack-renting has had little or nothing to do with the agitation. As a rule the crofts are too small everywhere, and it is only in a few cases that they are of a size sufficient to provide anything like a comfortable living for a family. Many of them contain less than five, and very few more than ten, acres of arable land, while the average crofter stock may be put down at two milch cows, a horse, and half a score of sheep. The soil of a great portion of the crofter area, especially in the Western Isles, is infertile, the climate unfriendly, and harvesting late, and these unfavourable circumstances, combined with the general smallness of the croft, make the living off the croft alone a precarious, and, at best, a very poor one. The allegation as to rack-renting may be briefly disposed of. The Crofter Commissioners who, since October 1886, have been hearing applications to fix 'fair rents' from various districts, have *raised* as well as reduced rents, and in many cases the reduction made has been very small and, happily, so far as yet discovered, rack-renting has been quite exceptional.

The real causes of the 'agitation' are, first, the general depression of trade throughout the country, and secondly, the educational progress of the great bulk of the crofter population. The latter agency may, perhaps, claim to have been a work at an earlier stage than the former, but the agricultural depression tended very materially to impart volume and intensity to the movement in question. A very little consideration will show how this was the case. While prosperous times ruled, and the prices of cattle and farm produce were high, as every one can remember them to have been for many years up till about the year 1880, very little was heard about crofters' 'grievances,' and there was certainly no perceptible agitation. Though the crofts were then as small as they are at this moment, some of them smaller indeed, the high price of cattle, and of potatoes particularly, enabled the average crofter to make a pretty comfortable living. Besides, labour was then abundant. The great value of land at that period led to very large sums of money being expended on land-reclamation, and, as the croft as a rule is not extensive enough to keep the occupier

of it employed all the year round, many of the crofters were for some months during several years engaged, at highly remunerative wages, at works of the kind referred to. But with the agricultural depression came fallen prices for cattle and land produce, and the consequent depreciation in the value of land brought with it a scarcity of work. Cattle that the crofter could readily get nine pounds sterling for per head in 1882 will with difficulty in this year (1888) fetch £4 10s, or one-half the former price, and, while potatoes in the first-mentioned year sold as high as 20s. per boll, they can at this moment be purchased for considerably under the half of that figure. Without going into further details it may be said that to very many of the crofters the depression in question means a loss of twenty pounds sterling every year. The comparative unimportance of the 'rent' question will be at once seen when it is borne in mind that few of those thus suffering from the fall in prices pay above five pounds sterling of annual rent; for it would manifestly be but a very slight compensation for the loss sustained to remit to the crofters in these instances their full rent. Now, some time before this depression came to complicate the situation, the educational progress of the Highland population was beginning to occasion a mild but quite perceptible 'agitation.' This must be ascribed mainly to the influence of a very prominent and far-reaching feature of the latter portion of the period under discussion—we refer to the immense increase that has, during the last ten or fifteen years, taken place in what may be called 'the reading public' in the Highlands. Especially noticeable is this fact in the case of newspaper-reading. We know of several Highland parishes where, even fifteen years ago, not *five per cent.* of the population read the papers in which, in the present year, over *thirty per cent.* are regular readers of the newspapers, and it is quite a common thing in portions of the Highlands at the present time to see boys and girls not much over ten years, with a sort of premature earnestness and seriousness, poring over their paper! This vast growth in the extent of newspaper-reading has, of course, materially affected the opinions and yearnings of the people, and, as the papers they chiefly patronise are those whose utterances are often deeply tinged with an anti-landlord

prejudice, and occasionally indeed, in the case of one or two newspapers, with something like the gospel of injustice and spoliation, one can easily see why the language common at Land League meetings in the Highlands for two or three years past has been so foolish and reckless, and why such things as forcible possession of land, 'deforcement,' and similar breaches of the law, have of late brought reproach on a people long and most justly famed for their love of peace and respect for constituted authority. The newspaper reading in question led to the people generally discussing what was doing in Ireland, and every now and then, during the last half-dozen years, we have heard crofters and others in the Highlands remark, when speaking of 'what the papers were saying,' 'The Irish are getting "good" from the noise they are making;' 'The Government is afraid they will make worse things than a noise, and they are giving them almost all they are wanting.' This was the way in which these newspaper-reading crofters and others interpreted the attitude of the Irish in relation to the concessions made to them a few years ago by place-loving and popularity-hunting statesmen, and to this newspaper-reading, which acquainted these people with the state of matters across the Channel, and in places farther away where the modern revolutionary wave is spreading in the form of Socialism, Communism, or Nihilism, is in a great measure due the bitterness and persistence with which many of the crofters and their so called 'friends' have been conducting the 'agitation' in question. We cannot pass from this portion of our remarks without recording our satisfaction that, though much wild talk and many unwise acts fall to be associated with the progress of the 'crofter agitation,' nothing in the least degree approaching in character the ugly outrages that have recently cast a foul stain on the reputation of their neighbours in a sister island, has ever occurred among the Highland crofters.

Having thus glanced at the crofter question, and indicated the connection between educational progress and recent unrest in the crofter world, we must further, as it is a matter of vital significance in the period we speak of, try to point out how this advance in education promises to affect the future of the Highland crofters. It has already, as we have mentioned,

operated in the direction of decreasing the population in many Highland parishes, and it has done so with results highly advantageous to those that have migrated and, in several instances, to those left behind. The advance in education has been having in this connection a threefold effect. It begets a high ideal of what a comfortable or prosperous life is, opens up to the youthful learner other and more attractive fields of usefulness and success than those in the neighbourhood of his home, and fits him for entering on one or other of these more inviting spheres of labour. In this way a migration, steady if slow, will be maintained which will not long hence appreciably counteract the 'congesting' tendency of the average Highlander's dislike to emigrating to foreign lands. Though the Royal Commissioners that sat in 1883 recommended State-aided emigration as a remedy for crofter hardships, the framers of the Crofters' Act passed three years later gave no effect to this recommendation. This, perhaps, is of little consequence, because any provision in the Act in favour of emigration would, of course, have gone on the assumption that such emigration would be *voluntary*, and the aversion above referred to would render a provision of the kind alluded to virtually inoperative. No doubt, several families have recently emigrated to America from the outer Hebrides, and now and then a movement in this direction would appear to be taking shape on something like a big scale, but there is no immediate prospect of the idea being taken up to an extent likely to have a perceptible effect on the poverty and misery that at this moment are too abundant among the crofters in congested districts in the Western Isles. The slower substitute of the migration already spoken of is the only palpable improving agency at this moment in operation. No doubt the Crofter legislation of 1886 will ultimately effect a good deal in the way of improvement, and that chiefly by enlarging crofts, but it will necessarily take a long time before crofts, generally, will be sufficiently large, and in other ways attractive, to interpose a check on the growing ambition of the younger members of the crofter families, with their improved education, to seek a living and a home in other quarters of the world, where the conditions of life are more encouraging. At the same time it may safely be predicted that the

crofter system will long endure. There will always, in the near future at any rate, be found some one or more of the crofter family with a special liking and aptitude for agricultural life, and, though the counter current already spoken of will continue to flow with increasing strength, the predilection first specified, more particularly with the improved holdings which must sometime become general, will ensure an indefinitely long lease of life to the crofter system. This prediction, resting as it does on solid grounds, will be pleasing and assuring to those, and they are many, who proudly reflect on what the Highland peasantry did in years long gone by to uphold the fame and prosperity of their country, and there can be no doubt that the accession of strength, mentally as well as physically, which a crofter population in the enjoyment of fairly comfortable conditions of life would steadily bring to the national life and character would, in times of war or peace, be of a most valuable kind.

Before leaving this portion of the subject we may enquire whether during this period any changes of a marked or significant kind have overtaken the farming interest as represented by sheep-farmers and other tenants of the large holdings. The most noticeable feature is that, within the last dozen years, a serious, and in many cases crushing, depression has visited this department of farming. Of course, as already pointed out, the tenants of the smaller holdings, the crofters that is, have suffered as well, but in various ways the hardships of the other class mentioned have been of a more perplexing nature. The rents of the latter had everywhere risen to a very high figure during the keen competition for farms occasioned by the great agricultural prosperity that ruled for several years up to about the year 1880. But when, subsequently, the price of cattle, sheep, and wool, fell very considerably, in consequence mainly of foreign competition, the altered prices and the high rents constituted a trying combination, and, naturally enough, a cry was made for rent-reduction. This was pretty generally granted, but it did not appear sufficiently clear that the farmers as a body recognised who it was that actually raised the rents, the fact being, of course, that it was the keen competition referred to that led farmers to offer rents which, in several cases, notwithstanding the high prices then

current, were considered by practical men to be absurdly high. This question of rents, however, is one that must always adjust itself, regulated, as it cannot fail to be, by the ordinary conditions of supply and demand, and all over the Highlands, as in other places, the rents of the larger farms have fallen, within the last six years, as much as from 20 to 50 per cent. In some cases the fall has been a good deal greater than the last mentioned percentage, and we know of one farm, which about a dozen years ago was rented at within a few pounds of *five hundred*, but, a year ago, was let at *one hundred and seventy pounds sterling*. This latter case may be to a certain extent exceptional, but the fact remains that, in almost every case where a new lease has been entered on within the last half-dozen years, a very big reduction of rent has been granted, and it is further a significant fact that the old prevailing custom of leases of *nineteen years'* duration has within the same period been to a large degree departed from, many now holding their farms on leases of less than ten years—some only half that period—a cautious expedient which no doubt will endure until a revival of trade and diminished foreign imports again bring prosperity to the home farming industry.

The element of change is also very marked in the departments of food and clothing, but the more remarkable features of this 'progress' date from the earlier portion of the period spoken of. Forty years ago tea was a very rare luxury in the homes of the crofters, and it was at that time reckoned a very great privilege to get a cup of the highly-prized beverage once a week, Sunday being the day on which it was usually partaken of. At the same period farm-servants and others seldom tasted it, and in most of the houses of the people of this class, it was only on special occasions, such as marriages or baptisms, and during the New Year festivities, that it was used. To-day it is used daily, and in many cases twice or even three times a-day, in every crofter's house, and it is a remarkable fact that eggs, which long ago used to form an important part of the native Highland population's daily food, are but little eaten, the reason being that in most cases the eggs are sold, and tea and sugar bought with the proceeds. Jams and jellies are much used among the people,

and not a few sell butter in order to purchase them. The change in diet would, so far, not appear to indicate the resorting to more nutritious food, but of late, in consequence of the low price of cattle, many of the crofters have taken to feeding cattle for killing, and, as the price of butcher meat is thus being considerably reduced, this kind of food is beginning to be pretty generally used. Porridge and milk are, of course, popular as of yore, and it may thus be seen how the enervating tendencies of certain of the changes referred to, may be satisfactorily counter-acted.

The change with regard to clothing may be broadly stated as one to more expensive tastes, and the fondness for travelling, which the facilities of railway communication have developed in many, the female portion especially, of the crofter population, has increased the desire for a more showy and expensive dress. The great rise in farm-servants' wages and in the price of cattle and land produce within the last twenty years went far, of course, towards encouraging the growth of these expensive ways among ploughmen and crofters' families, and in regard to this, it is important to bear in mind that the irritating struggle to keep up the expensive tastes of prosperous times on the diminished income of the days of agricultural depression explains a good deal of the murmuring discontent heard among crofters and others during the recent, and to some extent still enduring, 'agitation.'

With regard to the change in wages, a very remarkable increase has to be noted as occurring during the last thirty years. At the commencement of that period ploughmen and shepherds as a rule received as wages from £8 to £12 of money in the year with perquisites, these latter usually including half-a-dozen bolls of oatmeal, and a daily supply of milk, about a pint, and some potatoes. To-day the average annual money wages of ploughmen and shepherds may be stated at £20, with perquisites. In the case of domestic servants the advance is particularly striking. Thirty years ago these could easily be engaged in any part of the Highlands at £2 half-yearly, all found, but at this moment in the same districts even an inexperienced girl will let it be understood that she considers £6 in the half-year as only moderate wages to begin with. This again has the effect of

reducing the population in the Highlands, for the number of employers in these places able to afford such wages is comparatively limited, and every year a large number of young women leave our Highland districts for places in the south, where they are in great demand at high wages.

A line or two may here be devoted to a reference to the marked disappearance of the Gaelic language as a spoken tongue within the last twenty, and more particularly within the last ten years. The census returns of 1881 tell us that of the 307,604, who then made up the aggregate population of the five Highland counties to which our remarks apply, no fewer than 187,652, or three-fifths, were at that date speaking the Gaelic language 'habitually.' We have no hesitation in saying that these latter figures are misleading, and that a very large proportion of those thus returned as 'habitual' speakers of Gaelic were persons merely *able to speak the language*, but who were rarely called on to use it. And we have reason to know that since 1881, the date of the returns referred to, the language has very considerably fallen into disuse because the agencies unfriendly to its continuance have within the last few years been growing in number and strength. These agencies include the spread of an English education, the vast increase in newspaper-reading, and the travelling habits to which the facilities of the present day have given rise. The most significant fact of all in connection with this matter is that, taking the vast majority of the *mainland* parishes of the Highlands, scarcely a word of Gaelic will be heard among the school children at their play, and this feature, all but universal in the districts indicated, and, slowly it may be but surely, making its way in the insular and remote districts, is a quite sound justification of the prediction that ten or fifteen years hence, over the greater portion of the Highlands, the 'habitual' speaking of Gaelic will be exceeding rare. By some of us who know and speak the language, and for certain reasons love it well, such a prospect is not contemplated without, at any rate, a passing regret, but when we consider that the language has no commercial value, that very few indeed of the parents, and scarcely any of the young people themselves, are desirous of continuing the use of it, and, besides, that its literature is of the scantiest nature, it will at once be seen that

the virtual disappearance of Gaelic as a spoken tongue cannot possibly be long delayed. If anything in the way of further evidence in the same direction should be desiderated, it may be stated that, though it has been alleged that, in the year 1885, there were over all the Highlands 25,000 children of school age who spoke and understood Gaelic alone—a highly exaggerated estimate we cannot help thinking—there were in the same year over the same area, only seventeen Gaelic schools in existence, with an aggregate attendance of 599 scholars. Such a disproportion is ominous enough, more especially when it is borne in mind that the rest of these children must necessarily, sooner or later, be brought within reach of schools where they cannot help learning to speak the English language. No doubt several of the teachers in our public schools know and speak Gaelic, but, as a matter of fact, they rarely if ever use it, even in instructing those pupils who may at the first know Gaelic better than English.

No sketch of this period would be anything like complete that took no cognisance of ecclesiastical movements within the time specified, and we may, therefore, note one or two outstanding features or incidents of this department as suggested by a glance at the history of the Highlands during the last forty years. For exactly twenty years after the memorable Secession from the Church of Scotland in 1843 the ecclesiastical sky in the Highlands was comparatively calm, if we except the unwholesome breezes begotten, in each parish or community, of an uncharitable sectarian strife. During the score of years referred to, the Free Church retained her numerical strength unimpaired, and not even a whisper of anything in the nature of internal disunion reached the ear of the world outside. The next twenty years, however, included very stormy times, with disrupting tendencies, for the seceding Church. All through this last mentioned period, and up till the present moment, the negotiations for union with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland carried on by the Free Church, the heresy proceedings known as the Robertson-Smith case, and, quite recently, the crofter agitation, have been very powerfully affecting the position and prospects of the Free Church in the Highlands. Some of the clergy were in favour of

the 'Union,' while the great majority of the people in every congregation were opposed to it, and this led to unpleasant relations between pastor and people, one of the effects of which was a marked tendency to an irregular attendance at church, which has since for various reasons developed unhopefully. Besides this, the attitude the flocks saw their pastors taking up towards each other with regard to the 'Union' acted injuriously on their attachment to the Free Church, as well as on that profound respect for their spiritual guides which had been for many years a prominent feature in Highlanders generally. Scarcely had the 'Union' strifes subsided, and a second 'Disruption' been averted, in 1873, by means of the somewhat ingeniously devised scheme of 'mutual eligibility,' when the Robertson-Smith case, of which all who take any interest in Scottish ecclesiastical life must know something, again introduced into the Free Church a wave of wrangling unrest, the action of which was distinctly felt in the Highlands. There can be no doubt that, while this 'heresy' case was occupying the attention of the Church Courts, the young and eminent scholar who was the leading actor in the conflict was looked upon by the great bulk of the Highlanders as a very 'uncanny' individual. They were led to believe by their pastors, few of whom in point of fact were qualified to judge of Professor Smith's attitude as a Biblical critic or theologian, that this young divine was 'for doing away with the Bible,' and it is easy, therefore, to understand how such an allegation would excite an alarmed horror in the mind of the credulous and unsophisticated Highlander. The case also went far in the direction of rendering the Highlanders less exclusively attached to the Free Church, inasmuch as they were aware that a very large number of the clergy and laity of their Church supported Professor Smith, and they concluded that a Church even tolerating men that were on the side of so great a 'heretic' as the Professor was believed by them to be was not deserving of their undivided regard.

There was a period of comparative calm in the ecclesiastical sky in the Highlands after this case was disposed of, but it was of short duration. About the year 1883, some half-dozen years after the termination of the Robertson-Smith 'heresy' prosecu-

tion, the interests of the Free Church in the Highlands came somehow to be rather unpleasantly affected by the crofter agitation, at that date pretty well developed, and it is beyond a doubt that this movement has gone far—more so indeed than either of the two circumstances already referred to—towards weakening the hold the Free Church and her clergy had for many years on the allegiance and support of her people in the Highlands. The reason why the crofter agitation became the occasion of discord may be briefly explained. At an early period of the movement some people, with a good deal of justification it must be conceded, recommended emigration as a remedy for crofter troubles ; but those of the Free Church clergy—and it must be noted that it is to this church that the great majority of the crofters adhere—who took a prominent part in discussing the situation, strongly denounced emigration, and in this way the crofters, who to a man it may be said are opposed to emigration, reckoned their pastors as their ‘friends,’ and, doubtless, looked to them for guidance and material backing. The guidance, such as it was, they did receive, and several of the clergy even in the pulpit uttered sentiments quite after the ‘agitator’s’ heart, which means, among other things, that landlords, ‘et hoc omne genus,’ were vigorously denounced, and that ‘the people’s’ right to ‘the land of their forefathers’ was forcibly insisted on. This state of matters did not last long. When the election contests were in progress in 1885, the crofters discovered to their indignant disgust that some of their pastors were supporting the landlord candidates, and such a wild declension as this was, from the point of view of most of the crofters, nothing short of an unpardonable sin. Loud cries of unfaithfulness, ‘fleshpots,’ and ‘worshipping the golden calf,’ were directed against the pastors in question, and, though a good deal might be said by way of shewing that the conduct of these clergymen in this matter was not so very ingenuous or disinterested as could have been wished, we shall here only add that the change of front, as the crofters maintained it to be, brought about very unpleasant relations between certain Free Church clergymen in the Highlands and a large section of their respective congregations. It particularly tended to increase the irregularity of attendance at church which for a few years pre-

viously had been setting in. In fact, this falling off in church attendance, which had for some time been noticeable among all sections of the people, became very marked in certain crofting districts about the period we refer to. There is reason to fear, further, that the feeling of profound reverence for things sacred which, in a genuinely attractive form, had for a long period characterised Highlanders as a people, has undergone a distinct modification within the last twenty years, and we had occasion quite recently to know of an incident illustrative at once of the last mentioned change, and the falling away in Church attendance referred to. A Free Church clergyman in a Highland parish being wishful to have his manse enlarged, convened his congregation to consider his proposal, and they met in the church. In the course of the deliberations a member of the congregation loudly declaimed against the proposed enlargement, and took occasion to say that, if the minister (who was present) required increased accommodation, he 'might partition off a portion of the church for that purpose as there was now so much empty space in it. I remember,' added this irreverent speaker, 'when this church was so well attended that it was difficult to get a seat, but now-a-days one can easily get a seat for himself and his hat and his stick!'

By way of compensating for the discouragement the last noted features of the transition may occasion, it is well that one can speak of some appreciable progress in the matter of 'sweetness and light' as having taken place in the quality of Highland preaching and theology. Certainly the former, to put it mildly, is yet very 'queer' in some of the remoter corners, and the latter is in the same districts to this hour a very extraordinary and uninviting system. Terror-preaching of a most fanatical type, in which threats of a literal eternal fire largely preponderated, was quite common and, indeed, strange to say, pretty generally relished in the Highlands up till within the last score of years or so, and is even yet in far away spots, where trains are unknown and steamers are rare, and where other civilizing agencies have been slow in advancing. The civilizing agencies just enumerated must continue to make this very desirable sign of progress more and more marked, and it may be that when the clergy have more clearly realised that the people have vastly progressed in intelli-

gence and reading habits, and when the unrest of certain social agitations now current has subsided, an improved Church attendance and a greater regard for the Churches and the clergy will result.

Our remarks on the ecclesiastical situation have had reference almost exclusively to the Free Church, because it is to this denomination the great body of the native population nominally adhere. The Established Church cannot, of course, be supposed to have remained unaffected by the changes of recent times. Greatly crippled numerically by the secession of '43, the Established Church in the Highlands numbers within her ranks but a very small proportion of the native population. There are one or two cases, such as that of Strath in Skye, where the great majority of the people yet worship in the parish church, and it is a remarkable and sufficiently significant fact that where, as in this case, the parish minister at the time of the Secession was personally, and as a preacher, popular, and did not 'go out,' the majority of the people refused to secede, notwithstanding earnest and repeated solicitations to that effect from certain quarters. For many years after '43 most of the parish church congregations were very small, and they are so in a large number of cases yet; but it is the case that, particularly within the past ten or fifteen years, signs of reviving and of an increasing numerical strength are distinctly perceptible. As an evidence of this it may be mentioned that, taking the area included in the Counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, and Inverness, the Established Church Communicants had, in the twelve years ended in 1885, increased from 15,917 to 19,450, while in the same period the contributions for 'religious, charitable, and educational purposes,' by the parish church congregations in the places specified rose from £6,494 to £11,953, or not very much under 50 per cent. Self-denial was, no doubt, called for and exercised in the case of many of the seceding clergy at the time of the secession, but it would be short-sighted and ungenerous in the extreme to ignore the fact that many of those pastors who adhered to the Church of their fathers, in respect of the persecuting taunts and slanders hurled at them by some of their seceding Christian brethren, and in consequence of

various other discouraging features of their isolated position, had likewise their call to a self-denial which, as a rule, was responded to with patient courage. The comparative absence, except at Assembly times, of all communication between the Highland section of the Established Church and those southern centres of the Church in which the ecclesiastical life, because of superior advantages, numerical and otherwise, possessed more vitality and energy, may be included among the discouraging elements just referred to. This unfavourable circumstance, however, has of late been very materially modified, and the Church's 'Committee in aid of The Highlands and Islands,' instituted in 1874, has, by sympathy and practical encouragement, been to a quite perceptible degree helpful in promoting the usefulness and progress of the Church of Scotland in the Highlands.

The most noticeable and, doubtless, the most far-reaching event in the history of the Church of Scotland since '43 is the popularizing of the method of electing ministers resulting from the Patronage Act of 1874, by which the election of parish ministers is vested in each congregation, or, as it is technically put, in 'the members and adherents' of each church. For those who do not wish to believe that a love of strife and division is not foreign to the likings of ecclesiastical bodies, it will be somewhat difficult to understand why with the abolition of patronage in the State Church—which amounted to the removal of a long avowed wall of separation between that Church and the Free Church—and seeing that union and co-operation are so often extolled and commended by parties in both Churches, there does not appear to be any immediate prospect of such a coalition. The Free Church, judging from recent votes in her General Assembly, seems bent on demanding disestablishment, and the party in that Church opposed to it, usually called the 'Constitutionalists,' and most of the clerical members of it are in the Highlands, are apparently losing every year in influence if not in numbers. Outsiders may be expected to conclude that there is an obvious means open to this section of the Free Church of giving effect to their avowed convictions as to the scripturalness and necessity of supporting the Establishment principle. They must see that the vast ma-

majority of the clergy of their Church—in the proportion of, it may be said, 6 to 1—are in favour of Disestablishment, and these constitutionalists ought, therefore, we may surely think, to seek for union with the Established Church of Scotland, and the declarations and overtures of the latter Church place it beyond a doubt that any application of this nature, made in a frank and sensible manner, without any magnifying of valueless technicalities, would be received in a spirit and with results compatible with the dignity and interests of all concerned. Unprejudiced practical onlookers will wonder greatly unless some such expedient is soon resorted to. The contributions in Dissenting Churches all over the country appear in recent years to have been undergoing a marked decrease, and matters in this respect are certainly not brighter among those in the Highlands that are looked on as subscribing to the Sustentation Fund of the Free Church, and for reasons suggested by this fact, if from no higher motives—and certainly there are such—something in the direction of an adjustment of the ecclesiastical machinery in the Highlands ought, and that without delay, to be definitely attempted. Much might be written on this subject, but we must pass from it with the observation that, as such an understanding or union as has been indicated would seem to be the desire of the Church of Scotland on the one hand, and a considerable section, the majority, we ought to say, of the Free Church people in the Highlands—over eighty thousand of the latter petitioned against Disestablishment in 1882—on the other, it would be wise and to the interest of both parties that steps should at once be taken to give practical shape to this avowed desire.

We must glance for a moment at the political situation in the Highlands, in so far as it has been affected by the changes of the period under review. Until within the last half-dozen years, the average Highland native knew and cared little about politics so called, and it is only at the period at which, by the Franchise Act of 1885, electoral rights were conferred on his class, that we can associate with him any specific interest in political life and progress. Assuming that the absence of electoral privileges would justify the indifference referred to, it is certainly not wonderful that these people

took so little interest in the matter. Previous to 1885 there were Highland parishes with considerably over a thousand of a population in which there were fewer than one dozen electors, and the legislation of that year increased the electorate by from ten to as high as twenty times in the great majority of parishes. While it is in the case of some of the crofting parishes that the increase is most striking, the same feature is also very remarkable in the case of each county. In Argyll the number rose from 3595 to 10011, in Caithness from 1238 to 4289, in Inverness from 1994 to 9330, in Ross and Cromarty from 1721 to 9980, while in the case of Sutherland the increase is even more marked, the numbers there being 350 and 3185 respectively. The growing interest in matters political now noticeable among the native Highland population, took rise some two or three years before the passing of the Franchise Act of 1885. It appeared, indeed, simultaneously with the crofter agitation, and was in fact closely connected with that movement, while both phenomena owe their origin in a great measure to the vast impetus given to educational progress generally by the Education Act of 1872. The crofters took a leading part in the franchise 'demonstrations' that, in common with other localities, took place in the Highlands in the year 1884, and, as they were made to believe that 'the Lords' were opposed to the granting of the privilege in question, the inscriptions displayed on the bannerets and other devices borne by the crofter 'demonstrators' partook largely of the character of expressions of hatred of the legislators of the Upper House. When the general election rendered necessary by the extended franchise was taking place, it was found, as might have been expected, that a crofter candidate took the field in each of the five Highland constituencies, Argyll, Caithness, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland, and in all but the last the crofter candidate headed the poll by a very considerable majority. The case of Sutherlandshire, where the landlord candidate defeated the crofters' man—the latter, by the way, a native of the county and the son of a crofter—with a majority of 643 out of a total vote of 2,759, is instructive, inasmuch as it supplies evidence of the fact that, so far as the crofter electors were concerned, the elections of 1885 were conducted on a very narrow

issue. In the proper sense of the term, indeed, the contest was not a political one at all. Not one in a hundred of these electors cared a whit about the opinions entertained by the candidates regarding questions of foreign policy or the ordinary topics of home legislation. The one and all-absorbing subject of enquiry with the crofters was as to which candidate would be the most likely to secure for them their leading demands, namely, 'more land,' 'fixity of tenure,' 'fair rents,' &c., and, if possible, Government advances of money for purchasing stock for the enlarged holdings they expected to get as the result of the labours of their representatives in Parliament. Nothing could more strikingly show the paramount and exclusive importance attached to the land question by the crofters than the fact that in the County of Argyll, where there are very few Roman Catholics, a gentleman of that persuasion—the first Roman Catholic ever elected to represent a Scottish constituency—was victorious by a large majority at the poll, simply because he advocated the crofters' demands, and, still further to illustrate the exclusiveness with which the crofters viewed the land question, it must be borne in mind that the great body of them regard the Church of Rome with no small repugnance.

When the startling change of attitude on the part of Mr. Gladstone with reference to the Irish Home Rule question rendered another election necessary in 1886 the same absorbing influence of the land question led to most of the crofters recording their vote in a way which, we feel confident, was foreign to their actual wishes with regard to the Union question. All the crofter candidates in that year were Gladstonians, and the crofters, or at anyrate a majority of them, voted for them, not because they (the crofters) were for 'separation,' but because the Gladstonian candidates were the men who in the previous year were crofter candidates. Besides this, we know from conversations with crofters on the subject that very many of the latter confounded Home Rule with Local Government, and these were taught to believe, by some interested parties, that in supporting Home Rule candidates they were merely demanding 'Local Government,' not only for Ireland, but for Scotland and the other portions of the Empire as well. As the political education of the

crofters proceeds, such confusion and delusion as we have pointed out must become more limited in extent, and it cannot but be that the faith of the crofters in the parliamentary influence of their representatives has been pretty considerably shaken by the discovery that the latter have been able to satisfy few or none of the expectations awakened at the hustings.

From what has just been said it will have been inferred that on at least one question the crofters are out of sympathy with the views of their representatives, and it may be mentioned that the only crofter candidate that during the elections of 1885-6 seemed to take up an attitude most conformable to the real beliefs and wishes of the crofters generally is the present member of Parliament for the county of Inverness. We make special reference to this matter because this gentleman avowed himself an opponent of Disestablishment, and, though all the other crofter representatives are known as pronounced supporters of the movement in question, we have good reason to know that the vast majority of the Highland crofters are uncompromising advocates of the Establishment principle.

We must devote our few concluding remarks to the mere mention of certain other features of the transition period discussed and to a brief forecast of the probable general situation in the Highlands in the near future.

Closely allied with the vast increase in the number of newspaper readers already referred to, is the striking increase that has taken place in the same period in the number of letters posted and received in the average Highland parish. In the early part of the half century now ending, and for many years after, a common thing was for each parish or district to be restricted to one arrival and dispatch weekly, and even with this long interval the contents of the runner's bag would at that period rarely exceed a dozen letters, and one-fourth that number of newspapers. To-day each parish, with very few exceptions, has its daily mail, and in many cases letters are sent and received twice a day, while, as to the extent of the communications arriving and forwarded, we know of a Highland parish—a fairly typical one—with a population under 1500, where often enough as many as one hundred letters arrive in a day, the number sent being frequently as great.

Many outsiders have always been ready to ascribe to the Highlanders an excessive yielding to superstitious beliefs and practices. If fifty years ago, or thereabouts, this feature characterised them more markedly than it did their countrymen in other parts of Scotland, it may be safely concluded that the often gloomy stillness of their isolated mountain homes, and the frequently saddening music of the 'melancholy sea' would have contributed to the fact. To this moment there are beliefs and practices of the kind in question to be met with in the Highlands, but, as a matter of fact, most of them are common to other portions of the country, and those that did most markedly prevail at one time in the north, such as the ludicrous performances and incantations resorted to, 'to bring back the milk' to a 'bewitched cow,' have now all but disappeared. The whistle of the railway train and the ringing of the steamer bell have scared away not a few superstitions, and another educating influence in the same direction is found in the fact that those 'ceillidh' gatherings or fireside conventicles, at which many a weird and witching story was fabricated and retailed, have of late been vanishing before the counter attraction of the newspaper and other cheap literature of various kinds.

In considering whether any prevalent feature in the Highland character or disposition of fifty years ago has been modified by the changes of recent years we may say, speaking generally, that the individuality of the Highlander has within the period referred to been very much assimilated with the national life and character. It used to be said that, as a people, Highlanders are confiding and guileless, as also kind and hospitable. Of the better type of them this is in a great measure true, but we would not like, from fear of a justifiable contradiction, to say that the 'guilelessness' is nearly so prevalent as it was of yore. The conditions of life are not now so easy as they once were, or, to speak more correctly, there is more of that eager competition which does not tend to promote kindness and frankness, and this changed state of matters has not been without result. Recent scenes of 'deforcement,' 'forcible possession of land,' and similar demonstrations, may have shaken the faith of some outsiders in the loyal, law-abiding and peace-loving

character long associated with the Highland name. To avoid the sweeping and detrimental inference these incidents would otherwise justify, it ought to be borne in mind that it is only by a small number of people in a few parishes or districts that these culpable and unhopeful scenes were conducted. In a certain proportion of cases the incidents in question were alarming enough, but they did not, generally speaking, possess the magnitude or significance that some of the newspaper reports would have suggested. It has always to be remembered that most of the crofters that took part in these demonstrations believed that, in entering on such unlawful proceedings as taking forcible possession of land and committing breaches of interdict, they were not breaking any law but simply ignoring or violating an *estate* regulation or some strictly local and temporary arrangement between landlord and tenant. We know of one or two cases where, when the real meaning of the proceeding came to be understood, sincere and remorseful regret was felt by the perpetrator of the unlawful doings.

We hear it now and then alleged that the martial spirit is on the wane among Highlanders. It might, perhaps, be somewhat disappointing to those that have a high ideal regarding the patriotism, martial sentiment, and similar features of a people to analyse the motives that, in some instances, provide recruits for the army or navy, but we feel convinced that at this moment there are in the Highlands many young men endowed with the spirit and physique required to render them worthy successors of ancestors who did a very great deal, in Britain's battles 'by sea and land,' to uphold and extend the name and greatness of the Empire.

Every now and then in these days we hear the expression, 'All that is now nearly done away with,' employed regarding customs and observances widely and elaborately honoured long ago in the Highlands. This is particularly the case with reference to Hallowe'en and Easter, and also the Christmas and New Year festivities. The two former seasons receive but very scant notice in the average Highland parish now-a-days compared with what used to be the case up till about fifteen years ago, when, at Hallowe'en, turnip-fields were often disa-

trously visited by bands of frolic-loving youths who unceremoniously, and to the great alarm of the inmates, hurled the plundered vegetable by window or chimney into the houses of neighbours, and, when at the same season, scores of young people in every parish marched along with joyous music and exuberant mirth carrying lighted torches in their hands. The same change is noticeable in the case of Christmas and New Year. Of yore shinty matches, feasting, and dancing, with an accompaniment of abundant supplies of 'mountain dew,' were a common feature of these occasions, but in most cases the day now passes off with scarce any observance save friendly greetings among neighbours and the meeting of family groups. There are, no doubt, shinty matches and similar games in many cases, but they lack, if not the popularity, at any rate the excitement and the boisterous mirth that characterised the same gatherings in other days. Another change is one that is suggested by a contrasting of Highland weddings then and now. Fifty years ago, among the native population, these events usually absorbed a week's time. There was, then, a festive meeting among the relatives and intimate acquaintances of the bridegroom and bride the evening before the marriage, then that on the marriage day, and after that four or five days were spent, all with feasting and dancing, in visits by the marriage 'party' to the homes of the relatives of both bride and bridegroom. This feature has all but disappeared. Many of the crofter class to-day are in the habit of going some distance from home to get married, and returning shortly after, and seldom in such cases are the festivities but of the simplest and quietest character. Another marked change of to-day is in the short time now occupied by the Highland 'fairs,' or 'markets,' as they are generally called, and which at one time used to extend in most cases over three or four days. On the mainland especially, ever since the introduction of railway communication, those markets are now got over as a rule in one day, and there can be no doubt that, in this respect at least, the railway has proved a temperance and general reformer of a very distinct kind.

In looking for a moment at the probable future of the

Highlands, one is encouraged to believe that, so far at any rate as the crofter population is concerned, tangible and lasting benefit must come from two sources. These are the educational progress steadily going on, and the recent legislation on the land question, or, to give the latter its technical specification, 'The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886.' The two agencies, in one particular, combine to work powerfully in the same bettering direction. The growing intelligence of the people excites a desire to remove to places further south, where the conditions of life are more inviting, and where, especially, money-making is more easily accomplished. This relieves that congestion which has been so fruitful a cause of the poverty and misery too well known in some crofter districts in the Western Isles, and then again the legislation referred to, and which, among other equitable and even generous enactments, provides for larger holdings, tends still further to increase the comfort and prosperity of such as elect to cling to their native soil. It is almost a pity that the Act in question did not contain a provision giving greater encouragement than it offers to the fishing industry in the Highlands. The harvest of the sea in these parts, it is well known, might be made a very rich and profitable one, and it is felt by many acquainted with, and interested in the Highlands that, in addition to loans for purchasing boats and nets within certain limits, this privilege should have been wider in its application, and that aid ought to have been granted for the constructing of harbours and towards procuring more rapid communication between Highland fishing stations and the southern markets. In addition to other advantages, this would tend to put an end to that combined occupation implied in the term *Crofter-fisherman*, so common all along the western sea-board of the Counties of Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland. The twofold avocation in question constitutes a miserable drag on the industriousness of those that adopt it, inasmuch as it promotes an inactivity and a lethargic way of living, to which many of the people are predisposed in consequence of certain relaxing influences of a climatic kind. The Crofter-fisherman, who, as a rule, occupies a very small croft, neglects

the cultivation of his land to a considerable extent because he feels that he has 'the harvest of the sea' to draw upon, and on the other hand his diligence in pursuing the fishing industry is materially modified by means of the tendency to depend on the croft as a means of subsistence. Lest the suggestion just made as to the climatic effects should be considered fanciful, we may direct the reader's attention to the fact that in the West Highlands, and especially in the Outer Hebrides, where the climate is well known to be a wet one, the crofters are found, as a rule, to be of less active habits and less diligent and successful in the working of their crofts than are their fellow-tillers of the soil in the north and north-eastern districts of the Highlands, where the climate is considerably drier, and sunshine more frequent.

The Land Question in the Highlands, like many problems elsewhere, will gradually adjust itself. In the case of the larger holdings it is at this moment doing so in a quite striking way indeed. The reduced prices of meat and grain consequent on foreign competition caused rents that, in brighter days, were gladly offered, to be considered excessive, and in some cases they were keenly felt to be so; but, though in some individual instances, during the currency of a lease, the burden of a high rent was found to be heavy indeed, the matter is now adjusting itself. Farms are in this respect subject to the ordinary regulating influences of supply and demand, and landlords must, of course, take and fix whatever rent the tenant is prepared to offer.

In regard to the Crofting System, it too will adjust itself. 'More land' is at present the cry among the crofter population. The Crofters' Act of 1886 will, slowly it may be, meet this demand, and the educational progress of the present day, which is already having the effect of drawing away many of the younger members of crofter families to parts of the country where the conditions of life are easier and more encouraging, must likewise tend to facilitate the meeting of the cry for land. We may confidently expect that in the not very distant future, as the result of such educational progress, and of the kind of legislation referred to, the Crofting System,

will have definitely assumed an aspect of prosperity and comfort, which is very far from common at the present moment. The narrowing of the gulf between the 'classes' and the 'masses,' which certain forces in busy and widespread operation in these days must gradually bring about, cannot but help in promoting improvement in the circumstances of the Crofters. There will be more of that direct communication between landlord and tenant, the comparative absence of which accounts for much of the bitterness and angry talk of the Crofter 'Agitation,' and, however capably factors and other estate officials do their duty, the direct intercourse referred to is essential to a peaceful and prosperous working of the Crofter System. The harmony and, indeed, the stability of the social fabric in the Highlands have long been undergoing a severe strain—perhaps they have to some extent suffered positive injury—in consequence of the very wide gulf between the two strata of society in these parts, between, that is, the landlords and holders of large farms on the one hand, and the crofters and labouring class on the other. The scanty education and the poverty of the latter, aided by the enforced isolation caused by the limited means of travelling that long prevailed, virtually prevented anything being done to bridge this gulf, and for many years, so abject and unhealthy was the feeling thus engendered, the average crofter positively trembled at the thought of coming into the presence of 'the laird,' nor was his frame of mind much more composed when having to meet 'the factor,' or even 'the ground-officer.' When the educational progress of recent times began to sweep away this false and dangerous distance, as is the case with almost all reactions, many of the crofters and others mentioned took to speaking of and to landlords and others of the same class in a bold and defiant manner, and the relations of society have in this way been lately somewhat disorganised. But all will yet be right. At heart the Highlander is very far from being a disciple of the 'Nil admirari' school. He is loyal to the core and he shewed this at recent Jubilee celebrations, when many a Highland glen resounded with the loud shouts of a right hearty loyalty.

The fact cannot be ignored that the poverty, the barren soil, and the isolation amid which very many of the crofters long lived, taken along with the virtual indifference with which they were treated by some of those above them in the social scale, constituted a severe strain on their frankness of manner and friendliness of disposition as well as a check upon their material prosperity. The artificial barriers indicated are now to a great extent undergoing removal and benefits permanent as well as tangible must be the result. So far as the poverty alluded to is concerned, if one could believe that a revival in the general trade of the country were near at hand, a speedy and thorough amelioration in the lot of the crofters, as in that of other people, might be looked for, but, in any case, for reasons already more or less detailed, the bleak and discouraging features plainly visible for a protracted period over a large portion of the crofter area must gradually give way to a brighter and more hopeful aspect.

ART. IV.—THE CHEVALIER DE FEUQUEROLLES.*

From the French.

BUT Thou exulting and abounding River !
 Making thy waves a blessing as they flow
 Through banks whose beauty would endure for ever
 Could man but leave thy bright creation so,
 Nor its fair promise from the surface mow
 With the sharp scythe of conflict ; then to see
 Thy valley of sweet waters, were to know,
 Earth paved like heaven ; and to seem such to me
 Even now what wants thy stream ?—that it should Lethe be.

A thousand battles have assail'd thy banks,
 But these and half their fame have pass'd away,
 And Slaughter heap'd on high his weltering ranks ;
 Their very graves are gone, and what are they ?

*This is a true story, the main facts may be read in the records of the time, while the details are furnished by the archives of the House of Feuquerolles.

Thy tide wash'd down the blood of yesterday,
And all was stainless, and on thy clear stream
Glass'd, with its dancing light, the sunny ray ;
But o'er the blacken'd memory's blighting dream
Thy waves would vainly roll, all sweeping as they seem.

Childe Harold, Canto 3.

IT was the eve of the Battle of Ramillies ; I had the honour of serving the King in his Company of Men-at-Arms who formed his body-guard. We lay quietly encamped several miles from the Dyle, and did not anticipate an engagement. On Whitsun eve the King's guard received orders to picquet their horses, and we then realized that the enemy was at hand. The next day when we were at Mass at daybreak, we suddenly heard the signal for mounting. I well remember that as the trumpet sounded, the priest, turning his pale face towards us, and raising his hands to heaven, said, 'The Lord be with you !' We all mounted hastily, the priest's words rang in my ears for some moments, but soon the hurried movements of the army, the objects that passed and repassed, the approach of battle, the noise of the guns, the uncertainty, a something I know not what, which seemed to give more light to the day, and to open up the horizon beyond the limits of vision, made me oblivious of aught else. If moral drunkenness could exist, I should say I was inebriated in head and heart. My strength seemed to me immense, and my blood coursed with unusual rapidity. With my head held high, I spurred on my horse, calling to my companions and joking them. I was nineteen ! and I longed to gain my spurs. Oh, how happy I was !

At last it had come ! the longed for day of battle. I saw the engagement commence, and soon it assumed colossal proportions. I could hear its thunders in the distance, and could see its action before me simple and sublime. Green trees, large fields clothed with shrubs, cottages scattered here and there, formed the surroundings, and in the midst of these moved the long columns of infantry and the serried lines of cavalry and chariots, while over all rose a strange sound of human voices mingled with the metallic crash of warlike instruments. I was wild with joy. I remember that for a moment I thought I saw my father before

me, and not alone. I saw other fantastic figures, among them the face of my betrothed. My father seemed to address me. 'Be a man of honour,' I heard; and in the sad smile of the young girl, I read Faith and Hope. Lifting my eyes from the sword that my father had given me, to the scarf embroidered by Jeanne, the ends of which floated at my side, I murmured, 'Always worthy of you.' But a halt that we made at the village of Ramillies roused me from my happy dreams. The batallions were reformed, and the King's household troops were taking position, when we were suddenly attacked by the enemy's cavalry. The men-at-arms sustained the first shock with their ordinary valour, but soon they were forced to yield to superior numbers.

The King's guards were beginning to waver, when a squadron of the enemy, breaking their ranks, advanced upon us at full speed. Our company rallied and charged them, cutting the enemy to pieces, and forcing the survivors to fall back on their lines. I saw their captain fatally wounded by one of my friends; when the poor wretch let go the reins of his horse, and fell back, his eyes, lit up with despair, fixed themselves upon me, and his lips, stained with blood, murmured some unintelligible words. When he fell, the noise of the fall made me again turn my eyes in his direction. His face seemed to distort itself, and he stretched out his arm as if he were invoking a curse upon us.

Soon other corpses fell above him, horses fought their way across the slain, and when I again passed the spot, out of breath, and maddened by the smoke, I could see nothing of the captain but the head and hand; the sight lasted but for a moment, as long as I live, however, in the silence of the night, that head and hand will haunt and pursue me. All around in a terrible group lay the dead and dying, men and horses, abandoned uniforms and arms, and everywhere blood. But this crowd where all seemed dead, had a life of its own, from which arose in piercing accents a terrible mixture of prayer and blasphemy. In the midst of this shapeless mass a head and a hand seemed to detach themselves in brilliant outlines; the eyes were half open, and tears of blood had made their way down the face. I am told this is often the case after a violent death. The lips opened and showed teeth of a dazzling whiteness, and the damp hair was drawn over the side of the forehead

where the veins stood out black and swollen. The hand closed convulsively over the blade of the sword. Those vacant eyes, the violet hue of the lips, and the tears of blood, I see still; I shall always see them. It will take much longer to read these lines than it took me to receive this terrible, ineffaceable impression. I was carried on by the rush of battle, attacking the enemy, defending myself, when, just as I was being swept beyond the sight of the head and hand, the crush forced me backwards upon the scene and it seemed to me that the head moved, and that the hand pointed a finger at me, while I heard the word 'malédiction.' No doubt the sound came from some other dying man, but still! could it be possible that the captain was thus addressing me!

Meanwhile, in the hottest of the fight the light horsemen of the King's guard were performing prodigies of valour; there was a brave rivalry between them and the men-at-arms. We were victorious at this point, but our success cost us the life of Prince Maximilian who died like a hero. The buglers were sounding the retreat for our cavalry when we perceived that the enemy's cavalry had received a reinforcement and were attacking our right. Burning to drive them back we charged furiously, but the enemy met us pistols in hand and killed many of our men. The Prince, who was commanding us, was wounded in the thigh, but though the wound was severe, he continued to fight and encourage us by his example. In the *mêlée* I received a cut on my head from a sabre, and to add to our difficulties we had to cross an almost impassable morass. The Marquis de Goufiers was one of the first to plunge into it, and perished in the attempt. My horse was almost engulfed, but he made such efforts, vigorously seconded by me, that we regained firm ground. In the distance I saw our standard surrounded by my few remaining comrades, for the men-at-arms had been nearly cut to pieces. I resolved to join them at all hazards, though I had to pass through the enemy's cavalry which occupied the ground in detached groups. I galloped off therefore at full speed under a smart shower of bullets, a few horsemen pursued me, but I had already distanced them and was approaching our own people when I was overtaken by one of the enemy, and before I could

turn round to face him a pistol shot deprived me of both my eyes. I fell, and was quickly surrounded, one of the soldiers recognized my uniform and exclaimed, 'He belongs to the King's Household, give him no quarter,' and another pistol shot was fired at my head crushing the skull. Even in my half unconscious state I realized that my only chance lay in showing no sign of life, so I remained perfectly still while the officers stripped me of my uniform and of my money and then remounted. I could hear them riding away. A few minutes later I heard the firing of artillery and supposed that our men had rallied and that the combat was recommencing.

Lying flat on the earth, suffering agonies of pain and deprived of my sight, I still kept the instinct of self-preservation. All my faculties were concentrated on that thought: my life! I wished to live—to live at any price. I was so young! 'and the May sun had shone so brightly upon me only that morning.'

Soon, however, my senses became less acute. I felt a dull rumbling in my ears, and frightful pains assailed me, my mouth grew dry and hard. I tried to change my position, but at the slightest movement my head seemed to be separating itself from my body. I fainted—and then! was it a dream, or was it the delirium of fever that brought this apparition before me? Of all my sufferings this was the greatest. The head of the dead captain placed itself close to mine. I felt his burning breath on my lips, his vacant, glassy eyes froze me with terror, and his icy hand pressed mine. If I moved, he moved also; and if I made a despairing effort to escape from him, his terrible hand seemed to strangle me. I know not how long this vision lasted—a minute, an hour, or a century it might be! At last the noise of the musketry, the heavy rush of the squadrons roused me to consciousness. It seemed impossible that I should not be crushed to death by the masses of men and horses. I could only pray, 'Oh my God.' I have since learnt that it was the Bavarian Guards who had come near the morass to disperse the enemy. A bloody engagement took place, and lasted long. Little by little the tumult ceased and the firing died away in the distance. Each shot affected me painfully, my poor head seemed continually to echo the two shots which had injured me so terribly.

The combatants had hardly gone when I heard on all sides groans and cries, words of despair, and mournful prayers for mercy. The sighs of the dying sounded in my ears with an unknown horror. In towns we seldom hear the complaints of men, or if so, they are softened by the tender care of friends; but on a battlefield abandoned by all, dying perhaps in the full strength of manhood, the murmurs of the dying are infinitely sad. I could hear the heavy faltering step of those who attempted to rise, one man rose, fell, and again rose, only to fall at my feet. I heard one long sigh, and then the silence told me he was dead. I longed to fly, my youth and the strength of my constitution were in my favour, and after a long struggle I managed to kneel up, and stretching out my arms tried to feel my way. Then I tried to take a few steps, but at each step I tumbled over the bodies that lay round me. At times I fainted from pain and exhaustion, but directly I recovered consciousness I made fresh efforts to save myself. At last I could hear frogs croaking, and feared I must be near the morass, and knowing that death was inevitable if I fell into it, I stopped and lay still. I could tell by the cooler air that night had come. What a night of horror that was! I passed through successive stages of resignation, of impatience, of sufferings of all kinds. I could hear people moving about, whom I recognized by their language as peasants of the neighbourhood, and I called to them to have pity on me and to save me. For a long time my supplications were unheeded, but at last some of the peasants approached me; I described my sad condition, and implored them to take me from the battlefield. I said they should never regret their charity to me. I spoke of money, of humanity, of everything that could touch them. After listening to me quietly these people robbed me of my clothes, telling me they were very sorry for me but that it was impossible I could recover, and then left me, exhorting me to have confidence in God. The wretches dared to speak to me of the justice of God, yet did not hesitate to rob me of all that remained to me. After a time, having treated many others in the same manner, the peasants returned to my neighbourhood and I made another attempt to gain their sympathy. In the name of their mothers, their children, and of all they held dear,

I conjured them to have pity upon me, or at least to leave me something to cover me. I tried to rise and go towards them, but before I had dragged myself a few steps, I felt a haversack thrown over me, and then I was left alone. Presently, however, the men returned and said that if I felt able to accompany them to the village, which was a mile off, they would conduct me thither. This offer re-animated my courage. I assured them I would follow them joyfully if they would call to me from time to time to guide me on the road.

Exerting all my strength I managed to rise. For a moment they seemed almost touched by my state, but nevertheless they walked on without attempting to assist me. I was so fearful of being left behind that I made heroic efforts to keep up with my guides. From time to time the heavy booty they carried forced them to stop, and I profited by these little halts to rest, but one of these moments of respite proved fatal to me. During one of them I fainted, and the peasants fancying no doubt that I was dead, proceeded on their way, leaving me to my fate. I cannot describe my despair when I regained consciousness and found myself deserted. My position was now even more appalling than it had been on the battlefield, the intense loneliness and the failure of my hopes utterly crushed me, and I know not how I survived. I had no idea where I was, and I knew that if I was still far from the village, my death must be a slow and terrible one, either the birds of prey or wild animals would devour me, or I should starve to death. For the first time my heart cried out to God with the Christian's infinite trust. Oh how I pity those who, wishing to deny all religion, despise that faith which enables us to bear the sorrows of this life and blesses their patient acceptance. He is indeed miserable who in his extreme need cannot fix his hopes higher than this world.

I made no formal prayer, I used no words, but I lifted my heart to God and resigned myself to His Holy Will. 'My God may Thy Will be done.' The soft night breeze came to me laden with perfume. The slow beats of my heart seemed like celestial music. I no longer cried for help to man, I placed all my trust in Him who forgives those who suffer and repent.

The night passed slowly, towards morning it began to rain

heavily. In all my troubles I had fortunately retained the haversack, it protected me now, and I lay wrapped in it upon the ground, which I could feel was covered by soft thick grass. At length the singing of the birds told me that day was dawning, and soon I heard church bells ringing. Presently a confused murmur of voices reached my ear; after many ineffectual efforts to rise, I succeeded in standing up and made signals, calling faintly for help. The villagers came towards me but were so appalled at my appearance that they could not speak, and soon turned away, one of them murmuring as he went, 'Let the poor creature commend his soul to God for he cannot live long.' I called to them, imploring them to take me to the village, assuring them that my wounds were not mortal, but no answer came—I was again deserted.

Now began again a time of agony—yesterday at the same hour I had been so happy—I had gone into action full of ardour, longing for glory. My horse seemed to share my excitement, and my very sword glowed in the rays of the sun. Surrounded by cheery comrades I was rich in hopes for the future, which to my nineteen years seemed endless, and now what was life to me. Where was my horse who loved me and neighed at my approach? Where was my sword, my father's gift? And Jeanne's scarf? . . . Oh Jeanne, my betrothed, whom I should never see again and who could love me no more. . . My God, my God, how wretched I am, I cried.

In my state of exhaustion and misery I know not how it was that the thoughts of the joys of this world which I had hardly tasted as yet, and which I was losing for ever, should come before me. I remembered too that the previous summer one of my friends had lost his betrothed, and that at his desire I had visited the house of mourning. I could see the young girl, as I then beheld her, beautiful in death, with her hands clasped over the crucifix. My friend, standing by with bent head and sombre look, could only say these words, 'May you never lose that which you love.' And now I was losing everything—fame, fortune, my beautiful betrothed—my whole future. Why then should I wish to live? and yet I still clung to life, and as I heard people coming and going but always seeming deaf to my entreaties for help, a feel-

ing of despair seized upon me. What had I done to these men that they should leave me thus to perish in their midst.

Towards evening I made another attempt, and walked a few paces, but the swampy nature of the ground made further progress dangerous. Again, therefore, I spent the night in the same circumstances, but this time a merciful unconsciousness stole over me, from which I was roused by the chill of dawn. For the second time the church bells and the singing of the birds told me that day had come, and soon I heard women's voices near me, and I thought that they at least would have pity on me, but my hope was vain. Uttering cries at my appearance, they also took flight, and then a terror which had not before presented itself to my mind took possession of me. I saw death before me, not the violent death with which the vision of the Captain's head had threatened me, not the death of the Christian, the thought of which had so consoled me, nor the thought of death made easier by the presence of some loved one, but a death horrible indeed, that of a condemned prisoner waiting in his cell for the fatal signal. I began to pray aloud, and then I called my mother's name. A burning thirst assailed me, and thinking that my agony was beginning I knelt up and made the sign of the cross. 'Why, is it possible you are not dead?' said a voice in my ear; 'take courage, then, and I will fetch a horse and take you to the village.' It was one of the peasants who had encouraged me to follow him the first day. At the sound of his words all my hopes revived. I rose, and trying to seize his hands I implored him not to leave me to fetch the horse, assuring him I could go with him if he would assist me. I threw my arms round his neck and held him tightly, fearing he might again abandon me. Perceiving my fears, he swore he would be faithful to me, and spoke so warmly that I trusted him. After a few steps I fainted, but the good man carried me on his shoulders.

When I came to my senses I found myself in an old, delapidated chateau, surrounded by wounded men who had also taken refuge there. Fires were lit in the middle of each room, and stones placed round them for us to sit upon. The change from my previous terrible condition made me think my surroundings delightful. Some charitable souls came to assist us. One of

these good women brought me a 'bouillon' made with buttermilk, at any other time it would have disgusted me, but now I ate it with avidity. I had been for three days without food, but I had suffered so terribly in other ways that I hardly felt this privation. Later I was given some bread and an egg, and when evening came some one laid me on a bed of straw. During the early part of the night the noise around me was distracting; some of the poor creatures groaned, some cried aloud, or uttered blasphemies, while others disputed over their share of the straw or the fire. By the middle of the night there was comparative peace, however, interrupted only by smothered groans or low murmuring conversations. Each one described his wounds, and it is a real alleviation to the sufferer merely to describe what it is he suffers. I confess I found immense comfort in the pity my sad state awakened in these poor sufferers. We spent the night in these mutual offers of sympathy, for it was impossible to sleep.

Early in the morning we heard carriage wheels in the courtyard. It was a wagon sent from Namur by M. le Comte de Saillons, to take the wounded to the town. When the news came a perfect tumult raged around me, all those who could drag themselves along besieged the wagon. I tried to follow my companions, but no one thought of me, and I was knocked over by the crowd. A monk who had accompanied the cart came to me and implored me to have patience, assuring me that other carriages were coming; but I could not resign myself to waiting, I shivered with impatience, and tried to walk on. At last I begged the monk to take me to the wagon. He consented, warning me, however, that it was already overcrowded, but I seized his cloak and repeated that there must be room for me, and that I would incommode no one. With the gentleness and charity belonging to his vocation, the good monk took my hand and walked in front of me. Without his help I must have perished in trying to cross the drawbridge, which was falling to pieces, and full of holes.

When those who filled the wagon caught sight of me, they told me to stand back, that the carriage was already too full, as indeed was true; but my kind guide appeased them, and promised that I should be placed in such a position as would not in-

convenience them. I was accordingly seated at the end of the vehicle with my legs hanging over the door, and as the roads were rough and stony, I was tied in with ropes of straw. The good monk arranged for my comfort as far as possible, and said a few parting words suitable to my condition. We then set off, the shaking of the wagon added to the pain in my head, and I suffered intensely. From time to time one of my companions died and was thrown out on to the road. I could tell this by the noise of the body falling, by the cries of the survivors, and by the greater space in the wagon. When we reached Namur, we were three less than when we started. At the gates of the town we were met by a considerable number of priests and citizens, among whom were some charitable women. Seeing my pitiable condition, these took charge of me, and one of them gave me a biscuit soaked in spirits. Then a Capuchin monk took me on his shoulders and carried me to the hospital, where he placed me in one of the wards. Some one asked me who I was, and I gave my name. My voice reached one of my old companions who was already an occupant of the ward, and he begged that I might be placed in a vacant bed next his. Poor de Grandmaison! What comfort his welcome gave me! and how much was implied by his long, silent clasp of my hand. He was the first of my comrades I had met, and between us words were unnecessary. His grasp of the hand meant tears and blood. Without speaking he said to me, 'The King's men-at-arms are dead, and France is conquered.'

When the surgeons came to inspect me, they seemed quite terrified at the sight of my wounds, my face was unrecognisable and they could not understand how I still lived. The nurses contented themselves with fomenting my head with spirits to bring down the inflammation, and promised to dress my wounds later. I was given food and fresh linen and soon felt more comfortable; indeed, when I compared my present state with all I had gone through, I felt almost happy. The first night, however, was very dreary. In the first place the doctors forgot me, and my pains increased, then I heard around me nothing but talk of legs and arms which had been, or were to be, amputated, while the cries of those under operation pierced my heart. My

heated imagination brought before me incessantly the terrible instruments which caused these sufferings, I seemed to see bodies without arms, or arms without bodies; I thought I saw death stalking through the ward and leaping from bed to bed choosing his victims. My delirium had reached this point when something touched me and I screamed with terror—it was the surgeon who had come to dress my wounds. Later, when I told de Grandmaison of my terrors he laughed and said I had good reasons for my alarm, the light heart of the *gen d'arme* survived amidst all his sufferings.

I could not get over my horror of my surroundings, the mere idea of being in a hospital terrified me, and I determined to get away cost what it might. Fortunately a good opportunity shortly presented itself. Two of our old comrades came to see de Grandmaison, and told him that they had heard I was mortally wounded. No doubt my friend made them a sign to be silent and pointed me out to them, for after a few moments they approached my bed and one of them addressed me saying, 'Courage, Feuquerolles, you will soon be all right.'

Oh my dear friends, I replied, I am blind, and I shall certainly die unless you help me to get away from the hospital, I have an old friend in the town with whom I used to lodge, pray go to her and tell her of my state and implore her to take me in. My friends willingly accepted the commission, and accomplished it so successfully that my former hostess not being able herself to come to the hospital, sent her son to say that I should be most welcome. Without waiting even to thank the young man I threw myself out of bed, and seizing his arm begged him to conduct me at once to his house. The poor man endeavoured to calm me, fearing the consequences of so rapid a move, and finally persuaded me to wait for a coach. As soon as it came we set off, after I had embraced poor de Grandmaison, whom I was not to meet again in this life. I will not weary the reader with the details of the long illness which followed; thanks to my good constitution and to the excellent nursing I received, I survived the terrible treatment necessitated by my wounds, and with returning strength my spirits revived. In spite of my blindness I rejoiced to live, and in contrasting my past misery with the

kindness and comfort which surrounded me, I felt the deepest thankfulness.

I hesitate to mention my hostess or her home, well knowing her dislike to publicity of any kind. However, dear friend, you must permit me to linger for a moment on the memories which the thoughts of past kindness recall. As you will remember, I occupied your son's room overlooking the garden, from which the sweet-scented breezes reached me. The day I arrived your daughter was ill, and you concealed from her that a wounded officer lay ill in the house, Two days after she came to visit me, poor child, and I heard her voice, I was told she was beautiful, I know she was good—like an angel. Do you remember our talks, Madame? those were happy days in spite of my wounds, your daughter's companionship made me forget my sufferings. The day of departure came, alas! and I can recall every detail of that moment, the provisions you had prepared for my journey, the scent bottle you gave me, and which I still preserve as a treasure. Marie allowed me to embrace her, thank your child for me. The remembrance of your goodness, Madame, will never leave my heart, and the gratitude of the wounded soldier will end only with his life.

II

In trying to write the latter part of my short life's story I lose courage, the words I search for escape me, and I despair of expressing what I feel.

For me there is nothing left in life. No love, no smiles, no tears even. My days pass slowly and heavily. When my father's old servant has dressed me, when he has thrown a veil over me (for who could bear to look upon me) and placed me in the arm-chair, my day begins. When my mother speaks I can hear the tears in her voice, she has lost her son, the brilliant son of whom she was so proud, and hope has gone out of our life. I spend whole days in silence. I shiver with cold, and it is in vain that the rays of sunshine strive to warm my emaciated frame, and yet I am not twenty, and once I was as gay and brave a cavalier as could be! Before I joined the army I enjoyed everything, my sport, my long walks in the forest, all was

pleasure, and when I returned home in the evening my high spirits cheered those dear ones who awaited me with impatience, and who would gently scold me for my long absences.

To-day! when I hear the rain dashing against the window I recall how in old days I depended on the weather, my spirits rose and fell with it, and now I have lost for ever both the grey days of November and the sultry days of August. I loved nature and the sight of the birds and flowers. What beautiful things have I not dreamt when watching the summer sunsets. The boundless horizon spread before me seemed a fit emblem of my life then, with its immense possibilities of happiness. But—a pistol shot has shattered the prism that reflected those brilliant colours.

Only a year ago, Jeanne and I were so happy, and now the thought of that time is more than I can bear. I have lost all my golden dreams; I am dead to glory, dead to love, dead to all I care for here below.

I was told that to obtain Jeanne's hand, I must make myself a name, so I determined to join the army, but before I went, we saw each other every day. She would sit in the recess of the window working, with me at her side. Sitting there, sometimes talking, sometimes silent, I had delicious dreams. My great ambition was to conceal from everyone—from Jeanne herself especially—how much I loved her. She, with her little moods now gay, now sad, and her attempts at innocent coqueterie, had complete power over me. I obeyed her in everything.

I can see Jeanne now as she looked then, with her head bent over her embroidery, her gold ringlets shading her face, to which the long dark eyelashes gave a special character. I do not know if she was beautiful, the charm of her expression was enough. We were very happy. Now, Jeanne weeps and prays for me in her convent.

But I am anxious to finish this sad story, and when my task is ended I shall wait calmly for death. I have only had courage to continue thus far through my strong desire to make known what a cruel fate that of a soldier may be. The pomp and pageantry of war hides from the spectators the suffering that lies beneath. In the towns, after a

victory, when the bells ring, and the cannons fire, when the churches resound to the chant of the *Te Deum*, all hearts rejoice and the young men think only of glory—glory won, or to be won, and their wives and mothers share the enthusiasm. The old men even, uncover their heads to salute the King's young soldiers. Everyone is proud of the warriors whose glory is reflected upon them. But oh my friends, you prosperous citizens, industrious tradesmen, simple country people, you do not realize that the noise of the cannon and the pealing of the bells conceal from your ears the despairing cries of the wounded. Happy, prosperous world, will it ever be given to you to see among the folds of the conquered standards, amidst all the trophies of victory, the blood stains of those who have died for their country.

Glory is a fine thing. It shines brilliant as a diamond, but also like the diamond it must be searched for under ground. When on a monarch's forehead, his people admire a costly gem, how few realize the fate of the multitudes who toil in the diamond mines of Brazil or Golconda? Yet it is not difficult to picture the life of the poor miner—working by the feeble light of a torch, bent with years and toil, far from his home and family, his whole life is given up to the search, often unavailing, of the precious gem, and for this jewel he has bartered health and liberty. This miner is the soldier. The diamond is fame.

One day I was walking with Jeanne—it is barely a year ago—and we were both sad and silent. At last Jeanne spoke—‘Do not go to the war,’ she said; ‘remain with us, friendship is worth infinitely more than fame. Here we shall meet each day, and the present and the future, the sorrows and the joys of life will be ours to bear together.’ ‘But, Jeanne,’ I replied, ‘I must seek renown, I must earn some memories for my old age. I want to make a name for myself, so that the glory may be reflected back upon you. Jeanne, in a book you were reading to me the other day, Memory was spoken of as an angel, always young, always beautiful, in the shadow of whose wings we walk, and who smiles upon us each time we look back upon him. Well, we must claim that angel's care. We are very happy now, but we shall be far more happy when I return from the war. I shall

be Captain Chevalier de St. Louis, possibly even Colonel, and I shall have soon fame among men. I shall be constant to you, Jeanne, for nowhere, in other lands, shall I find your like.' . . .

(At this point a sudden fainting fit, followed by a long illness, interrupted the Chevalier's story. It was not till two months had passed that he who had written so far under his dictation dared to remind Monsieur de Feuquerolles that his history was still incomplete. One evening he resumed his task as follows:—)

I was then (to follow my own adventures without further digression) just leaving my kind hostess at Namur on my return to France. Before my start I had, however, an unexpected pleasure. My father, about whose fate I was becoming anxious, sent me a messenger with a letter full of affection for me, and which contained some news of himself. He had been obliged to evacuate Brussels and occupy Liège, which he was now fortifying against the enemy, and as a siege was imminent he warned me to expect no further intelligence for some time. The first time I left the house at Namur it was to thank God for my wonderful recovery. I was taken to the church, and there, kneeling in one of the chapels, I tried to make a humble act of resignation to God's holy will—which for me consisted in a total renunciation of the joys of this world—accepting the desolate life which lay before me.

The next day I went to thank M. de Saillons, whose goodness to me had been untiring, and on the following morning started on my homeward journey under the care of two friends. At Arras, where we made a halt, some officers who were passing through the town called on us. They came from Flanders, and brought news of the war. One of these gentlemen described the gallant conduct of an officer who was defending a position of great danger, a bomb struck him in the side but he continued to fight, preferring to die at his post. Soon however a pistol shot shattered his leg and he was removed to Nieuport, where he expired. We asked the name of this brave man and they named my father!

I fainted, and for long my friends thought I must die. I cannot even attempt to describe my despair, some sorrows are too

deep to bear utterance. My great weakness was in itself the cause of my recovery I think. I was so crushed by misfortune that I bent before this new sorrow like a reed before the storm, often I could not even think.

At length the moment came in our sad journey when my friends told me they could see the towers of my mother's old chateau. We drove on in silence, broken only by the rattle of the carriage on the road. Presently this ceased, and I could tell we had entered the avenue and were in the shade of the great chestnut trees. I trembled from head to foot. The carriage stopped and some one lifted me to the ground, I could feel the turf under my feet. Here in old days my father used to meet me! I heard a door open quickly and then I was folded in my mother's arms, her tears fell upon me, and I could hear her broken words, 'My child, my child.'

We entered the house where our relations and friends had assembled to greet my return, but soon they withdrew and left me alone with my mother. I threw myself on the ground beside her and laid my head on her knee. We spoke of my father and of his glorious death, and my mother's words sank into my heart. Glory! she exclaimed, glory! my son—oh how dearly has it been bought.

Two years later.

My mother never recovered from the shock occasioned by our sorrows. Her funeral bells are ringing to-day. Oh! Lord my God, have mercy on me and take me also. I belong now to you alone.

M. M. MAXWELL SCOTT.

ART. V.—THE FAUST LEGEND.

IN the autumn of the year 1587 there appeared at the Frankfurt fair a little book that was destined to obtain immediate popularity and a considerable influence on the history of literature in Europe. The author's name was suppressed, and it had nothing to recommend it but the following title: '*The History of Dr. John Faust, the widely renowned sorcerer and black artist:*

how he bound himself to the devil for a fixed period, what extraordinary adventures he had in that time, the mischief he worked and the things he did, until finally he received his well-deserved reward: Collected for the most part from his own posthumous writings, and put in print as a terrible example, dreadful instance, and well-meant warning, for all arrogant, rash, and godless men, James iii.—“Submit yourselves, therefore, to God. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.”

The little book is the earliest complete record of the life and death of Faust. Various accounts of him had been in circulation at an earlier date, but they were embodied in this or in one of the subsequent versions of the legend. Like many another miraculous tale, this one too might long ago have met its fate and been forgotten. It survived because it made appeal to thoughts and passions which at some period or other influence the life of every man. Among the hundreds of those who were in their day the reputed possessors of magical power Faust alone has attained to permanent and widespread fame, not because he worked greater wonders than his fellows, but as the type to all time of striving and erring humanity. For the magician who allied himself with evil through an unsatisfied aspiration after the good was at once recognised a subject worthy of the highest dramatic effort. The account of his doings was speedily accessible in other languages than German, and the legend passed into a literary form. But from Marlowe's treatment of it to the spiritual view that Lessing and Goethe took was a long step. Born in the midst of deep movements of European thought, it was only with the full effect of these movements two centuries later that it reached its crowning development in the greatest drama of modern times.

Apart, however, from its universal human interest, and apart from the question of its growth into a great literary idea, there is a special interest attaching to the legend which does not seem to have received sufficient attention, and which will be our main concern here. It is a fact full of significance that the story of Faust appeared at a turning point in the history of Europe, when the order of thought which had been prevalent throughout the Middle Age was breaking up under the influence of new and fruitful ideas. The early part of the sixteenth century, when

the famous magician is supposed to have flourished, witnessed in Germany those two great movements which we call the Revival of Learning and the Reformation. Though these two movements are often coupled together as working towards a common end, and though their interests are often supposed to be identical, the Revival of Learning was the earlier, and by the importance it placed on a return to original authorities, whether in philosophic or religious matters, contributed somewhat to bring about the revolt against Rome. The tendency of these two movements was, in fact, not the same; and the contrast which may be traced between them is nowhere exhibited in a more direct form than in the history of Faust. The popular effect of those movements is nowhere presented with greater fidelity than in his adventures. The legend deserves all the more interest in that it reflects in its original and fragmentary form the results of the New Learning, and in its first appearance as a book the influence of the Reformation as applied to those results.

A distinction can be drawn, to make the matter clearer, between the Faust of the original legend, as this legend has come down in the references of contemporary writers, and the character which the author of the book of 1587 endeavoured to stamp upon it. The references these writers make are mostly of a contemptuous nature, and Faust is by them held up to scorn as a presumptuous, boastful, and foolish person, who with a little knowledge of magic did wondrous things. But by the time that the legend appeared in print in a collected form, the German nation was in another mood, and the story of Faust's life was used to point the most serious of moral lessons. The Reformation has been described as an interruption of the currents produced by the New Learning; and to whatever extent that statement may be true, it is certain that when the Faust legend appeared in print, it was strongly coloured with the ideas of the new religious movement and made to serve its purpose. This character of the Faust legend, as in its complete form a product of the great movements of the sixteenth century is one of the most instructive ways in which it can be regarded. There is no doubt that the wonders said to have been worked by its hero were taken seriously by the people as the excesses of intellectual

audacity. He is the type of spiritual tumult, of the passion for absolute knowledge, of the disregard of rule, of the contempt of all that seems to impede the realisation of hope or endeavour; and in the eyes of the uneducated persons to whom his story chiefly appealed he represented at once the aspirations and the dangers of the new forces.

It is of course easy to give the reins to imagination, and make the legend significant of things that were never connected with it, and to check such an error it may be useful to bear in mind the sort of doings and sayings that were actually attributed to Faust. The writers who refer to him at the beginning of the sixteenth century spoke of him as a wonder-worker and a charlatan. By degrees his fame spread, and books began to appear recording his deeds and his wickedness. The work published in 1587, though the first and most important of them, is little more than a crude collection of the magician's adventures, and the admonitory notes and comments with which the author accompanied these were evidently regarded by him as the most important part of the book. Faust is described as a precocious boy who was not long in obtaining his degree as doctor of divinity. Finding, however, no satisfaction in theological studies, he puts his religious books behind the door, determines to investigate the hidden things of the earth and takes to magic, calling himself a man of the world, an astrologer, a mathematician, and a doctor of medicine. He goes to a wood at night to summon the devil, who appears in the guise of a grey monk. The evil spirit Mephistopheles (whose name, with a slightly different spelling, occurs here for the first time) then makes a compact with Faust, by which he is to renounce the Christian religion, receive an answer to all his questions, and after enjoying the world for twenty-four years, yield himself up to the devil. After a variety of enquiries about the creation of the world, the succession of the seasons, the comets, the arrangements of hell and the like, Faust's travels begin. Mephistopheles becomes his guide to the infernal regions and to the realms of the stars, after which he turns himself into a Pegasus and flies with his companion all over Europe. In Rome the Pope has great difficulty in getting rid of his troublesome visitors. On his return from the grand tour

Faust settles down as a professor, and speedily acquires a great reputation. His union with the form of Helen of Troy follows, and she presents him with a son. A number of grotesque feats are performed by him, through the careful narration of which the pious author no doubt hoped to render palatable the confessedly moral lessons of his book. As the last scene draws nigh with the end of the twenty-four years, we find the hero in great despair among a party of students. He makes a lamentable confession and bids them farewell. At midnight a dreadful storm breaks over the house, and the morning shows the mangled remains of Faust strewn about his room.

From the point of view from which the legend is here discussed, from the point of view, that is to say, of its character as representing the age which produced it, the question as to whether Dr. Faust was an historical personage or not may be left aside. However great or however little may be the interest of that question, the answer to it will make no difference in the importance of the legend. It does not matter whether there really lived at the beginning of the sixteenth century an extraordinary individual whose doings supplied a basis for the many stories that were afterwards related of him, or whether, as is often contended, various tales of witchcraft and sorcery, some perhaps dating from previous centuries, and others of recent or contemporary origin, were gradually ascribed by the popular imagination to a single wonder-worker of more or less mythical existence. Our main concern is rather to trace the meaning and development of the legend than to investigate the facts out of which it grew, or to inquire into the precise form in which it originated. For if the most irrefragable evidence were forthcoming to prove the existence of the man, it would make little or no difference in the significance of the acts attributed to him; and in endeavouring to understand the conditions of intellectual life in Germany in the sixteenth century, it is enough for us that the wonders commonly connected with the name of Faust were conceivable in that age at all. We know as a fact that such wonders were not only conceivable, but formed a very real part of the popular creed, and an attempt to lay bare their significance

will serve our purpose better than the discovery of any number of contemporary references to a single person.

Notwithstanding all that has been written on the sixteenth century, it is a remarkable fact, and one that presses for a satisfactory explanation, that the belief in magic as a theory, and the practice of it as an art, were at their greatest height at the time the New Learning, the beginnings of the Reformation, and the birth of modern science, were transforming the character of the civilised world. Two or three reasons may be given for what seems on the face of it a perplexing anomaly, but to realise the position which magic held at the time when the Faust legend appeared, it will be necessary to very briefly recall the various influences which had fostered the growth of a belief in it. It will then be clear how it was possible for the idea of a personal compact with the evil one to arise, and how it came about that the story of Faust was recognised as a probable occurrence.

By magic is meant the notion that the course of nature may be altered, or in other words, its ordinary relations of cause and effect disturbed, through the influence of human beings. It is a notion that seems to be associated with the beginnings of civilisation everywhere. The first glimmerings of religion and science are hardly to be distinguished from a reverential dread of certain occult forces thought to be subject to the influence of duly initiated persons. To this day, as we know, in savage countries, the priest and the medicine man are regarded with awe, as the possessors of supernatural power and as in direct communication with the unseen world. If magic can be looked upon as a science, then its commencement probably lay in that deification of the forces of nature which to such great extent characterised Greek and Roman religion. Any one who professed to be able to work wonders with the aid of these natural forces would be looked upon as in league with the gods. But in these, as in other matters, the advent of Christianity worked a great revolution. Milton tells us in the Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity, how the pagan deities shrank away into darkness at the coming of the Infant of Bethlehem.

Our Babe, to show his godhead true
Can in his swaddling clothes control the damnèd crew.

The gods of the old world were in fact transformed under the sway of Christianity into the powers of darkness. Anyone who had dealings with them became to the adherents of the new religion an object of suspicion as one who sought to advance his interests in this world by unlawful means, and at the risk of having to yield up his soul to the devil in the next. Such a man was the most dangerous enemy of the new order. Like Simon the Sorcerer in the Acts of the Apostles he could bewitch the people. To the theologians of Rome the powers of Christianity and the powers of nature came to be opposite and contrary forces. The man who practiced magic was thought to be impugning the supremacy of God, and henceforth one of the main duties of the Church was to combat and put down those who sought the aid of the infernal world. The Church went so far as to employ its own arts against those of Satan, and if any man had made a compact with the evil one and given himself up to his service in his life time, all he had to do when he came to die was to send for an ecclesiastic, and be received into the bosom of the Church, which thus managed to rob Satan of his prey at the last moment.

But the Reformation came, and with the Reformation the acts of the Church lost their efficacy. In a great part of Germany men ceased to believe any longer in the powers which the priests had been in the habit of ascribing to themselves. There was now no convenient way of escape for the allies of Satan, and if anyone had by his aid enjoyed power and pleasure in this world, he could not by any ecclesiastical machination be rescued from him in the next. In the eyes of the Reformers, indeed, there seemed very little difference between the acts of the Church and the magic of the world.

In spite, however, of this opposition, magic had been gradually making its influence felt for some time previous to the Reformation. The forms and technical expressions used in the practice of it, for the most part traceable to an Arabian source, were introduced into Europe by Jewish merchants and others who had travelled from the East. It required no very long time to make the vocabulary of alchemy and astrology—the Philosopher's Stone, the Elixir of Life, the Tincture of Gold, and the like—familiar to the popular ear and part of a recognised quasi-scientific termi-

nology. Another circumstance which helped the spread of magic was the prominence given in the Middle Age to the doctrines of the Kabbalah. That extraordinary system of occult knowledge was first fully developed among the Jews of the eleventh century, but it laid claims to great antiquity as having come down from the time of the patriarchs. The chief means by which this system worked its effects were the invocation of great names and the production of spells by transforming the letters of a sacred word. With the revival of Neoplatonism, which was so conspicuous a feature of the Renaissance, a great impetus was given to the study of magical forms; and the Platonic theory of ideas combined with the Kabbalistic doctrine of emanations to lend the prestige of philosophy to a system of communication with those hidden forces of nature which believers in magic held to be amenable to their control.

A reference to any good history of philosophy will supply a more detailed account than would be in place here of the influence which Neoplatonism and the Kabbalah exerted on the intellect of Europe at that period. It has been said that the fall of Constantinople in 1453 made Plato a power in Europe, and it is well known that shortly after this event there was a great influx of Greeks into the north of Italy, who brought with them the best learning of their own country. To this learning Florence in particular gave a very ready welcome. Under Cosmo de' Medici a special home was prepared for it in the Florentine Academy, founded in imitation of the old Platonic Academy at Athens. It was here that Ficinus endeavoured to bring about a better understanding of Greek philosophy than had been current in what is called the era of Scholasticism. The philosophy which was chiefly studied during the Renaissance was that later development of Platonism which influenced and was in its turn so much influenced, by the Jewish school at Alexandria; and as a consequence of this, the theory and practice of magic received the greatest encouragement from the new interest awakened in whatever was mysterious in Neoplatonism and the Kabbalistic doctrines. The Faust of the legend was not the only one who busied himself with magic to obtain an answer to his questions. Learned men began to take it up, regarding it

not as a short way to attaining the pleasures of the world, but as a means of arriving at the highest knowledge.

Two names are in this connection especially prominent. Pico della Mirandola, one of the most distinguished of the fifteenth century Neoplatonists, is said to have been once ready to propound nine hundred theses at Rome in the presence of all the learned men of Europe, whose travelling expenses to the Eternal City he offered to defray. Permission to him to attempt this feat was happily refused, but amongst the theories which he wished to defend was that no science had yielded greater proof of the essential doctrines of Christianity than magic and the Kabbalah; a statement which, however extraordinary it may sound to us in the nineteenth century, is remarkable testimony to the position which magic held in the fifteenth. While Mirandola worked in Italy, the New Learning was pioneered in the north by Johannes Reuchlin, one of the earliest of Greek and Hebrew scholars, who shared with Erasmus the distinction of being 'the eyes of Germany.' In his chief work, *De Arte Kabbalistica* (1517) he sought to point out the inner connection between the doctrines of Pythagoras and those of the Kabbalah, and claimed for the science the highest rank as revealing and explaining the nature of God. His fifty gates of knowledge, thirty-two paths of truth, and seventy-two angels who mediate between God and man are among the most curious relics of Kabbalistic speculation.

Such was the position magic had won for itself at the close of the Middle Age. The full development of it was reserved for the sixteenth century when it would have seemed only natural if it had died away in the great intellectual movements of that epoch. While the ultimate effect of those movements was to banish the belief in magic altogether, the following circumstances may in a measure serve to explain how it was that for some time that belief not only suffered no diminution, but made its way deep enough into the popular imagination to call forth the wonders of the Faust legend and give them an intense colouring of reality.

All through the Middle Age the devil was a personage whose influence had to be seriously reckoned with in the business of life. He was supposed to be constantly at work in his own person thwarting everything in the nature of morality and religion,

and from time to time venting his hatred of the human race in widespread pestilence and famine.* To us it needs a stretch of the imagination to contemplate how real and universal that belief was, what gross intellectual bondage it imposed, and to what an extent the religion of love had come to rest on a system of mere terrorism. Only by bearing in mind the enormous amount of evil that was attributed to direct Satanic agency can we at all understand the unceasing efforts of priests, legislators, and inquisitors to combat it. It was not only in books of devotion that a warning was given against the assaults of the devil. The belief was illustrated and enforced in the progress of art, and notably in the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, where are presented to our eyes the horrible shapes which were thought to be continually harassing men in this life, and preparing dire torture for them in the next. Everything untoward in human life strengthened the superstition. That mysterious plague which swept over Europe in the fourteenth century was to the terror-struck imagination of those days the most awful testimony to the power and malignity of Satan. It is true the fifteenth century saw a change of view among a part at least of the people. The devil began to be rather laughed at. The carnival pieces and miracle plays which seem to have most satisfied the popular taste are full of situations in which the devil is made to appear in a ridiculous light. This was due rather to the spread of a spirit of frivolity in literature than to any scepticism, and by the time of the Reformation the devil had completely established his supremacy of fear. The dread of the devil increased, until in Luther himself we have an example of the degree to which it had taken hold of men of strong minds. Everyone knows the story of the diabolic apparition on the Wartburg, and the cause of certain ink stains on the wall; and the *Table Talk*, one of the quaintest of books, is constantly referring to direct Satanic mischief. For instance we find Luther complaining that

‘The devil vexes and harasses the workmen in the mines and makes them

* See Lecky's *History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, Vol. I, ch. i.

think they have found new veins of silver, which, when they have laboured and laboured, turn out to be mere delusions. Even in the open day on the surface of the earth, he causes people to think they see a treasure before them, which vanishes when they would pick it up. At times, however, treasure is really found, but this is by the special grace of God. I never had any success in the mines, but such is God's will and I am content.*

The wonders of the Faust Legend were thus far removed from being merely the creation of a disordered fancy; they were the direct outcome of a very real feeling of fear. The belief, which had existed for centuries, that the devil was a very potent personality and supreme in nature had become so firmly rooted in the popular imagination that there seemed nothing at all improbable in the idea of a reckless individual, ambitious of success in the world, entering into a compact with him. That Faust is said to have done so rather for high than for sordid motives is evidence that the devil could also be regarded as the fountain of profane knowledge.

This was an idea which the Reformation, in its inception at least, did nothing to dispel. However the new religious movement opposed itself to Rome, it was not accompanied by any widespread opinion that it was right to be tolerant as regards the opinions of others. The Reformation has often been misunderstood as proceeding from and embodying a widespread desire to be free from the bonds of authority, and as the visible sign that the day of individual judgment and individual responsibility had begun. But it must be remembered that it was rather the corruption of the Church than any strong passion for religious freedom which called forth the zeal of the Reformers. The followers of Luther and Calvin were not a whit less strict in their respect for dogma than the most ardent votaries of the older system. Calvin burnt a heretic at Geneva. Anything that savoured of an alliance with the powers of evil was persecuted relentlessly by Protestant and Catholics alike. For in Germany as elsewhere witches and wonderworkers were looked upon as the devil's agents in destruction; and as a means of averting public and private calamity they were put to torture and even burnt in large numbers with every circumstance of cruelty.

* *Luther's Table Talk*, translated by Hazlitt, p. 250.

Nearly all scientific men in those days rested under the stigma of being in communication with infernal powers. The adherents of the older theology considered themselves and wished others to consider that certain fixed limits had been imposed on our knowledge by God, and that it was an impious and a wicked thing to try and overstep them. According to the religious view, man should content himself with a humble acceptance of those limits. Those who studied science indulged in what was regarded as an unlawful attempt to find out the secrets of nature; they read forbidden books; and the consequence was that they were held by the Church in suspicion and by the mass of the people in awe. The system of magic in which many of these investigators believed, presupposed the idea that nature was a great and complex unity of connected forces, to which a series of experiments might supply the key. It was no wonder that the possessors of such knowledge were objects of dread. They were presumed to know all the secrets of nature, and since the earth was Satan's peculiar province, and stood under his government, the investigators of nature could only have arrived at their knowledge by some secret communication with Satan himself. So it has been suggested that when the student blew himself up in the course of his experiments, which no doubt happened in those days just as it sometimes happens now, the common people would step in and say, 'Here is an awful example of the desire to know too much: in his life-time this man served the devil, and now the devil has come and taken him away, and the mangled remains show what a dreadful struggle there must have been.'

Such was the reputation enjoyed by scientists. Faust has some claim to be reckoned amongst them. He deserts theology for astrology, mathematics, and medicine; and when he finds Mephistopheles ready to do his bidding he interrogates him on all manner of what in those days would have been thought highly scientific subjects. It was easy for the popular imagination to conceive of the student of science using his knowledge for the purpose of furthering his own ends in the world. The suspicion which fell upon Faust was shared by greater men than he. There was Henry Cornelius Agrippa, soldier, diplomatist, and philosopher, than whom it would be

difficult to find a man more representative of the deep unrest of his age. There was the great Paracelsus, the father of modern chemistry. It must be remembered that there are few more prominent characteristics of the sixteenth century than its activity in physical, and especially in astronomical, discovery. It was the age of Copernicus, and later on of Galileo and Kepler. We look to that time for the beginnings of a scientific study of zoology, of botany, of anatomy. Though the early history of these and other sciences is shrouded in a mist of fantastic conceptions, though it is with difficulty that astronomy is to be distinguished from astrology, or chemistry from alchemy, or the science of mineralogy from one long search for the Philosopher's Stone, it is very probable that the curious and arbitrary hypotheses on which the early workers in science proceeded, were in many cases productive of good results in paving the way to the establishment of well-grounded laws of nature. But the indefiniteness and unsettled character of scientific knowledge before the establishment of those laws opened a wide field to speculation, and the feelings of wonder which science excited were only increased by every new theory or invention. It was related, for instance, of Johannes Müller, better known by his name Regiomontanus, who towards the close of the fifteenth century founded an observatory at Nuremberg, published a calendar and constructed a celestial globe, that he made steel fly, to hop about and come to his hand, and a wooden eagle, which flew up into the air. One of the legends of Faust records an adventure he had in Venice when trying to fly—how the devil raised him to a great height, and then let him fall. It is obvious that the wonders of science afforded a particularly good sphere for the display of magical power.

The Faust legend does not fail to represent its hero as remarkably proficient in another of the main currents of thought of the time. Among the wonders which he boasted that he was able to perform was that, should the works of Plato and Aristotle be lost, and their whole philosophy vanish from the memory of man, he would restore them more splendid than before. On another occasion, when some learned men

were bewailing the loss of so many of the comedies of Plautus and Terence, Faust offered to supply them as they were. This offer was refused on the ground the devil might thus instil poison into the minds of the youth who would have to study them. It is also reported of him that he was a classical scholar of eminence, whose lectures were well attended; that he summoned up the Homeric heroes for the amusement and instruction of his pupils, and frightened them terribly with the apparition of Polyphemus; and further that at the Court of Charles V. at Innsbrück, he called forth the shades of Alexander the Great and his wife. The story of his union with the form of Helen of Troy, of which so much use is made in the second part of Goethe's drama, is of peculiar significance. Helen is the ideal of Greek beauty, and in Faust's union with her is typified the desire for truth and beauty which gave an impetus to the study of classical writers, and issued in that great movement which we call the Revival of Letters. It is curious that what may be termed the Humanist factor in the character of Faust seems to specially attach itself to the tradition of him that comes from Erfurt.

But he exhibits another trait which shows him to be a true son of his time. We are told that he was an ardent student, that 'he took to himself eagle's wings and would explore the foundations of heaven and earth.' In other words, he was imbued with the spirit of investigation, with the love of experimenting. But he is disappointed in his search after truth. 'His fall,' observes the book of 1587, 'was due to his arrogance, temerity, and despair.' He becomes a sceptic, and learns that increase of knowledge is increase of sorrow. Like one of those jesters ironically described by Erasmus in his *Praise of Folly*—a book which appeared in the year 1509, just about the time when Dr. Faust is supposed to have flourished—he comes to think the pursuit of wisdom the greatest folly, and those the happiest of all who have neither the fear of death, nor conscience, nor shame, nor ambition, nor envy, nor love, before their eyes. He takes to a life of the senses and abandons himself to the pleasures of the moment, exemplifying in a coarse and extravagant way another, and perhaps more

important, feature of that Humanist movement with which his reputed attainments in scholarship had connected him. The Humanism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Germany was, to a less extent, what the Renaissance had been in Italy, a return, namely, to a pagan habit of thought. The ascetic character of mediæval Christianity, its devotion to poverty and chastity, and its inclination to the melancholy side of life, began to wear a disagreeable aspect, at least in the eyes of those on whom the new spirit fell; and for them there followed in its place a tendency that was the reverse of this, a bold casting away of all that put a ban upon pleasure, a sense that poverty was after all an evil and not a good, and a desire to get gladness and joy out of existence. Ancient literature furnished something to satisfy this feeling. Plautus and Terence appeared in a German dress. Faust's offer to restore the lost works of these poets exhibits him as sharing the more serious aim of the Humanist movement, while the precipitate way in which he deserted his early studies in theology, and embraced a roving and adventurous life, is indicative of its pagan tendency.

Besides this, the burlesque tone of the popular literature rendered the farcical elements in the legend very acceptable. This was the note that had been for some time struck with most effect in every kind of composition, drama, novel, satire, or song. A glance at the most popular works of the fifteenth century will show how greatly the burlesque vein predominated. The carnival-farces from which German comedy sprang, were from the beginning coarse and licentious productions, in this respect corresponding to the taste of the great towns in which they were instituted. The morality or church-play, an important feature of the age, often depended for its interest on the comical incidents introduced into the most sacred of subjects. Sebastian Brandt's *Ship of Fools* and Murner's *Conspiracy of Fools*, the one published just before and the other just after the beginning of the sixteenth century, were, it is true, obvious satires on vice and frivolity; but the types of character they presented had long been familiar objects of ridicule. The same spirit of jesting pervaded the

many stories that were told about one Till Eulenspiegel, a semi-mythical personage of the fourteenth century, whose life and adventures, consisting mostly of roguish pranks, first saw the light about the year 1500, and attained great popularity.

When the adventures which had gathered round the name of Faust were published in 1587, the anonymous author of the book managed to make them subserve the interests of the Reformation. Between the time at which Faust is thought to have flourished, if a distinct personality of that name existed, and the publication of his life, the religious movement of the century had been carried to a successful issue. The effect of this on the legend was twofold. It re-established, as has been already pointed out, the terror in which the devil had been held at an earlier period and gave a more fearful character to Faust's relations with him; and it used the magician's doings to pour scorn on the Roman Church. Both these effects were instrumental in endowing the legend with more importance and raising its hero out of the position of a charlatan, such as he had been described to be by previous writers. The devil was looked upon as a source of intellectual as well as of moral danger. Two doctrines were propounded in the course of the book which in the Middle Age had been considered as peculiarly Satanic, namely, that the soul was mortal and that the world was everlasting. The notes and comments in the book, if not some of the adventures ascribed to the magician, were obviously the work of a Protestant and perhaps too of a theologian. The story had a professedly moral object in view, but nowhere in it is Roman Catholicism treated with any respect. The evil spirit is made to appear first in the guise of a monk, and this has been thought to be an initial indication of the Protestant leanings of the author. The devil and his agents, however, had a peculiar preference for monastic garb in many of the legends of mediæval Christianity. Much stronger evidence of the anti-Roman tendency of the book is to be found in the prohibition both of marriage and of the reading of the Bible,—moot questions it will be remembered, between the Reformers and Rome—which the author naively puts into the mouth of Mephistopheles. The way in which Faust treats the Pope is

significant. He behaves with anything but propriety in the Vatican where he lives three days invisible; and even steals the papal robes, which he dons when appearing in the character of Mahomet before the Sultan at Constantinople. At Rome, too, Faust is astonished at the gross licentiousness which prevails, worse even than what he can boast of in his own person. This contempt and abhorrence of the corruption of the Church formed one of the more obvious causes of the Reformation, and such stories were probably related by one who shared the Reformers' beliefs that the Pope was Antichrist, and that the arts of the ecclesiastics emanated from the devil.

The book of 1587 represents Faust as obtaining even at the University the name of a speculator, as overcome with the desire to learn, and never sunk so deep in iniquity as to altogether forget higher aims. To Marlowe's drama, where Faust is little better than a vulgar sensualist, and to the Puppenspiel or Marionette-play of Faust afterwards popular in Germany, in which the fantastic and horrible predominate, is doubtless owing the gross and materialistic character which is generally thought to belong to the legend. But the original book distinctly lays down that Faust's fall was due to his arrogance and temerity, and that he was wholly given up to loving what it was wrong to love. The primary object of Faust was, in this account, to extend his knowledge, and his first step after the compact had been signed was, in true Teutonic fashion, to put hard questions to Mephistopheles. In the earlier part of his career a theologian, Faust belonged to the class which in Germany stamped the most important character on the century; but he preferred to bury his doctorate of divinity under titles which pointed to stores of forbidden knowledge. The parallel and contrast between him and Luther in respect of their religious position can hardly be better expressed than in the words of the most eminent historian of German literature:

'Luther is the ideal of a sixteenth century theologian, Faust is his antitype. Luther believes, Faust doubts. Luther honours the Holy Scriptures, Faust puts them behind the door or under his chair. Luther praises marriage, and enters wedlock himself. Faust is kept from it by

the devil. Luther mistrusts his reason, Faust is a bold and independent investigator. Luther battles victoriously with the devil, Faust succumbs to him. Luther strives against the Pope with the moral enthusiasm of a believer, Faust teases the Pope and laughs at his powerlessness. Both were in Rome; Luther full of reverence but disappointed, Faust agreeably surprised that the priests were worse than himself. Both go from the same starting-point to opposite conclusions; both are Doctors of Theology, and intimately connected with Wittenberg.*'

Faust, then, is the secular hero of the sixteenth century, and as such has his true place in its intellectual and moral ferment. His story is the abiding result in literature of the belief in magic, as that belief was influenced by the scientific effort, the learning, and the religion of the time. The magician typifies the sceptical side of the Reformation, the pagan tendency of Humanism, and the suspicion which fell upon the early workers in science. The history of the legend through the seventeenth century to its development in the eighteenth endows it with an interest stretching far beyond the circumstances of its origin. Whether there ever lived an actual Dr. Faust or not, the ideal Dr. Faust has had a very prominent existence in the German imagination for upwards of three hundred years; and since the time when Goethe took up his adventures, endowed them with a new meaning, and moulded them into a great drama of human life, this ideal figure has become one of the most important personages in the literature of the world.

T. B. SAUNDERS.

ART. VI.—NATIONALITY AND HOME RULE, IRISH AND SCOTTISH.

THAT has been a most interesting symposium, which, extending over two years, has been held in the pages of *The Scottish Review*, on the subject of Scottish Home Rule. The present position of Scotland in the Imperial copartnery has been considered from the legal, the political, the adminis-

* Wilhelm Scherer, *Einleitung zum ältesten Faustbuch*. Deutsche Drücke älterer Zeit. Berlin. 1884.

trative and the financial standpoints; and it may be said parenthetically that, to one who has been in the habit of taking a conservative view of this question, there was much, that, whether absolutely new or not, was staggering, in the article on 'The Union of 1707 Viewed Financially,' which appeared in the October number. But there is an aspect of the subject that has as yet received but scant consideration; and that is the sentimental one. In other words, is there, behind the prevailing discontent with the treatment of Scotland in the Imperial Parliament and at the hands of the Imperial Treasury and Executive, a strong and growing desire on the part of the mass of the Scottish people, in the 'emancipated,' democratic, and Household Suffrage sense, to revive the Scottish nationality substantially as it existed before the Union of 1707? Or, if such a desire does not exist, is it expedient, by 'education,' by agitation, by the various methods of successfully influencing masses of voters, which the Nationalist movement in Ireland has exhibited in action, to set about creating it?

Up till within a few months ago, such a question would have seemed, nay, would have been, positively puerile. The Union of 1707 appeared sacro-sanct, like Magna Charta or Free Trade. During the agitation, which ended in the re-creation of the office of Secretary for Scotland, there was no talk of repealing the Union formally or virtually. The leaders of the movement for disestablishing Westminster as the seat of Scottish Private Bill Legislation, have encouraged no such idea. On the contrary, Mr. Vary Campbell who, though not the originator, is certainly the most active force in that movement, has said,* 'There is no need to call for the Blue Blanket and to revive the dubiously romantic and plainly uncomfortable raids of the Border. England and Scotland are, with the steadfast consent of all our wisest forefathers and all their descendants who are worthy of their forbears, indissolubly united; and though flesh and blood sometimes stir with anger at the stolid presumption which, contrary to law and fact, calls

* Opening Lecture delivered to the Chartered Accountants Students' Society of Edinburgh, 16th Nov., 1887.

everything and everybody pertaining to the United Kingdom by the name of English, that has nothing to do with the sober consideration of how Private Bill Legislation can be most thoroughly conducted.' Though staggered by 'The Union of 1707 Viewed Financially,' one could still fall back on cautious George Chalmers who tells us* that 'the fact is that the Scottish people were not in a condition to derive much benefit from the advantages which were held up to their anxious eyes; they wanted habits of industry, they had few connections of business, they had scarcely any commercial capital, and although they had a Bank they had hardly any paper credit.' Or, by way of additional consolation, one could resort to the judicious 'after all' of Hallam, who tells us, 'It is always to be kept in mind as the best justification of those who came into so great a sacrifice of natural patriotism, that they gave up no excellent form of polity, that the Scots constitution had never produced the people's happiness, that their parliament was bad in its composition, and in practice little else than a factious and venal aristocracy; that they had before them the alternatives of their present condition with the prospect of increasing discontent, half suppressed by unceasing corruption, or of a more honourable but very precarious separation of the two kingdoms, the renewal of national wars and border feuds at a cost the poorer of the two could never endure, and at a hazard of ultimate conquest, which, with all her pride and bravery the experience of the last generation has shown to be no impossible term of the contest.' But, when one is told as the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish Home Rule Association told the readers of *The Scottish Review* in April, that '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,' one is tempted to rub one's eyes, and to wonder if what the Scottish Home Rule Association has really in view is the celebration by some startling new political departure, of the sept-

* *Caledonia* (new edition, Gardner), Vol. II., p. 869.

centenary of 1189, when Scotland bought from the Lion-hearted Richard of England for ten thousand marks, that national independence which her own William the Lion had parted with *per novas chartas et captionem suam*.

It is true, that Mr. Mitchell proceeds to say that it is not his 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.' But, when a writer talks about 'noble figures' in connection with any movement that is or professes to be national, he gives us a clue, if not to his deliberate judgment on that movement, certainly to his sentimental ideals—and that is a far more important matter. When the man in the street or the car speaks of 'the noble figure' of Mr. Gladstone or Lord Hartington, it is quite unnecessary to ask what are his opinions on the question of the hour. And so, when Mr. Mitchell speaks of 'the noble figures' of Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven (whom most of us have been in the habit of thinking of, as Lord Cross would say, with a smile of Marchmont contempt), it is safe to say that he believes that 'the great mass of the Scottish people,' instead of supporting and welcoming the Union because it emancipated them, as Hallam believes it did, from the thralldom of a venal aristocracy, were opposed to it, and would have successfully resisted it, had they not been practically powerless.

Mr. Mitchell may be right. There is no more hopeless task than that of ascertaining what 'the great mass of the Scottish people'—in the sense in which Mr. Mitchell rightly, realistically, and democratically uses the phrase—thought and wished at any period in the national history. According to some writers, they were opposed to the War of Independence, and would have welcomed the triumph of Edward the Second. It can at least be said in support of this view, that Mr. Innes, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Robertson agree, that at the death of Alexander III., in 1285, Scotland was not only more prosperous but more civilised than it was at any period of its history till after 1707. It is not the paradoxical author of 'The Last of the Plan-

tagenets,' or his follower the late Mr. Denton, but a Scottish critic, whom we find affirming that 'the triumph of Bannockburn bore no better fruit than the uncontrolled licence of a rude aristocracy, the fitful efforts of the Crown to restrain that license, and the profound misery of the people.' It has been maintained with great plausibility, and not by Catholic writers alone, that the Reformation was, from the agrarian point of view, not a Liberal but a retrograde movement, inasmuch as it robbed 'the people' of the interest they had in the land of their country, and handed it and them over to a quasi-Protestant aristocracy, which historians that agree upon nothing else, agree in regarding as the most rapacious and the least patriotic the world has ever seen. Even Mr. Burton looks upon the War of Independence and the Reformation as uprisings on the part, not so much of 'the mass of the Scottish people,' as of the Scottish middle-class. Coming down to a period in the national history, when the incorporating Union between Scotland and England was almost as old as the incorporating Union between Great Britain and Ireland is now, we find Mr. Lecky writing of that time in cold blood:—'Scotland is one of the very few instances in history, of a nation, whose political representation was so grossly defective as not merely to distort but absolutely to conceal its opinions. It was habitually looked upon as the most servile and corrupt portion of the British Empire; and the eminent liberalism and the very superior political qualities of its people seem to have been scarcely suspected to the very eve of the Reform Bill of 1832.' In other words, Mr. Lecky maintains that the voice of Scotland was not heard in politics till after 1832.

But is it not equally easy to maintain that the voice which made itself heard in Scotland after 1832 was the voice not of the Scottish Democracy but merely of the Scottish middle-class, or, at the outside, of the Scottish middle and sub-middle classes, that, in fact, it is only now, and after the full enactment of Household Suffrage, that the voice of 'the great mass of the Scottish people' can be heard at all? When Mr. Gladstone says, as he said in one of his letters, which were published during the course of the recent contest in the Ayr Burghs, 'I

admit that the Scottish nation have been contented with a Parliament at Westminster which uniformly seeks to govern Scotland according to Scottish ideas, constitutionally known through the majority of Scottish members,' it is quite open to Mr. Mitchell, to maintain that, until now, 'the Scottish nation,' in the true sense of the word, has not had an opportunity of showing either its content or its discontent with the Parliamentary *status quo*. And although Mr. Mitchell, who does not approve of the manner in which Mr. Gladstone approached the Home Rule problem generally two years ago, will not object to that statesman's declaration 'I venture to say that if Scotland at any time shall deliberately and decisively change her mind, and demand some special form of management for her local affairs, not even Dissident Liberals will dare, even if unhappily they wish, to refuse that demand'—as a shadow of coming events—it is open to him to say that it is not a question of Scotland changing her mind but only of her making it known.

Mr. Mitchell may, therefore, be quite right in his views of the opinions of 'the great mass of the Scottish people' before 1707, just as he is quite right in what is evidently his view of the true meaning of that phrase in 1888, and hence the significance of his sentimentality about 'the noble figures of Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven.' He wishes to realise the ideal of these patriots, who, it seems, have not been vanquished with a grin, or even by the march of history, and to establish a genuine Scottish nationality, independent of England as regards all truly Scottish affairs, and Mr. Gladstone in effect tells him that if he can prove that the Scottish constituencies share his views, he will not be troubled even with the opposition of Dissident Liberals. He occupies a position for all practical purposes identical with that of Mr. Parnell.* The leader of the Irish Nationalists declares that he does not wish to repeal the Union, but only to revive the Ireland of Grattan—with Catholic Emancipation and Household Suffrage superadded—and the Treasurer of the

* The writer of this article pronounces no opinion, and takes no side, in regard to the Home Rule agitation in Ireland.

Scottish Home Rule Association may, no doubt, say that all he proposes to return to is the Scotland of Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven—as it haunted their dreams, it may be believed, rather than as it existed in their times—with Household Suffrage added and the *odium theologicum* subtracted.

It is on the matter of sentiment that Mr. Parnell and Mr. Mitchell separate, or at all events ought to separate. Mr. Parnell asserts—and for the purpose of argument it is not only expedient but imperative that whether he is sincere or not, he should be taken at his word—that he has no desire to see Ireland separated from and independent of the British Crown. Nevertheless, he desires to gratify the aspiration of the Irish nation—or what he considers such—if not to be independent, at least to have its revenge or compensation for centuries of what he regards as conquest, coercion, and misgovernment, and it is the sentiment involved in this aspiration that constitutes the permanent strength of his Home Rule movement, not only in Ireland but everywhere else. It is this feeling that has prevented the Irish people, or that portion of it, whose views are expressed with passionate eloquence by such men as Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien, from being satisfied with the concessions wrung from England and Scotland in the matters of the Church, education, the franchise, and the land, that has made them regard such concessions as but so many steps towards Home Rule. It is this feeling also which constitutes the reputable or comparatively reputable element in the Irish-American agitation against Great Britain. The representatives in our time of the imperfectly-conquered and wretchedly-governed Ireland of the past declare that they will never be content till the stigma of conquest and coercion which still marks Ireland has been removed, and that it can be removed by nothing less than the granting to the Irish people of the power to manage their own affairs according to their own ideas; and their kindred beyond the sea aid them in their determination with support of all kinds, material and moral—if not also immoral.

It is a reflection or dilution of this sentiment also—as probably Mr. Gladstone would himself admit—that allows of any

hope that the Liberal party of the day in England and Scotland will yet unite in the enthusiastic advocacy of Home Rule, as it united not so many years ago in favour of Household Suffrage. Between the two agitations there is, indeed, all the difference that there is between selfishness and altruism. The agitators for the Franchise sought something for themselves; the English and Scottish sympathisers with Mr. Parnell seek something for others—a fact which may help to explain both the defeat of Mr. Gladstone at the General Election of 1886, and the indecisive character of the bye-elections since, and which if the Home Rule movement finally comes to naught, may also help to explain that collapse. It is hardly possible to conceive of altruism rising to the height of a passion. One may sympathise with a friend who is in pain from a broken leg; but one does not feel his actual pain. Yet, if the broken leg is the result of an unprovoked assault, sympathy may take the form of anger against the assailant. Hence beyond doubt the strenuous efforts that are being made to carry Home Rule, so far as the English and Scottish constituencies are concerned, by representing the Irish people as the victims of cruelty and oppression under the guise of a Crimes Act. For one person who can be made to see the difference between Home Rule and Local Government, there are three who can be made to believe that any system of government must be wrong which permits of Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien being thrown into prison for the offences of which they have been convicted. Leaving out of account the purely selfish considerations which may be urged upon English and Scottish electors by way of converting them to Home Rule—such as the desirability of getting rid of the Irish difficulty so as to allow of the huge arrears of English and Scottish legislation being cleared off, and the argument of 'precedent' urged twenty years ago when the Irish Church was disestablished—the cause of Irish Home Rule will be won in England and Scotland if it is won at all, through the application to Ireland of the Liberal sentiments of hatred of oppression, and of sympathy with nationalities struggling to be free.

The sentiment of nationality, therefore, constitutes the strength of the agitation for Irish Home Rule. But who will venture to say that this sentiment exists in Scotland, at all

events in the Irish sense? When Mr. Parnell declared some time before the Gladstonian section of the Liberal Party espoused his cause, that Scotland was no longer a nation, his language provoked certain angry protests north of the Tweed. Probably no such irritation would have been manifested, had Mr. Parnell simply said that Scotland no longer needed to assert her nationality, or that the sentiment of nationality in Scotland was no longer militant, or passionate. For then he would have said what is happily quite true. Let it be allowed that the measures by which the Union of 1707 was brought about say little for the patriotism or the purity of many Scotsmen, and that the results of the Union have not been satisfactory in all respects. Let it further be allowed that Scottish business in Parliament does not receive the attention it is entitled to, and that the political progress of Scotland is retarded rather than hastened by its conjunction with its larger and slower partner. But when all this is conceded, there still remains the indisputable fact that Scotsmen have in their dealings with Englishmen, no sense of national inequality. They do not feel, as so many Irishmen passionately feel, the hand of conquest on their foreheads and on their souls. 'Not for glory, riches, or honour did we fight,' wrote the old Scottish Parliament to the Pope, 'but for liberty alone, which no good man abandons but with his life'; and it was the acquisition of this liberty which compensated, and which alone compensated, for the poverty, the misery, and the anarchy into which Scotland fell after the War of Independence was brought to a successful close. It may be doubted if the effect of that struggle on the relations between England and Scotland was ever more accurately summed up than by Carlyle, when he said that a heroic Wallace, executed and quartered, could not prevent his country from being united with England, but did prevent the Union from being accomplished under conditions of tyranny and injustice. The sentiment of nationality in the passionate, militant Irish—and it may be said also Hungarian—sense, cannot therefore be enlisted on the side of Home Rule for Scotland, because no such sentiment exists or can exist.*

* Lord Rosebery, who has had more to do with the starting of this Home

But it may be contended, and as a matter of fact is contended by those Scottish Home Rulers who do not, like Mr. Mitchell, conjure with the names of Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven, that the political arrangements which they aim at are simply of the business and non-sentimental character of Devolution and Decentralisation. The Imperial Parliament and Executive are unable to overtake their work. Let them be relieved of that portion of their labour which is non-imperial or 'local-national,' by the setting up of an English National Parliament and Executive, a Scottish National Parliament and Executive,* a Welsh National Parliament and Executive, and an Irish National Parliament and Executive. Each constituency in the country, it seems, is to elect two members to its National Assembly, one of whom only is to sit in the Imperial Parliament.

But the very fact that what is contemplated is ostensibly of the character of a business arrangement—a mere affair of Decentralisation, of Devolution, of relieving the Imperial Parliament and Executive of 'local-national' legislation and administration—makes matters worse, for it gives additional point to the contention with which this article started, that the Scottish Home Rulers have given but scant consideration to the sentimental or national aspect of the agitation in which they are engaged. For, whereas Mr. Parnell demands Home Rule

Rule movement for Scotland than any one else, although he is not its Tyrtæus—that position belongs to Emeritus-Professor Blackie—said at Wick recently :—'I firmly believe that if the nationality of Scotland had been trampled upon and oppressed as the nationality of Ireland has been—if the religion of Scotland had been scouted and persecuted as the religion of Ireland has been, the development of nationality in Scotland, which is very considerable, would have taken a far bitterer, far more acute, possibly even a more rebellious form than it takes at present.'

* Mr. Mitchell seems to think that there will be no difficulty in locating the new Scottish Parliament in the quarters of the old pre-Union one, for he speaks of 'a short session in Edinburgh.' But, as a political realist, should he not take into account the fact that, whereas in the time of Fletcher and Belhaven, the population of Edinburgh was, according to Chalmers 30,192, and of Glasgow 14,940, the population of the one is now one quarter, and of the other, according to the Boundary Commission, three quarters, of a million?

as a means of satisfying and pacifying the sentiment of nationality in Ireland, Mr. Mitchell demands Home Rule as a means of creating or of re-creating a sentiment of nationality in Scotland. At all events whether or not this is the object that he has expressly in view, it is the object that will be attained by his agitation if it is successful. In order that he may have Scotland for the Scots, he divides the United Kingdom into four different nationalities, or rather he would divide it into four democracies. For Mr. Mitchell is a tolerably advanced politician. He gives us some idea of what would be done by the Scottish National Parliament of the future at its first meeting in Edinburgh or Glasgow—or, if the jealousies of East and West do not permit of political sentimentalism getting the better of political realism, in Perth, or Stirling, or Oban. ‘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 its first sitting by each Parliament, the Peers so elected representing or delegating some of their number to represent Scotland in the House of Lords at Westminster.’ In other words the Scottish Peerage, as a political institution, is by the first vote of the Scottish Parliament to become the creature—in the most literal of senses—of the Scottish Commons. And yet the step which Mr. Mitchell would take, and apparently with a light heart, would be something like a Revolution, would at all events be the first step towards a Revolution. If the Scottish Commons are to take the political future of the Scottish Peers into their own hands, they may—and no doubt will—take their land into their own hands also. In short, and once more to adapt certain words of Mr. Parnell’s, no limits can be placed to the growth of Scotland’s nationhood. Besides, do we not know the beatific vision which charms and sustains at least a section of the Scottish Home Rulers? Give Scotland a Parliament of her own, lighten her of the dead weight of conservative England, and then her political advance will be by leaps and bounds. She will conserve—or destroy—her ‘institutions,’ some of which, notably her legal and university systems, are beyond all doubt more distinctively national than those of Ireland. At all events,

an end will be put to the anglicization of them. She will settle her Church Question, her University Question, her Crofter Question, her Secondary Education Question, her Land Question, in accordance with her own ideas, which if one may judge of them by Mr. Mitchell's on House of Lords Reform, will be pronounced enough. There will be drastic doings and lively times generally in the Scottish Parliament. And that being so, who can doubt that the whole of the political vitality of Scotland will be concentrated in the National Assembly, and that the representation of Scotland in the Imperial Parliament will become more and more of a sham? The Home Rule agitation, if carried to a successful issue will revive the sentiment of a Scottish nationality with a vengeance, by re-creating the Scottish nation in the form of a Scottish Democracy that will be something suspiciously like a Scottish Republic.

But now observe the logical result of the revival of Scottish nationality—the political entity as well as the racial or patriotic sentiment. That is most undoubtedly the revival of English nationality—of the racial or patriotic sentiment even more than the political entity. Mr. Mitchell is good enough to give England (for the purposes of this argumentation both Ireland and Wales may be left out of consideration) a National Assembly and Executive; or rather he would thrust these on England which has shown no wish for them. Supposing this little bit of conquest accomplished, England would of necessity throw her whole political vitality into her National Assembly. The English, like the Scottish Nationality would be revived more or less in the form of an English Democracy—although, by the way, would Mr. Mitchell insist on England having an elected and subordinate House of Lords, supposing that she herself wished for an Upper Chamber, on a footing of equality as regards constitutional power with the Lower, and indeed composed of the present English Peerage? And if the Scottish and English nationalities are revived or re-created, if there is to be a return, so far as circumstances permit, to the pre-Union period, is it not morally certain that there will also be a return to some of the racial jealousies which have been giving way to time, to increased facilities in the way of locomotion and communication generally,

and to the processes variously known as Anglicising and Scotticising? If, in future, it is to be England for the English, and Scotland for the Scottish, there cannot fail to be some revival of this sort. [Have Mr. Mitchell and his friends given adequate consideration to the manner in which many of the most important material interests of England are at the present moment intertwined with those of Scotland?] Probably there will be more feeling on the English than on the Scottish side of the Border, because, when the definitive re-establishment of the two nationalities takes place, England will remember that it was Scotland in what, slightly to modify Lord Rosebery's phrase, may be termed 'the self-conceit of race,' that cast her adrift not she that cast Scotland adrift. But whether the feeling be stronger in England or in Scotland, it will exist, and it will increase as the years roll on, and the two countries become more and more independent of each other. If the two nationalities are to return as nearly as circumstances will permit, to a relationship such as that which prevailed during the period between the Union of the Crowns and the Incorporating Union, let us look in the face the possibility of a return to the friction, if not to the state of things—which sometimes was a great deal worse than friction—of that period. In any event, it ought to be borne in mind that although England may be the slower and less advanced of the two communities, it is incomparably the larger, that its population, exclusive of Wales, is 25,000,000, whereas the population of Scotland is only 4,000,000. When two nationalities get into a condition of rivalry or antagonism, weight will tell as well as political enlightenment. The relation of Siamese twinship is apt to become a very uncomfortable one, if the twins fall out. But if, at the time of the quarrel, one of the two is several stone heavier than the other, is it he or the other that is likely to suffer the more discomfort?

If then Scottish Home Rule is to be a reality, and to involve legislation, administration, and political advancement for Scotland in accordance with Scottish ideas, and not simply a grandiloquent synonym for Scottish Local Government, the establishment of it must mean the revival of both the Scottish and the English nation-

ality, and can hardly fail to mean the revival of racial jealousies. While yet there is time therefore—for it must frankly be acknowledged that the prolonged parliamentary deadlock may shortly make the question of Home Rule for Scotland a burning one—may it not be asked if the game is really worth the candle? Allowing that Home Rule would hasten Scottish legislation of various kinds, and render Scottish administration more nearly perfect, might not even such results be obtained at too high a price, if they tended to undo much of the work of the past century and a half, and lead even to the possibility of the alienation of the Scottish and English peoples?

Cannot the ends that are unquestionably deserving of attainment—greater efficiency in Scottish administration, the better treatment of Scottish business in Parliament—be attained by other means? Were Scotland generally to be drawn into an agitation for Home Rule, years would elapse before the great, the almost revolutionary, changes that must take place in the Constitution, ere that agitation is carried to a successful issue, can be effected. And what of the Scottish legislation that will not be accomplished, of the Scottish administration that will remain unimproved, during that period? Is it altogether inconceivable that under the system of Local Government which Scotland may now reasonably look forward to, this improvement in administration—whether it take the form of further decentralisation or not—may be included? Does it look puerile to suggest that at Westminster, where even Mr. Mitchell would still locate the Imperial Parliament, there might be created *imperia in imperio*, in the shape of Grand Committees for England, Scotland, and Wales, with extensive, and under certain conditions, supreme powers? Is it sheer political pedantry to hint that the *Referendum*, which, to judge from its history, is not nearly so revolutionary an instrument as Home Rule would be if worked according to the ideas of the Treasurer of the Scottish Home Rule Association, might be brought to the aid of a Grand Committee or of the Imperial Parliament as a means of solving a specially national question such as that of the Church is in England, in Scotland, in Wales?

‘Patriotism is a mere geographical expression.’* There is an element of truth in this old sneer. Readers of that delightful book by Dr. Archibald Geikie, ‘The Scenery of Scotland,’ may be inclined to go even further, and to say that patriotism is not so much a geographical as a geological expression, that it is a matter of denudation or erosion, rather than even of hills and river-basins. But meanwhile the elder *mot* may suffice. Will any one, possessed of sufficiently large maps, venture to say that geography has not had something to do with the establishment of Home Rule in Austria-Hungary and in Canada? Our anti-separatists may say that geography, which has rendered the revival of the Heptarchy an impossibility, has rendered the creation of an independent Ireland a not less absolute impossibility. But it is also open to our Irish Home Rulers to maintain that geography, in the shape of St. George’s Channel, has made it imperative that the connection between Ireland and Great Britain shall be something different from the connection between Wales and England, or even the connection between Scotland and England. Further, geography, by making Scotland the knuckle end, not of England—as Edward the First and the English feudalists of his time held—but of Great Britain, has settled for all time, and apart even from her special institutions, that she can never be as Devonshire or as Yorkshire. But the crossing of the Scottish Border, especially in these days of quickened railway expresses, is not such a formidable undertaking as crossing from Holyhead to Dublin. Should not the Treasurer of the Scottish Home Rule Association forget his history, remember his geography, and be content with something less than the raising of a monument to Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven, in the shape of a National Assembly associated with a National Executive, in Edinburgh?

May it not even be hinted to the leaders of the Scottish Home Rule movement, that the finger of history no less than of geography, points to another method than theirs by which the aspirations of Scottish nationality can effectually be grati-

* Since this paragraph was penned, Lord Rosebery has delivered a speech in Inverness, in which a somewhat similar line of reasoning is pursued.

fied? Has not the genuineness of that nationality been most strikingly asserted by the fact that during the period which has elapsed since the Incorporating Union, it has produced some of the men whom the world acknowledges as among its greatest? David Hume, Robert Burns, Walter Scott, Thomas Carlyle, Mr. Gladstone—what country, however larger than Scotland, can show in less than two hundred years a succession of five men exercising, each in his own way, an equal influence, direct or indirect, subtle or popular, for good or for evil, on his time, and on the minds of his contemporaries? And yet each, while cosmopolitan in his sympathies* and in the range of his views is distinctively, almost cheek-bonedly, Scottish, in bent of intellect, or humour, or temperament, or religion, or, it may be, in superb vitality, tenacity of purpose, sheer *ingenium præfervidum*—could have been produced by no other country but Scotland. If, then, the assertion of the nationality of Scotland is the supreme question of the hour north of the Tweed, why not send into the Imperial Parliament the ablest Scotsmen available for political work? But what, it may be retorted, can seventy Scotsmen do in Parliament against five hundred Englishmen? The answer to this question is that the five hundred are a mob, each fighting for his own hand, his own constituency, his own Party, his own 'ism,' but in no sense fighting—certainly not yet fighting—for English 'national institutions,' and that the seventy are, or ought to be, a phalanx? And if that phalanx were entirely composed of thoroughly able and resolute men, is it not quite certain that it would cleave its way—and a way for Scottish 'business'—through a mob that may be indifferent, but can hardly be said to be hostile to it?

* Compare the force, the fire, the reality, of that 'anthem of democracy,' 'A man's a man for a' that,' with the stiff, written-to-order conventionalism of

Edina! Scotia's darling seat!
 All hail thy palaces and tow'rs,
 Where once beneath a monarch's feet
 Sat Legislation's sovereign pow'rs!

which, probably, Mr. Mitchell would inscribe—in a modified form—above the door of his new Parliament House!

Above all things, should not the generous emulation between England and Scotland which seemed to have taken the place of the old intense and quasi-racial antagonism, be encouraged as the best and wisest method of preserving the nationality of both? By all means, let what is good in Scottish character, institutions, language, and literature, be carefully, nay, even religiously, safe-guarded and conserved. By all means, let weak or snobbish Anglicization, and even such Anglicization of our Universities as was exposed in a trenchant article in the April number of this Review, be resisted and strangled, and let the Scotsman who advocates or affects it, be pilloried in Emeritus-Professor Blackie's vigorous if diffuse prose, as he was more than half-a-century ago pilloried in Scott's vigorous and compact verse. By all means, let us revert in thought and by research to the fountains of our greatness, be that greatness Celtic or Anglo-Saxon; and even if it can be shown that in Scotland, not in England, is to be found the starting-point or 'representative unit' of our civilisation, the fact is hardly likely to lead to a foray from the other side of the Border. Scottish literature, Scottish history, Scottish archæology, Scottish social and ecclesiastical life,—these are fields which, in spite of the numerous, indefatigable, and enthusiastic workers in them, have not yet been fully explored; in the scientific sense, indeed, this exploration has but begun. In such fields the spirit of Scottish nationality may wander at freedom, and in amity with the spirits of other nationalities, and from them it will return with that knowledge which alone is not only profitable, but enjoyable, and therefore enduring, because it is untainted with racial jealousy, or partisan bitterness.

W. WALLACE.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

A Study of Religion, its Sources and Contents. By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D., LL.D., etc. 2 vols. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1888.

This is by a long way the most notable theological work which has appeared in this country for many a day. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong if we say that in some respects it is one of the best contributions to theology which the present generation has produced. So far as the present writer's acquaintance with theological literature enables him to judge, it is unquestionably the most elaborate and successful attempt which has been made during recent years to meet the prevalent scepticism on its own ground, and to show that the foundations of Theism have not in any way been undermined by the progress of discovery and philosophy, but have rather been strengthened and made more intelligible, convincing, and credible. It is also a bold book. There is a courage and confidence about it which, to say the least, is quite refreshing. In its pages Dr. Martineau does not hesitate to part company with what arrogates to itself the name of 'advanced thought,' and is not afraid to own his belief in, and to argue strongly for, doctrines and propositions which it is now the fashion among many to treat either with open contempt or as altogether incompatible with their larger knowledge and superior thought. The sequel to *Types of Ethical Theories*, *A Study of Religion* is, it need hardly be said, profoundly philosophical and to a large extent apologetic. It is characterised by the same wealth and profundity of thought, the same clearness and comprehensiveness of vision, and the same splendour of diction. The treatment of the subject is highly philosophical, but there is a charm and wealth of imagination about its style which, in works of a similar kind, are rarely met with. Here and there, of course, are passages which are anything but easy reading, but even here Dr. Martineau's cunning as a writer does not forsake him, his most intricate and technical arguments being always lucid, and frequently set off with a remarkably happy and unexpected turn of expression, which crystallises a long and abstruse argument into a few striking and memorable words. His method of appealing to the imagination as well as to the intellect constitutes in fact one of the most remarkable characteristics of the work, and makes one feel how thoroughly he has appreciated and adopted Milton's description of the charms of 'divine philosophy.' By religion Dr. Martineau understands 'belief in an ever-living God, that is, of a Divine Mind and Will ruling the universe, and holding moral relations with mankind,' and the object of his work is to inquire into the sources and contents of this belief. The conception of religion is not new, nor is it altogether beyond criticism; but it is sufficiently explicit and comprehensive to admit of a very thorough discussion of the two great divisions into which the study of religion falls. On the one hand we have the belief itself, and on the other its objects or contents. The first of these Dr. Martineau finds imbedded in human nature and is here mainly concerned with its development and contents. Properly speaking, the work partakes very largely of the nature of an irenicism between Theism and modern Science and Philosophy. Dr. Martineau has no new theory to propound; he aims rather at finding a point of agreement between the ancient faith and modern knowledge and speculation, and in so far as the

present writer is able to judge, he has done so with a success sufficient to convince those who are not beyond conviction, that the belief in a Supreme Mind and Will ruling the universe and holding moral relations with human life, rests on foundations which neither the discoveries of science, nor the wildest flights of modern philosophy have in any way impaired. The first volume of the work is mainly taken up with the examination of the intuition of Causality as the ground of natural phenomena, while the second is devoted to the consideration of the intuition of right and the opposing systems of Deism, Pantheism, and Determinism. The critical passages in the work are among the most remarkable. As might be expected the systems of Kant, Schopenhauer, Hartmann, Comte, Spencer, and the Mills, come in for a large share of attention, as do also those of Descartes, Spinoza, Schelling, and Bentham, and the opinions of Mr. Buckle and Professor Fiske. The chapter on Teleology is able in the extreme, and will be read, as it deserves to be, with more interest probably than any other in the volumes, both on account of its brilliant defence of the argument adduced by Paley, and on account of the way in which it deals with a large variety of questions at present under discussion. The chapter is singularly replete with striking arguments and illustrations.

God without Religion: Deism and Sir James Stephen. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. London: Bemrose & Sons, 1887.

Having in a preceding volume examined and criticised two schemes of religion without God offered by the Positivists and Agnostics respectively, the Rev. W. Arthur turns his attention in this work to the scheme of God without religion offered by the Deists. He takes as the text of his exposition the article which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1884, from the pen of Sir James Stephen, entitled 'The Unknowable and the Unknown.' In that article Sir James reviewed certain papers which had appeared in previous numbers of that magazine from Mr. H. Spencer, and Mr. F. Harrison, and gave certain reasons for concluding that religion is dying a natural death, and that the world will be nothing the worse when it has become a thing of the past. Mr. Arthur marshals these reasons here, in a slightly different order from that in which Sir James gave them, and in a series of elaborate chapters shows how little justification there is for any one of them in the facts and teachings of history, or in the data of human consciousness. It is a masterly work, and, apart from its merits as an answer to the article above cited, is a perfect repository of interesting information as to the religious condition of civilized and non-civilized races, and the causes of progression and retrogression among them. Mr. Arthur's style is as admirable as the spirit in which he writes, and there is not a dull page in his whole book.

The Religious Sentiments of the Human Mind. By DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1888.

The conception and plan of this work are admirable. If the author had been able to carry out his conception of it with anything like the ability displayed in conceiving it, this book would have been a most valuable contribution to religious and ethical science. Here are the divisions under which he proposes to treat of the religious sentiments of the human mind: Part I. Religion and the religious sentiments. II. Religious sentiments in relation to knowledge. III. Religious sentiments in relation to feeling and conduct. IV. The scientific education of religious sentiments. Was ever a more tempting programme presented to an interested public? We

take up the volume in the hope of finding it determined for us here what it is in a sentiment that constitutes it religious; whether this religious sentiment is the creation of knowledge on the part of the human mind, or finds its justification in any fixed or certain data given to the mind; what are the advantages of the religious sentiments in the development of character and the ordering of conduct; and, lastly, how we are to act so as to secure the proper cultivation and final perfection of these sentiments. We search the book for light on such questions, but at its last page are about as wise as when we began. Mr. Thompson naturally thinks it necessary to attempt to define 'religion' so as to enable his readers to discriminate between sentiments and sentiments, and say which are 'religious.' Here is his definition of religion:—'Religion is the aggregate of those sentiments in the human mind arising in connection with the relations assumed to subsist between the order of nature (inclusive of the observer) and a postulated supernatural.' In case this may not be quite clear to ordinary minds, he tells us further 'that, subjectively considered, the essential characteristic of religion is the intellectual apprehension, assumption, or belief which posits a relation between the individual ego, as somehow included in a natural order, and a postulated supernatural or extra-natural.' When we try to get out of this cloud-land of verbiage, and ask Mr. Thompson what we can know of this supernatural (which, he informs us, is a necessary postulate of thought), he answers, we can know nothing. 'There are no direct proofs which can support any construction whatever of the supernatural, so as to enable us to affirm anything more than its possibility' (p. 61). This necessary postulate of all thinking on the subject is after all therefore the postulate of a *possibility*—not even so much as a 'Something, we know not what, behind the veil.' Our sentiments, therefore, whatever form they may take—fear or love, wonder or anger, reverence or disdain—have no justification, and so far as the postulated possibility is concerned, the one may be as wise as the other. Their value lies, not in their adequateness to the nature of the possibility, but in their reflex effects on our own character and on the promotion of the general good. Those 'religious' sentiments that lessen in us the power of egoism, and foster the strength of altruism, are to be cherished. No doubt; but might we not re-baptize them to begin with? Mr. Thompson's labour in this volume, we fear, is labour in vain. He sheds no light on the vexing problem with which he has attempted to grapple, and his counsels as to the exclusion of all religious education from schools—unless it be an education in all religions and the inculcation of none—are neither novel nor specially impressive.

Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom. (Hibbert Lectures, 1886). By JOHN RHYS. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1888.

Since their delivery in 1886, these lectures have been very considerably enlarged. The lecture-form has been retained, and the fixed number of six lectures; but instead of one of the slim octave volumes we have been accustomed to receive in the same series, we have here a bulky volume of over seven hundred closely printed pages. At this remarkable expansion no one, we imagine, who is at all interested in the study of the history of religion, and more particularly in the study of the literature and pantheon of the Celts, will be in any way disposed to grumble. The largest, it is also, we venture to think, the most important and best of the volumes in the series to which it belongs. At any rate it has the advantage of being

by far the freshest. At the same time it contains an immense mass of information, of which a very considerable majority of the reading public are absolutely ignorant. With many it is still a moot point whether anything in the shape of a Celtic literature really exists; and not a few are of opinion that all that can be known about the religion of the Celts may be summed up under what is commonly called 'druidism.' Notions such as these, for the prevalence of which, however, the public is not entirely to blame, the perusal of Professor Rhys' book will entirely dispel. Certainly to hold them after reading it, will cease to be a pardonable sin. Of 'druidism' and 'druids,' the lectures contain exceedingly little; but they contain an abundance of what is immeasurably better, indications and proofs that the Celts are in possession of an extensive and interesting literature, and that the mythology of the old Celtic pantheon, while somewhat difficult to interpret, is remarkably rich and varied, and capable of yielding results of almost unequalled value. In Professor Rhys' pages an attempt has been made for the first time, at least in this country, to make the mysteries of this old mythology intelligible to the popular mind; and for the first time, either in this or in any other country, the history of religion has been comprehensively studied from the Celtic point of view. The book, it is almost needless to say, is of the greatest value. It ought to stand, as in all probability it will, as the starting point of a new era in the study of that great race of people who preceded the Teutons in their march towards the west, or who at least preceded them in the occupancy of the western shores and islands of Europe. In his first lecture, Professor Rhys conducts us to Gaul, and with the aid of a few passages from Cæsar and Lucian and such epigraphic monuments as are available reconstructs for us the ancient Gaulish pantheon. The task is one of considerable difficulty, as during the Roman occupation the gods were re-named, and few votive tablets or other epigraphic monuments have been discovered, which supply inscriptions in the native tongue. Fortunately, however, in many of the inscriptions the native names of the deities are used as epithets, and hence it is possible not only to discover them under their classical designations, but also to ascertain the attributes which were assigned to them by their worshippers. In some instances these attributes were identical with those of the gods of Greece and Rome after which they were named, but as a rule there were others combined with them which were different, or which in the classical mythologies were assigned to other deities—a circumstance which to the traveller from Greece or Italy was often a source of bewilderment. Ogmios, for instance, whom the Romans identified with Mercury, while possessing the attributes of Hermes, possessed those also of Hercules. This same Ogmios again, in the time of Cæsar, was none other than the chief among the gods, and was very widely worshipped. In Ireland he appears afterwards, not only as the inventor of the Ogham Alphabet, but also as the champion of the Tuath De Danann. Before him, however, the chief of the Celtic deities was Toutates, the war-god, but the development of milder manners appears to have deposed him and to have assigned him the third place in the Celtic pantheon; Grannos, or Apollo, in the character of repeller of diseases, and not in that of the light-god as among the Greeks, receiving the second, while the god whom Cæsar equated with Jupiter, the Gaulish Thunderer, whom Professor Rhys identifies with Esus, is relegated to the fourth. In Nuada of the Silver Hand, Professor Rhys sees the Zeus of the insular Celts, and has much that is curious and interesting to tell of him. The lecture in which he deals with him, indeed, is perhaps the most interesting of the series, not only on account of the myths and legends it contains, but because of its connection with the early history and literature of the country. Here we

come in contact with King Lud, Merlin, and other figures in the Arthurian romances. Professor Rhys has also much to say of interest about the famous Stone of Destiny, and the different characters in the Mabinogion, among whom, of course, he does not fail to find a number of figures belonging to the Celtic pantheon. His attention, however, is not confined to disinterring the ancient Celtic deities from the legends and traditions in which they have so long been buried. He aims also at showing their relations to the Teutonic as well as to the Indian and Greek mythologies. At the same time the periods through which the religion of the Celts has apparently passed, are marked off with as much precision as is probably at present attainable, and a sketch is given towards the close of what the author believes to have been in all likelihood the mythology of the early Celts in pre-historic times,—a creed, which if even but approximately correct, would, as he remarks, 'require scarcely any important modification in order to apply equally to the Aryans in the distant period of their pro-ethnic unity.' As might be expected, there is much conjecture in the volume, and it will probably turn out that the author is not always right; but that he has done an admirable piece of work is unquestionable. His lectures supply a want that an increasing number of students have long felt, and by them, whatever fate may await the volume at the hands of the general public, it will be esteemed as one of the most valuable contributions to the thought and history of the past which has for many years been published.

Selections from Polybius. Edited by JAMES LEIGH STRACHAN-DAVIDSON, M.A. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1888.

Polybius is not so much read as he deserves to be. His Greek is not the best; but he had a larger political experience than any of his predecessors, was sensible and honest, and anxiously desirous of setting things down precisely as they occurred; and above all, he was able to take in the general bearing of affairs, and to look at them in relation to the history not merely of a single city or state, but as they bore upon the history of the world. Of course he was not always right, nor was he always able to throw off his local prejudices; and besides, he was guilty of the almost pardonable sin of prolixity; yet over against these may be set his sterling merits as a historian, and the remarkably instructive character of the events amidst which he lived and played a part, and whose story he relates. His age, as Mr. Freeman has already pointed out, is 'rich in political instructions of every kind, rich perhaps beyond every other age of so-called classical times;' and Polybius himself seems to have been aware that something of the sort was the case. At all events he has the merit of being the first to adopt what may be called the modern method of writing history. In the volume before us Mr. Strachan-Davidson has made a very excellent attempt to introduce him to students, and to provide them with passages from his work which shall at once show them his method of dealing with history and bring them in contact with the great events and institutions he describes. Similar work has been done on Polybius before. The great bulk of his writings has attracted the attention of editors of selections for several centuries, and to them is due no inconsiderable part of our knowledge of what he wrote. Out of the forty books he composed only the first five survive intact; but there exists a volume of extracts from the first eighteen books, styled an Epitome, which is probably the work of a late Byzantine hand, while a similar work was undertaken by the Emperor Constantine IX. as early as the tenth century. In the compilation of his volume Mr. Strachan-Davidson has made use both of the complete books and of the Byzantine extracts, his selections covering

the whole period of Polybius' history, from 262 B.C. to 145 B.C. So far as we have been able to examine them the extracts appear to have been made with judgment. Some passages of importance have been omitted through want of space, but the most important are given. For instance, if the description of the Roman Camp has been omitted, that of the Roman Constitution has been given at length. And again, though the description of Hannibal's passage of the Alps has been omitted, space has been found for the more instructive description of his counter-march on Rome, while the Romans were blockading Capua. The battle passages chosen are those of the *Ægatian Islands*, *Cannæ*, *Metaurus*, *Zama*, and *Cynoscephalæ*; those of *Ticinus*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasimene* have been excluded. Mr. Strachan-Davidson has also supplied his Selections with some very useful prolegomena and appendices, and a considerable number of notes. The prolegomena form an excellent introduction to the study of Polybius, especially the first, which deals with some peculiar uses of words in the History. Another useful prolegomenon is on the *Achean League*, and much may be learnt from those dealing with *Carthage* and the *Carthaginians*. The footnotes are brief but to the point. The typography of the volume is simply admirable.

William the Conqueror. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

Cardinal Wolsey. By MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.C.L.

William the Third. By H. D. TRAIL.

Oliver Cromwell. By FREDERICK HARRISON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1888.

These are the four first issues of Messrs. Macmillans' new series of 'Twelve Statesmen,'—a series which among the many excellent publications of the kind which we now have, promises, if the present volumes may be taken as samples of those to come, to be one of the best. The idea of issuing a set of monographs on the twelve foremost statesmen of England, has, to say the least, much to commend it. They ought, and if the names of the proposed authors of these monographs may be taken as a guarantee, they unquestionably will, allow the reader to trace clearly and surely with the least amount of trouble to himself, the origin and development of the great political institutions of the country. At the same time, they will put him in the way of forming for himself an exact opinion as to the character of the men who have had the largest hand in determining the destinies of the nation. Of Mr. Freeman's volume, it is almost needless to speak. It deals with a subject which he has made his own, and which no other is equally capable of setting before the public in a clear and exact way. The learning and solidity of his little volume are beyond dispute. The sketch it contains of the *Conqueror* is vigorous and life-like. We have in it, moreover, something more than a summary of Mr. Freeman's former book on the *Norman Conquest*. Fresh touches are everywhere added, and new lines are here and there brought out, which give to the volume a value of its own. Nowhere else is it possible in so short a space to obtain so clear an insight into the character, training, work, and influence of the great Norman.—For sketching the portrait of *Cardinal Wolsey* from a Protestant point of view, so profound a student of the Reformation as Professor Creighton, is, at present, unquestionably without an equal. The sketch which he has here given is scholarly and as full as the limits would allow. About its concluding pages there is an air of profound pathos. Professor Creighton has of course made considerable use of *Cavendish* as well as of the researches of Dr. Brewer, and other recent writers, and has transferred not a little of

the profound feeling of the first to his pages. His estimate of the great English Cardinal's character, aims, and achievements, is one to which few will object. Equally vivid is his portraiture of Henry VIII., whom he by no means regards as a saint.—Mr. Trail has sketched the character and career of William III. with skill. He is quite alive to his defects and ambition, and does not fail to mention his mistakes. At the same time he does ample justice to his unquestionable ability as a ruler, as well as to the patience and skill with which he played a very difficult part. As to William's part in the massacre of Glencoe, Mr. Trail is clear. 'There is,' he says, 'no good reason to doubt that when William signed the order for the "extirpation" of the Macdonalds, he meant them to be extirpated.' He believes that William was prepared, after having signed the order, to hear that they had been put to the sword; but on the other hand he does not believe that he was prepared to hear that they had been 'treacherously slaughtered all unawares.' There is a good deal of eulogy in Mr. Harrison's *Cromwell*, and a good deal of discriminating writing. We should not like to hold ourselves bound by all he has said respecting the Puritan Dictator, but of the praise he accords to his military and political character there can be no doubt. We are not sure that Cromwell's nature was, as Mr. Harrison says, profoundly saturated with Biblical theology. That it was steeped in Biblical theology as expounded by Calvin, or in Puritan theology seems to us to be much nearer the truth. But between Biblical and Puritan theology most people are now agreed, and many have long been, that there is a considerable difference. Nevertheless no one will say that Mr. Harrison has not written a very vivid book. It is full of life and colouring, and from Mr. Harrison's point of view has all the appearance of veracity.

A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, from the year after the Oxford Parliament to the Commencement of the Continental War. Compiled entirely from Original and Contemporaneous Records, by JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS. Vols., V. and VI. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1887.

In these volumes Professor Thorold Rogers brings his laborious and useful researches down to the year 1793. The hundred and twenty years they cover have, as he remarks, 'always been a period of profound interest.' And as he continues 'there is no part of English history on which so much has been written, no part on which so much should have been written; for it is full of great events, the effects of which survive to our time, and of great men, whose career is and will be of permanent interest to all Englishmen.' The social and economic history of the period, however, has hitherto been singularly unfortunate; little, or indeed no attention having been paid to it. The social and economic events of earlier and later periods have been commented upon, but those of the hundred and twenty years Professor Rogers here deals with, notwithstanding all that has been written about the period, have not. As he points out the great famine of 1438 is a pretty well-known event, but the famine of 1661-2 and the prolonged drought which characterised the five years 1646-1650 have escaped notice. In fact, apart from its 'great events' and 'great men,' sufficiently little has hitherto been known about the period to justify Professor Rogers in making the following statement: 'My contribution to the history of these eventful hundred and twenty years is . . . entirely different from that of any person who has hitherto handled the subject. I am dealing with facts which have been utterly neglected by those who lived through those times, and have been undiscovered by those who have treated of the

circumstances of those times.' Of the value of these facts it is needless to speak. They are drawn from such records as rent and assessment rolls, hearth-books, estate and college accounts, and the works of such writers as Arthur Young, Davenant Worlidge, Hartlib, Vaughan, Plattes and Blith, and set out the social and economic condition of the country in the clearest light. Professor Rogers has arranged them with considerable skill. In the second volume are the facts he has collected, classified and distributed under their different heads and dates; and in the first we have his own inferences from them, and his numerous and instructive comments. In a preface of some dozen pages he has conveniently drawn out what he conceives to be the principal points which the materials he has collected illustrate. Among them are the effect which the influx of the precious metals from the New World had on prices, the exaltation of rents, the rapid growth of the population, notwithstanding the severity of the plagues with which the country was more than once during the period visited, the enormous development of the maritime enterprise of the country, the increase of social legislation and the development of the joint stock principles in commerce and manufacture. Many of the facts brought out are curious and interesting. For instance, in the middle of the seventeenth century Edinburgh, judging by the rate of assessment, appears to have been by far the richest town in Scotland, Dundee coming next, then Aberdeen, and Glasgow fourth. After London again, according to the same authority Edinburgh was the richest city in Britain, but every other Scottish town was inferior to Hull in point of resources. London, again, about the same time was by no means a safe place to live in. 'Not only were its suburbs infested by highwaymen, but footpads and burglars haunted the principal streets of the city. Large too as London was, the inhabitants of the city knew each other well, and perhaps no information was better spread than that of who had the fullest strong box, not among his acquaintance only, but among those whose acquaintance he least of all desired to make. The law to be sure was very severe, and criminals were hanged by the dozen for offences against property. But with amusing inconsistency the law permitted sanctuaries for thieves and murderers in immediate proximity to the wealth it professed to protect.' The most trusted places for the deposit of cash and plate were the goldsmiths whose stock in trade required extraordinary precautions against organised rapine. The goldsmiths, however, sometimes mistrusted themselves, and of the money which Charles in 1672 seized in the Exchequer £1,300,000 belonged to them or rather to their customers. Curious facts also come out with respect to prices. In 1586-7 wheat was selling at 64s. the quarter. At Gawthorpe in the same year it was purchased at the still higher price of 72s. In the following year it fell as low as 10s. 8d. Ten years later it rose to 64s., and in 1596-7 its average price at Oxford was 65s. 5½d. In the year of the great famine 1661-2 as much as 92s. per quarter was paid. Again, at almost any time during the seventeenth century Charles Lamb might have indulged in his favourite dish for a matter of fifteen or eighteen pence. Horses, saddle or coach, were to be had at prices varying from £7 12s. 6d. to £20—the latter being the highest price in but one year, 1628. Geese were worth from a shilling to half a crown and could sometimes be bought for about eightpence. Larks were sold as low as 4d. per dozen, chickens at 2d. a piece, hens at 4d., and eggs were worth throughout the century from 2s. to 6s. 4d. the hundred, the latter price being reached in 1594, when the highest price for geese was 2s., for chickens 5d., for pigeons 2s. 4d. per dozen, and for butter 4s. 9½d. per dozen pounds. The average price of oysters during the period was at Cambridge 3s. 7d. per bushel. From 1602 to 1626 the price of muscadell was uniformly 4s. per gallon;

between 1621 and 1640 claret never cost more than 2s. 8d. and might sometimes be had lower; but in 1668 red and white port were sold by the gallon at 6s. and 5s. 6d. Shakespeare's two gallons of sack at 2s. 10d. Professor Roger tells us, is not far from the price of his time, being a little lower than the average. The average price during the period for refined sugar was 16s. 11½d. per dozen pounds, for the same quantity of rice 4s. 11½d. On an average currants fetched 5s. 10½d., raisins 4s. 10d., prunes 2s. 10½d for the twelve pounds. The average rate of wages per week for the first sixty years were for a carpenter 6s. 2½d., mason 6s. 5½d., brick-layer 6s. 4½d., slaters 6s. 3½d., joiner 7s. 3½d., and for women doing ordinary work 2s. 3d. These are but a very small portion of the facts Professor Rogers sets out in his two bulky volumes. Economists, capitalists, and workmen will do well to turn to his pages. They will find in them much food for reflection and not a few sagacious remarks and wise counsels.

Solomon Maimon: An Autobiography. Translated from the German, with additions and Notes, by J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, McGill College, Montreal. Alex. Gardner, Paisley and London, 1888.

The hearty thanks of all English speaking lovers of literature are due to Professor Murray for having followed up his accidental discovery, in a book shop in Toronto, of 'Solomon Maimon's Lebens-geschichte,' by the publication of an English translation of that little known book. Whether for its frank self-revelations of a brilliant but eccentric genius; its vivid pictures of Jewish, and for the matter of that, of Gentile life, in Poland, during the eighteenth century; or for its wonderful condensation of much interesting and valuable information relative to Jewish religion and thought, it would be difficult to find a more fascinating piece of autobiography. Solomon Maimon would seem to have been a very zebra among genius, absolutely untameable. His intellectual powers could not brook the harness of system, routine, or any kind of methodical regularity of direction; consequently, an energy in the pursuit of learning which had not shrunk from a journey, on foot, of 150 miles, in order to see a coveted book; and abilities which won the recognition of Mendelssohn and Kant, failed to secure for him 'the recognition which his importance deserves.' He lived and died literally a pauper, often enduring hardships of which it is difficult to read without a shudder; and yet, by his eccentricities and impracticability, wearing out the patience of the numerous admirers who, from time to time, befriended him. If space permitted we could give many quotations in proof of the fascinating interest of the book. One sketch, of a Polish farmer's dwelling, must serve as an instance of Maimon's wonderful power of vivid and condensed description. 'The apartment in which they lived was a hovel of smoke, black as coal inside and out, without a chimney, but with merely a small opening in the roof for the exit of smoke—an opening which was carefully closed as soon as the fire was allowed to go out, so that the heat might not escape. The windows were narrow strips of pine laid crossways across each other, and covered with paper. This apartment served at once for sitting, drinking, eating, study, and sleep. Think of this room intensely heated, and the smoke, as is generally the case in winter, driven back by the wind and rain till the whole place is filled with it to suffocation. Here hang a foul washing and other bits of dirty clothing on poles laid across the room, in order to kill the vermin with the smoke. There hang sausages to dry, while their fat

keeps constantly trickling down on the heads of people below. Yonder stand tubs with sour cabbage and red beets, which form the principal food of the Lithuanians. In a corner the water is kept for daily use, with the dirty water alongside. In this room the bread is kneaded, cooking and baking are done, the cow is milked, and all sorts of operations are carried on.' There is a vein of quaint humour running through the book which greatly enhances its interest, and that it is translated into the pure simple powerful English of an accomplished scholar, is sufficiently guaranteed by the name of Professor Murray on the title page.

The Letters of Charles Lamb newly arranged with Additions.

Edited with Introduction and Notes by ALFRED AINGER.

2 Vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1888.

With the publication of these volumes Mr. Ainger has brought his long and enthusiastic labours on the writings of Charles Lamb to a close, and given a fresh instance of his tact, judgment, and ability, as an editor. At last we have what may deservedly be called a really good edition of Lamb's letters. A complete edition, in the sense of containing all that Lamb wrote in the way of letters and notes, it cannot be called, Mr. Ainger having used his discretion and omitted many slight and unimportant notes with which it would have been useless to cumber his pages; but unless some one or more important letters of Lamb's, the existence of which is now unknown, turn up, which is not likely, Mr. Ainger's must henceforward take its place as the definitive edition. In respect to fulness and arrangement, it is unquestionably superior to all its predecessors. It contains not only several letters which have not before been published, but also the full text of a number which for good and sufficient reasons was in the original editions given only in part. Very wisely too the letters are arranged as nearly in their chronological order as possible—a task, owing to many of the letters being undated, by no means easy, but which Mr. Ainger has succeeded in accomplishing in a more satisfactory way than any of his predecessors. Talfourd's matter has been omitted and Mr. Ainger has taken the opportunity to defend him against some of the charges which have been brought against him as an editor. Into the question of the validity of these charges it is not necessary here to enter, but it may be remarked in passing that as regards one of them, the most serious, that of cutting up, altering and dealing with Lamb's letters in a very summary fashion, Mr. Ainger has no difficulty in disposing of it and in justifying the method Talfourd adopted, at least in his first volume. The least that can be said about Mr. Ainger's notes is that they throw considerable light on the letters and deepen their interest. Some of them are of special value, more particularly one in the first volume containing an hitherto unpublished letter in which Lamb criticises the famous *Lyrical Ballads*. We are not sure, however, as to the advantage of placing the notes at the end of the volumes. For our own part we should prefer them at the foot of the pages, where they are handier and less likely to be overlooked. Mr. Ainger is to be congratulated on the completion of his labours, and those who have learned to admire Lamb either as a man or a writer will not be slow to thank him.

Perrault's Popular Tales. Edited from the Original Editions, with Introduction, etc., by ANDREW LANG, M.A. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1888.

For the publication of this dainty little volume many others besides students of Folk-lore will be extremely grateful. Not only is the text of

the tales admirably printed from the original editions, but Mr. Lang has written for these charmingly told stories an introduction, biographical and bibliographical, and added notes to them which are models in their way and eminently instructive. Perrault was a singular character, talented and versatile. He tried his hands at many things, and is remembered now by the work from which he appears never to have expected anything like lasting fame. The theory that he was not the author of the tales, Mr. Lang with good reason sets aside. The evidence that Perrault and not his son was the author of them is quite sufficient to satisfy almost the most sceptical. Besides a sketch of the life of Perrault, Mr. Lang gives in his introduction an account of the various contemporary efforts made by other writers in France to excel in the same species of literature. In the notes he traces the transformations which the stories have undergone in different countries, and brings out many curious points of likeness and difference. The temptation here was to overload the text, but a wise discretion has been exercised, and the notes are made as brief and informing as possible. Altogether it is impossible to speak too highly of this charming little volume.

English Writers. An Attempt towards a History of English Literature. Vol. II. By HENRY MORLEY. London, New York, etc., Cassell & Co., 1888.

Beginning with the Traveller's Song of Widsith Professor Morley here traces the development of English literature down to the Conquest. The promise of the second part of the first volume is fully kept up, and one begins to realise the real value of the work on which the veteran professor is engaged. As compared with all similar works we have seen, that is, such as attempt to deal with the whole story of English literature, it is fuller and richer. Professor Morley has had the advantage of consulting a variety of monographs which have only seen the light during the recent revival of the study of the earliest periods of English literature. That he has made an excellent use of his opportunity it is almost needless to say. The chapters on Cædmon and Cynewulf, for instance, show good work and are brought down to date. The same may be said of the chapter on the Scôp, as also of that on the Vercelli and Exeter Books. The treatment of the Latin writers, however, is somewhat scant, and more space might have been given to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The two notes on the latter might to have been joined, or the substance of them embodied in the text. An improvement would have been to give the illustrative extracts in the original as well as in translation. Generally speaking the historical notes are good. Perhaps the least satisfactory part of the volume is the chapter on the introduction of Christianity. The latest work on St. Patrick up to the date of his writing, Fr. Hogan's *Vita*, Professor Morley does not seem to have consulted. Following the translation of the Book of Common Prayer, he gives Morgan, Morgant or Morcant as the native name of Pelagius, instead of Morien or Morgen, signify sea-born or offspring of the sea. The bibliography so far as it goes is excellent, but seems to be suddenly cut short. Vigfusson and Powell's *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* and Vigfusson's *Sturlunga Saga* might have been referred to as dealing with the literature of the Northmen. These, however, are but comparatively small matters. Taken as a whole the work is admirable.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by HENRY IRVING
and FRANK A. MARSHALL. Illustrated by GORDON

BROWNE. Vol. II. and III. Blackie & Son : London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dublin. 1888.

The first of these volumes of the 'Henry Irving Shakespeare' contains five plays—the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI. ; The Taming of the Shrew ; A Midsummer Night's Dream ; and King Richard II. In addition to these it contains Charles Kemble's clever attempt at condensing the three parts of Henry VI. into one play. This painstaking effort of the great actor has never before been printed, and is an exceedingly acceptable addition. So far as the editing of this volume is concerned we have nothing to withdraw from what we said respecting that of the first volume. In fact Mr. Marshall seems to have surpassed his former self and to deserve yet higher praise. The notes are in the main more historical and are almost necessarily longer than in the previous volume. One commendable feature is the use of the yet unprinted 'Tragedy of Richard the Second,' from the MS. volume of plays in the Egerton Library, for the illustration of the Shakespearian play. Mr. Browne's work is much the same as in the previous volume ; but the illustrations to 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' are if anything better ; some of them are amusing and cleverly drawn. The third volume contains the plays of Richard III., King John, the Merchant of Venice, and the first and second parts of Henry IV. Here, again, the main part of the editorial work is Mr. Marshall's, except in the first part of Henry IV., where he has allowed Mr. Oscar F. Adams to take the lead, and in the second part of the same play where he simply acts as general editor. The notes to Richard III. are remarkable for their fullness. Particular attention has been paid to the differences between the quarto and folio readings. Their number is, as need hardly be said, very great, and have entailed a considerable amount of labour. In his colleagues, Mr. Marshall has found able associates. The edition fairly promises to be the most satisfactory yet published.

Wit, Wisdom, and Pathos, from the Prose of Heinrich Heine, with a few pieces from *The Book of Songs*. Selected and translated by J. SNODGRASS. Second Edition. Alex. Gardner, Paisley and London, 1888.

Mr. Snodgrass has, in the book before us, discharged his task with much judgment as well as ability. The translations are not only excellent, but the selection is admirable, as illustrative of the varied aspects of Heine's brilliant genius. The title of the book is happily chosen. Heine's *Wit, Wisdom, and Pathos*, could not have been made better manifest to English readers, who are, in general, probably more familiar with him as a poet, than as a prose writer. It is creditable to their literary taste that a second edition of the book should have been called for. Mr. Snodgrass has amply proved that Heine's prose is translatable, but we cannot but think he has added one more proof to the many already existing that, with a few exceptions, his poetry is not. Mr. Snodgrass has by no means exhausted his material, and it is to be hoped a translator so thoroughly equal to the task he has undertaken, may yet produce a third and enlarged edition of his very charming book.

The Politics of Aristotle, with an Introduction, Two Prefatory Essays, and Notes Critical and Explanatory. By W. L. NEWMAN, M.A. Vols. I. and II. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1887.

For some time back the *Politics of Aristotle* has been attracting more

than ordinary attention. The publication of Susemihl's great work seems to have given quite a fresh impetus to the study of the treatise, and to have called forth a considerable series of critical editions, all of which have been more or less based upon his own. Of these several have appeared in this country, and quite recently we had to welcome the appearance of a translation of the work, with essays and critical and explanatory notes from the hand of one whose translation of the Platonic Dialogues has good title to be regarded as an English classic. Like Dr. Jowett's work, Mr. Newman's is as yet unfinished. So far we have but two out of four possible volumes. But unlike Dr. Jowett's, Mr. Newman's volumes contain no translation, and are not intended. They are meant for scholars and for scholars only, though there is much in them which those who are not scholars will find it useful to read, more especially if they wish to understand the politics of the ancient Greek states, and the speculations of the Greek philosophers respecting the best form of government. The work itself is cast upon a large scale, and is worked out so far with great elaboration of detail. Aristotle's text does not appear till the second volume, where out of 485 pages that of his first two books, which is all here given, occupies but 56; the rest being taken up with two prefatory essays, notes, critical and explanatory, and three appendices. The first volume, which contains in all close on 600 pages, is devoted to the introduction and additional appendices. In mentioning this we have not the slightest intention of suggesting that Mr. Newman has written too much, or that we have anything at all superfluous; our desire is to indicate the fulness and thoroughness of his work. As a piece of analytical writing, the Introduction is admirable. It does duty also as a continuous commentary, both historical and exegetical, on the text of the politics. As might be expected, Mr. Newman links the Politics on to the Ethics, and regards it as the second part of what in reality is one work. The analysis of the ideas represented by such terms as *πολιτική*, *ψύσις*, *τὸ αὐτόματον*, *τύχη*, *κοινωνία* and *πόλις* is eminently suggestive. Mr. Newman's aim, however, is not merely to unfold the political teaching of the Stagyrite, and to fix the position of the Politics among its author's other writings, but also to connect the speculations it contains with those of earlier thinkers. The consequence is that considerable space is devoted to the development of the ideas of Plato and others, and to pointing out their likenesses and differences. Here and there, too, we have a reference to the speculations of modern writers. Sometimes also we have a bit of graphic description thrown in to elucidate the terms or ideas under discussion. What impresses, one most, however, is the calm and judicial tone which pervades the Introduction. Mr. Newman is always an investigator, never in a hurry, but always on the move, tracing the ideas he has in view through their various ramifications, and always giving one the idea that he is a sure and safe guide. The first of the two essays in the second volume is devoted mainly to the history of the Politics, to the acquaintance with it shown by subsequent writers, such as Philodemus, Aristoxenus, Theophrastus, Polybius, and Cicero, and to the questions of the authorship and unity of the work. The conclusion Mr. Newman comes to on these is, that, notwithstanding the frequent absence of connection, the treatise is the work of one author, and that author not Theophrastus, as suggested by a passage in Diogenes, but Aristotle, who, he further believes, committed it to writing, and designed it for use in his school. The second essay deals with the MSS. and the Latin translation of William Moerbeke. The notes, as we have already said, are divided into critical and explanatory, in both of which large use is made of Susemihl, but there is scarcely anything which has been written on the Politics with which Mr. Newman does not seem to be acquainted. His notes are a mine

of learning, and for a long time, as far as it has gone, this among English editions of the work must occupy the first place.

Paris. By AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1887.

Days Near Paris. By AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE. Same Publishers, 1887.

Those who have used Mr. Hare's Italian books will find these equally useful. They are full of just that kind of information which invests a building or a locality with interest. In the first of them Mr. Hare confines himself to the city of Paris itself. As he very justly remarks, Paris is a city which every educated Englishman visits sometime in his life, but which few really see. They occupy themselves with its shops and theatres and drives, they see the modern city, but do not take the trouble to examine those remains of past times which still exist in it and which give to it its immense historic interest. With Mr. Hare's books in their hands they will find both the city and its environs full of new yet old attractions—attractions we venture to think of equal, if not greater, importance than can be claimed for the parts they usually see. Following the plan adopted in his books on the Italian cities Mr. Hare has here given the descriptions of the various places of interest to which he directs attention, in the words of others. To many visitors to Paris it might have been an advantage if the passages from French writers had been rendered into English. For others, of course, it would not; but unfortunately there are many still to whom French or any other language than their own is unintelligible. Mr. Hare's text it is needless to say is bright and informing.

Chris. By W. E. MORRIS. London: Macmillan & Co., 1888.

Chris is a delightful story; we can only wish there was more of it. The penurious old aunt and the old French Republican doctor, are characters which would well have borne further development. Mr. Morris is singularly fortunate in his delineation of *Chris*. The unconventional, gipsy-like heroine, in the hands of certain writers whose names will instantly occur to all novel readers, is simply a vulgar, impudent hoyden. Mr. Morris's heroine is a genuinely, unsophisticated, freedom-loving girl, who can be frank without being insolent, and who even in her wildest exploit—the flight to Paris—shows herself still able to conduct herself with propriety, and to have no inherent love of risky situations. There is an amount of good natured satire on society, and of quiet humour running through the book, which greatly enhance the interest created by the admirable sketch of *Chris* herself. The story is quite worthy of Mr. Morris's well-won reputation, but is too slight to bear elaborate criticism.

Joyce. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. London: Macmillan & Co., 1888.

It was an evil day for all concerned, save only perhaps for Mrs. Hayward, who, in the settlement of painful uncertainties about her own position, might find compensation for her share of the disaster—when Colonel Hayward undertook to go to Scotland and assure the tenants at Bellendean that the young laird was 'a capital fellow,' and thus lighted upon his hitherto unsuspected daughter. Mrs. Oliphant is far too able a writer to allow any personal feelings towards her characters to be manifest, but it is really difficult to imagine what can have induced her to devote three volumes to the delineation of such an exceedingly uninteresting young woman as *Joyce*! She is a hazy sort of heroine, apparently unpossessed

of a single clearly defined quality, good, bad, or indifferent; amazingly clumsy in her diction, and rarely seeming to be sufficiently certain what she means, to enable her to frame her sentences intelligibly. Yet this weak, irresolute, but well meaning creature, makes havoc of the peace, comfort, and happiness of every one connected with her, more thoroughly than it often falls to the lot of the wicked heroine of a wildly sensational novel to succeed in doing. We know of no greater proof of Mrs. Oliphant's power as a writer, than that she has succeeded in dragging the history of this flabby creature through a three-volume novel, almost entirely devoid of incident, without being utterly tedious. Whether the power might not be better applied is another question. We have a strong impression that the result is, in great measure, due to the excellence of the sketches of some of the subordinate characters. Andrew Halliday is inimitable, and old Janet Matheson, and Mrs. Sitwell are admirable. Certainly the sort of exasperation, it is impossible not to feel at the thought of Mrs. Oliphant expending her unusual power on such an uninteresting heroine, is greatly soothed by the trenchant summing up of the results of her folly with which she dismisses her into the oblivion which is her fitting end.

Seventy Times Seven. By ADELINE SERGEANT. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1888.

But for the title page of *Seventy Times Seven* we should have been inclined to set the book down as the work of a young and inexperienced writer of very considerable power. As it is, we are driven to the opinion that Miss Sergeant does not work up to her own full ability. There seem to us to be many indications about the story of power to produce one of much higher merit. None the less *Seventy Times Seven* is a strong story forcibly told, Max Brendon being, in our opinion, the best drawn character in the book. The only flaw in the plot we think, is the attitude of both Magdalen Lingard and the St. Aidans towards Philip Esher. Whatever else he might or might not have done, two things were certain—that he had deserted his young wife and her children, leaving them to starve—and that he had tried to marry Magdalen Lingard with, at least, no certainty that his first wife was dead. Yet Mrs. St. Aidan seems almost inclined to resent the fact that Magdalen will not regard his conduct in the light of a youthful indiscretion; while Magdalen herself seems at times disposed to condone his offences. The possibility of his being even tolerated in the houses of either, until he had really shown some proof of having repented of his crimes, is repugnant to all honourable sentiment. However, the story ends well—the opening is remarkably bold and striking—and is throughout exceedingly interesting. The contrasts are very skilfully arranged to bring the characters into strong relief. Cecil and Max, Magdalen and Ruby, the heartless Philip and the all too constant Jim. The sharp contrast of the characters thus brought into constant association has much to do with the remarkably well sustained interest of the story.

Wessex Tales: Strange, Lively, and Common Place. By THOS. HARDY. London: Macmillan & Co., 1888.

We have nothing to object to in *Wessex Tales* save the insertion, on the title page, of the epithet 'common place.' That is the one thing which stories by Mr. Hardy are least likely to be. Even supposing the incidents treated of to be commonplace, his method of treatment would be certain to rescue them from being the subjects of commonplace stories. His *Wessex Tales* are excellent short studies, original both in plot and treatment. *The Withered Arm* is somewhat gruesome, but very powerfully told. The

other four are all so good that it is hard to say which bears the palm, but we are inclined to assign it to *The Distracted Preacher*, a most vivid and interesting sketch of a phase of life so completely a thing of the past, that it is difficult to realize that it is within the memory of people still living.

Elizabeth Gilbert and her Work for the Blind, by Frances Martin (Macmillan), is the narrative of a truly heroic life. Blind from her infancy, as she grew up Miss Gilbert became possessed by a profound sympathy for those who were stricken with the same terrible calamity as herself, and more especially with those who in addition to their blindness had to struggle with poverty. Her sympathy was eminently practical; she set herself the task of providing and procuring employment for those of her fellow-sufferers whose pecuniary circumstances were less fortunate than her own, and as the immediate result of her sympathy rented a cellar in New Turnstile, Holborn, at eighteen pence a week, and gave employment to seven blind men. This was the beginning of what is now known as the Association for the General Welfare of the Blind, and which has succeeded in finding employment for many hundreds who live in darkness, and in rescuing them from poverty, and in many cases from degradation. The touching story of her life and endeavours, of her successes and failures, of the ready help she received among all classes, from Her Majesty the Queen downwards, and of the immense benefits which have accrued from her self-sacrificing devotion is here told in a manner which cannot fail to elicit the genuine sympathy of every reader. Her life was noble and deserved to be told.

In *The Life of William Barnes* (Macmillan), Leader Scott has told the story of her father's life with tact, and a sufficient amount of literary skill to lend the story additional interest. Mr. Barnes was a man of singular aptitudes and abilities, if not of genius. He seems to have had the faculty of turning his hand or his mind to anything. Poetry, philology, science, or philosophy—nothing seems to have come amiss to him. And withal he was one of the pleasantest, kindest, most genial of men. Considerable use has been made throughout the volume of his poems, and the quaint dialect in which most of them are written gives them a freshness and vigour which in much of the poetry of the present is often absent.

Mr. Henry James' *Partial Portraits* (Macmillan), besides a paper on the 'Art of Fiction' contains some nine or ten attempts to sketch the portraits of as many writers, most of whom are now passed away. The place of honour is given to Emerson, whose character is sketched with tenderness and skill. Mr. R. L. Stevenson, of course, appears. So also does George Eliot. The pages of the volume are very pleasantly written, and though one cannot avoid feeling that the writing is just a little thin, good things occur here and there and make one feel that after all the book is worth reading.

L'homme selon le transformisme, par A. Vianna de Lima (Alcan), may perhaps be best described as a succinct and lucid exposition of the Darwinian theory of the descent of man. Considerable space is devoted to the structural affinities and similarities between man and the anthropoides to pre-historic and savage man, while in the second half of the volume, we have chapters dealing more particularly with the development of human intelligence, and the evolution of language, morals and religion.

In *Le logement de l'ouvrier et du pauvre* (Guillaumin), M. Arthur Raffalovich has gathered together a large mass of information respecting the dwellings of the working class and the poor, not only in France, but also

in Great Britain, the United States, Belgium and Germany. Besides dealing largely in statistics he has paid considerable attention to the efforts which have been made to house the poor more satisfactorily; acts of Parliament are described and their success or failure. One chapter is specially devoted Scotland, and to the large number of one roomed 'houses' to be found in the larger towns and cities—a system of housing the poor which M. Raffalovich strongly deprecates, and justly.

Velazquez, par Paul Lefort (Rouam), is the last volume we have received of 'Les Artistes célèbres' series—to which it forms an excellent addition. For the writing of a critical biography of Velazquez M. Lefort is qualified, having devoted himself to the study of the Spanish painter for many years. Of the interest attaching to it, it is not necessary to speak. M. Lefort has sketched the life of the great master both as a man and as an artist, and has given a catalogue of his works, which is as near complete as possible. The volume is abundantly illustrated.

Mr. Scott Keltie's *Statesman's Year Book* (Macmillan) made its twenty-fifth appearance early in the year. Its utility is well known. This year's issue presents numerous additions and improvements, and is again based as far as possible upon official information.

The author of *Little Lord Fauntleroy's Sara Crewe* (Warne & Co.) contains two of the most charming stories for children we have met with for some time. One of them gives its name to the volume; the other is entitled *Editha's Burglar*. There is a simplicity and romance about both the stories which cannot fail to make them immensely popular with those for whom they are written.

Four Ghost Stories, by Mrs. Molesworth (Macmillan), is almost as weird reading as any one can desire. The wraith on the covers is an apt indication of their contents. The stories are of the good old-fashioned type; in fact, they are real ghost stories. To young readers they will give some idea of the stories that used to be told, while to older readers they will recall many an eerie hour spent in the old times by the fire-light on a winter's night.

Les Mémoires d'un dompteur, par Bidet (Librairie de l'art, Paris), is full of many exciting situations. If but one half of what it relates be true, it proves the possession of wonderful nerve and wonderful power over the wild and untamable part of creation. The illustrations are not the least striking part of the volume.

Among the School Books we have received, the first place is deservedly due to Mr. Gow's *Companion to School Classics* (Macmillan). It is a remarkably handy and useful little volume, and is likely to prove much more serviceable, and to be a much greater favourite with school-boys than most books of its kind. Its author has not only the art of selecting what it is useful to teach, he has the art also of putting what he has to say in an attractive way, an art which in school books is not unseldom conspicuous by its absence. The subjects on which information is given are, among others, texts, metrology, dialects and pronunciation, laws, governments, armies and navies, the drama, and philosophy. Ample indices are provided for reference, and a few useful illustrations are given.

NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.—In these the past quarter or two have been especially rich. First and foremost among them we must mention, what was scarcely expected but what will undoubtedly be regarded as a boon by many, the beginning of a monthly issue of a new and popular edition of the *Poetical Works* of Robert Browning (Smith, Elder & Co.).

The venture is a very considerable one, but deserves to succeed. Mr. Browning has unquestionably made his mark on the age, and though there be many things in his works which are hard to understand, there are also many gems whose excellence and value are unquestionable. But on these matters we may have more to say in a little. Here our business is with the new edition. The first volume, which is all that has reached us, contains two of Mr. Browning's earliest efforts, 'Pauline' and 'Sordello,' which he now sends forth with a note of apology. The paper is good and the printing clear; in fact the volume has a very handsome appearance, and considering the low price at which it is issued, this collected edition of Mr. Browning's works ought to meet with a very general circulation. Before its issue is completed, we hope the edition will be made complete, in the sense of including some of Mr. Browning's poems which are not mentioned in the prospectus.

Next, we have a handy and handsome re-issue of the Very Reverend Dean Church's *Miscellaneous Works* (Macmillan & Co.). In the first we have the well-known and justly esteemed essay on Dante, which none can read without turning to the *Divine Comedy* with fresh interest and renewed enthusiasm. In the same volume are a discriminating essay on Wordsworth, and a paper on Mr. Browning's 'Sordello,' of which Dr. Church is by no means a blind admirer, and in respect to which he delivers himself of some very pointed and caustic criticism. In the second, or in what is really intended to be the first of the series of volumes, we have a number of historical essays along with the descriptive paper on Brittany, and the essay on Montaigne. The third volume is devoted to Anselm. As a monograph on that famous churchman Dr. Church's *St. Anselm* is unrivalled, at least in this country; and nowhere else, so far as we know, will so vivid and so accurate a picture of the monastic and religious life of the period be found as in these admirable and deservedly popular pages. The fourth volume contains the essay on Spenser, first written for Mr. Morley's *Men of Letters* series, and one of the most popular of that eminently successful series. This makes the fifth edition of the work. The concluding volume contains the well-known essay on Bacon.

In his two volumes, *Essays chiefly on Poetry*, (Macmillan & Co.), Mr. Aubrey de Vere has put together fifteen of his numerous contributions to various periodicals. In their present form they have undergone considerable condensation. Many of them will be re-read with interest, as for instance the fine essays on Spenser, the first of which, by the way, is an exception to what we have just said, not having appeared in any journal, but in Dr. Grosart's recent edition of Spenser's works. In the same category may be mentioned two equally fine essays on Wordsworth. In the second of the two volumes, we have in addition to papers on Keats, Landor, and the poetry of Sir Henry Taylor, two or three religious pieces, in one of which the author deals with some difficulties of religion, and in a second with the idea of a saint. There is an abundance of good reading in the volumes, and in their present form the essays will undoubtedly be to many very acceptable.

Our acknowledgments are due for the following, among others:—*The Blessedness of the Dead in Christ*, by the late W. Maturin, D.D. (Macmillan); *Educational Ends*, by Sophie Bryant, D. Sc. (Longmans); *Wealth and Progress*, by George Gunton (Macmillan); *Letters of Ricardo de Malthus*, edited by J. Bonar (Clarendon Press); *Four Oxford Lectures*, by E. Freeman (Macmillan); the Second Edition of the Rev. J. A. Cross's *Bible Readings* (Macmillan); *David Western*, by Alfred Hayes, M.A. (Cornish Bros.);

Free Field, by R. St. John Tyrwhitt (Macmillan); *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities*, by H. B. Adams, Ph. D. (Washington Bureau of Education); *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1888 (Longmans); the Second Edition of the Rev. G. E. Jeans' *Life and Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (Macmillan); *St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, by H. E. Evan's, B.A. (Nisbet); *Culmshire Folk*, by the Author of *John Olebar*, 3rd edit. (Cassell).

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

REVUE DE L' HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1888).—M. J. A. Hild occupies the first place in this number with a third and concluding instalment of his admirable study, 'Le pessimisme moral et religieux chez Homère et Hésiode.' In illustration of his theme, he brings out here the views expressed in the Homeric and Hesiodic writings regarding Death and Destiny (Moira), the jealous sentiments of the gods towards men, and their capricious and often malicious interference in human affairs.—M. J. Halévy reviews at considerable length Professor Sayce's Hibbert Lectures of last year on 'the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians.' M. Halévy has not very much good to say of them. He finds fault with the arrangement made by Professor Sayce of his materials, which has led, he says, to constantly recurring, and altogether unnecessary digressions and repetitions, and many of these he is careful to point out. He charges him with almost endless inaccuracies of statement, and with hasty and faulty generalizations, and with numerous misconceptions of the real meaning of Assyrian words and clauses. M. Halévy follows the Oxford Professor through every lecture and through the three appendices of his published work most minutely, and endeavours to justify every stricture he passes on it.—M. Georges Lafaye gives an account of the discovery of a tablet near Rome so long ago as 1860, because of the light it sheds on the more recent discovery mentioned in his last *Bulletin* to this *Revue* as to the excavations going on in Italy. There he mentioned that the name of a new or hitherto unknown deity had come to light, and now he shows that this earlier unearthed tablet, to which his attention has since been called, gives not a little information as to the deity in question.—M. L. Massebieau has a short note to his articles on 'The Contemplative Life of Philo' (?) making some corrections and additions to the statements advanced in these.—The Book Reviews include an appreciative notice of Mr. Andrew Lang's 'Myth, Ritual, and Religion' by Count Goblet D'Alviella; and in the *Chronique* Dr. A. Reville mentions with high praise Professor Rhys' Hibbert Lectures on 'Celtic Heathendom,' and promises a special article upon them in a future number.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (Janvier-Mars, 1888).—M. P. Vidal—'Les Juifs dans anciens comtes de Roussillon et de Cerdagne'—continues his sketch of the political and social condition of the Jewish communities in Arragon under James I. and his successors. The period embraced here extends from 1396 to 1458.—M. T. Reinach—'Sculptures d' Ascalon'—reproduces from photographs three sculptured slabs discovered last autumn. They represent figures of Victory, and M. Reinach fixes their date in the period of Herod's reign. He thinks they had been placed by Herod on the façade or at the gates of the palace raised by Augustus for Salome, Herod's sister, and that they were intended as a compliment to Augustus, whose victories they were meant to symbolize.—M. Isidore Loeb—'Joseph Haccohen et les chroniqueurs juifs'—gives an account of three MSS. lately secured for the Library of the 'Alliance Israelite,' all containing original works, or translations, or letters of Joseph Haccohen. The first contains a copy of his celebrated 'Emek Habbakha' (Valley of Tears); the second, several translations as well as original papers from his pen; and the third, a considerable number of his letters. Professor Loeb takes occasion from these to give a variety

of particulars concerning that learned Jewish physician and chronicler, and to point out some corrections to be made in his published works.—M. J. Derenbourg—'Mélanges Rabbiniques'—treats here of Aboul Walid Ibn Djanah's 'Kitab al-touma.' The other papers in this number, which are all of a more or less purely historical interest, are, 'Les Marranes de Pesaro et les représailles des Juifs levantins contre la ville d'Ancône,' by M. D. Kaufmann, 'Les negociants juifs à Marseille au milieu du XIII^e Siècle,' by Prof. Loeb; 'Rabbi Joselmann de Rosheim,' by Dr. Kracauer; 'Le commentaire de Samuel ibn Hofni sur le Pentateuque' (second article), by M. W. Bacher, and the conclusion of Professor Loeb's 'Le procès de Samuel ibn Tibbon.' Under 'Notes et Mélanges,' we have two short notes from M. J. Halévy, the first on 'the plural termination in Semitic languages,' and the second on the Phœnician inscription of the recently discovered marble at the Piræus, the text of which (it is bilingual, Phœnician and Greek) and a photograph were presented in January by M. Renan to the 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.' We have also two short papers by M. D. Kaufmann the first 'Une anecdote sur Pharaon et Aman chez les Arabes,' and the second 'Les lettres L, M, N, dan l'alphabet;' one from Prof. Loeb, 'Le mot Taule en judeo-allemand,' and a letter addressed to Salomon Azubi. The reviews of books include a notice of Jastrow's 'Dictionary of the Targumim, the Babylon and Jerusalem Talmuds and Midrashic literature.' In 'Acts et Conférences' we have the Treasurer's report of the satisfactory progress of the Société des Etudes juives,' and the Secretary's report of the publications issued by the Society during 1887.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (April, May, June).—M. G. von Muyden has done good service in gathering together, in 'La Téléphonie aujourd'hui et demain,' all the available statistics respecting the development and practical use of one of the most valuable of recent discoveries. In the main his figures fall a couple of years short of date, which is not surprising considering the difficulties in the way of collecting trustworthy information respecting the actual state of affairs. It is stated that in 1885 about 223,000 families, firms, exchanges, &c., made a regular use of the telephone, and during the last two and a half years the number has largely increased. A curious point is that in this respect Berlin is far ahead of Paris and London. In the German capital in 1885 there were 4,300 subscribers, or one in every 306 of the inhabitants; while in London the subscribers numbered 4,193, or one in every 1,134; and in Paris, 4,054, or one in every 691. For the causes of this unexpected popularity of the telephone in Germany we must refer the reader to the article itself. Up to the present it appears there are only four instances of what M. von Muyden terms international telephony—the line between Bâle and St. Louis, between Paris and Brussels, between Brussels and Amsterdam, and between Rorschach, Bregenz, and Lindau.—Two more instalments bring to a close M. Jacottet's critical and keenly discriminative sketch of Tennyson in his series, 'Poètes modernes de l'Angleterre.' One anticipates with some curiosity what he will find to say about Browning.—'Recollections of a Sojourn in Russia' and 'The Region of the Amazon' will amply repay perusal.—A very interesting paper contributed by M. Abel Veuglaire examines the actual condition of the French army. The author points out as causes of weakness the instability which, owing to the frequent changes of Ministry, has marked the policy of the War Department for the last seventeen years, and also the misplaced zeal which some Ministers have shown in unimportant matters of uniform and drill, whilst tolerating long-standing abuses.—'Les Jeux de Hasard,' which runs through two numbers, shows the fallacy of the various systems by which gamblers endeavour to subject fortune to their calculations. A special section is devoted to show the immorality of lotteries.—The sketch of contemporary Spanish fiction, which bears the signature of M. E. Rios, though not particularly deep, is at least readable, and contains amongst other matter a *précis* of a novel, 'El Cuarto Poder,' which seems worthy of the attention of those who go about seeking what they may translate.—The three numbers are enlivened with fiction of more than average readableness, amongst which space is found for two American stories by Mrs. Rose Terry Cook.—As usual, the 'Chroniques' are full of varied and interesting gossip.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (April, May, June).—Classifying the articles in the various numbers for the quarter, we find Zoology heading the list with no less than half a dozen contributions. In the first of these M. Jules de Guerne gives the result of his researches in connection with the fauna of the Azores, which he finds to be distinctly European in its characteristics, and for the introduction of which he accounts by the action of the wind and the visits of birds coming from the Continent. More general interest attaches to the lecture which M. Blanchard entitles 'The Enemies of the Human Species,' and in which he conveys, besides a great deal of most interesting information concerning the parasites which food and drink introduce into the body, some useful advice as to the precautions to be employed against them. The various papers which have appeared in former numbers with regard to the condition of the sardine fisheries in France are supplemented by a long contribution from M. Marcel Baudouin, who shows that the Vendean coast is in quite as precarious a state as the other parts of the seaboard to which attention has been called. Of the two remaining articles one gives an account of the various experiments which have been made of late to introduce American fish into the lakes of Switzerland; the other is the review of a work on prosobranchial gasteropodes.—Of the articles classed under the heading 'Biology,' the first applies the theory of transformism to microbes, and suggests the possibility of rendering them innocuous by a series of evolutions. Akin to this, though more practical in its bearing, is the lecture in which Professor Strauss shows the immense importance to pathology of the discoveries due chiefly to M. Pasteur, and indicates the manner in which they are to be utilised for the treatment of infectious diseases. The number bearing date of the 19th of May reproduces an important lecture delivered by M. de Quatrefages. In it the eminent French professor, who is known to be one of the most strenuous and uncompromising opponents of the Darwinian theory of evolution, shows to what extent the controversy has been obscured by the erroneous idea that transformism must on the one hand claim the assent of all who profess to be free-thinkers, and on the other, be rejected by those who acknowledge submission to the doctrines of Christianity. Looking at the question under both aspects, he shows that amongst those who opposed Darwinism there have been scientists who carried their scepticism in religious matters even further than he did; whilst some of his most distinguished supporters were men of undoubted orthodoxy. He concludes that the controversy is essentially and exclusively a scientific one, and should be carried on without reference to dogma. As a kind of confirmation of this, the next number contains a translation of Mr. Huxley's account of the reception with which the 'Origin of Species' met on its publication. The English professor is not less emphatic than his French *confrère* on this very question. 'The doctrine of evolution, he says, is no more antideistic than it is deistic. It has no more to do with deism than has the first book of Euclid.' The last of the biological papers applies the theory of evolution to the natural genesis of animal forms.—Of the articles which appear in the section headed 'Enseignement des Sciences,' there is but one of general interest, it is that entitled 'Les Régimes scolaires en Allemagne.' After examining the distribution of time and subjects in German schools, the writer, M. Preyer, points out as a necessary reform a diminution of the hours given to education, or rather, instruction, properly so called, and greater attention to the moral and physical training of children. Latin and Greek he maintains, should, in justice to scientific subjects, be optional. The subject to which, above all others, pupils should be made to turn their attention is the study of their own language. Next to that he looks upon English and French as being most important. National history, he thinks, should figure more prominently and both natural philosophy and chemistry he would wish to see taught as early and as practically as possible.—In connection with *Psychology* M. Paul Janet examines the theory of 'double personality,' under the influence of hypnotism. In the same section an account is given of various experiments by which it has been endeavoured to determine the extent of the mental faculties of spiders. Finally in an essay of more general interest M. Gustave Le Bon treats of the important question of the influence of race in history.—As a contribution to the *History of the Sciences* M. Ribot gives the result of contemporary psychological research in France, Eng.

land, Italy, and the United States. A slight sketch of the history of the Chair of Physiology at the Faculty of Medicine in Paris is also given by M. Corlieu.—There are but two papers on subjects connected with geography, but both are of considerable interest. The former of them summarises the result of the recent Danish expedition to Greenland; the latter indicates what has hitherto been attempted with a view to penetrating into the Soudan by way of Senegal.—*Geology* has, but one paper but that is a most instructive one; it deals with the artificial reproduction of volcanic rocks.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April, May, June).—One of the articles most deserving of the attention of English readers is that in which M. Rentzon gives a critical appreciation of Mr. L. R. Stevenson's work. That part of it which deals with Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde is particularly noteworthy. On the whole the critic pronounces favourably, though he indicates certain technical defects, such as, for example, the introduction of characters whose action has too little connection with the main plot.—In the paper which he entitles 'Une chaire de Psychologie expérimentale et comparée au Collège de France' M. Paul Janet explains the reasons which have led to the establishment of this new chair in the place of that devoted to natural and international law.—The crisis in the sardine fisheries, which has already called forth numerous articles in other reviews, has supplied M. G. Ponucet with a long and most instructive article, in which the whole industry is set forth with a thorough knowledge of the subject.—M. Charles Grad, an Alsatian, and in his sympathies, thoroughly a Frenchman, although he is a member of the German Reichstag, continues the series of papers which he has been devoting to Germany in an article dealing with the military forces of the empire. Apart from the valuable details and statistics which he gives the most important part of his work is that in which he expresses his conviction that Germany will have to sustain a supreme struggle to assure its greatness, its unity, and its existence. That war must break out either in this generation or the next seems to be for him a foregone conclusion.—Readers acquainted with contemporary German literature will be aware that amongst those writers who have made history their special study, Herr Janssen occupies a very conspicuous position. The violent manner in which, as we have had occasion to notice, he has been attacked by some critics, in his own country, is of itself a proof of his importance. He is at the head of the Catholic school, and as such, of course, is in direct antagonism with that of which Herr von Sybel and Herr von Treitschke are the acknowledged leaders. The spirit of his works is admirably brought before the reader by M. J. Bourdeau, who is particularly happy in the comparison which he draws between M. Taine's Napoleon and the German historian's Luther.—Art students will find it amply worth their while to read the study which M. Emile Michel devotes to Jacob Ruysdall. Wide as their reading on this subject may be, they will find much that will assist them to a full understanding of the master's influence on Dutch art. Of the lines upon which M. Michel conducts his examination we shall give a sufficient idea when we quote his judgment, that Ruysdael was next to Rembrandt, the greatest painter Holland ever produced.—Spanish literature being, with the exception of one immortal production, less known in this country than is that of France, it may be presumed that it is to Le Sage that most people are indebted for their knowledge of that special branch of fiction known as the picturesque. But 'Gil Blas' was itself but an imitation. The original was to be found in Spain, and there, it was a copy from nature, it reproduced a distinct class, the existence of which is one of the most striking features of Spanish society during the 16th century. It is to this class, to the beggars, highwaymen, gitanos, and spadassins, which we find grouped about Gil Blas, or better, about his ancestor Lazarillo de Tormes, that the lady who writes under the masculine pseudonym of 'Arvède Barine' introduces us. The sketch which she gives is most vivid and striking, and deserves to be recommended as one of the most readable things the *Revue* has to offer this quarter.—Two articles which, though ably written and containing interesting matter, will have more novelty for French than for English readers, are those headed respectively 'Les Grandes Fortunes aux Etats-Unis,' and 'Les Grandes Fortunes en Angleterre.' In these M. de

Varigny relates the manner in which their millions were amassed by Mr. Gordon Bennett, Mr. Jay Gould, and Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt in America, and gives similar details concerning some of our English millionaires.—The two most important dates in Grecian history are those which mark respectively the invasion of Xerxes and the accession of Philip to the throne of Macedon. At the former of these, Greece seemed doomed to destruction, yet she triumphed; at the second, she seemed to have nothing to fear, yet she lost everything. How it was that Macedonia killed Greece at a time when she seemed to be full of life and strength is indicated by M. Duruy in the masterly study 'La Grèce avant la Domination Macédonienne.'—M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu continues his series of studies, 'Religion in Russia.' The present instalment deals with the evolution of the *Raskol*, and of the various sects.—The legend of Krishna, of which the importance and the interest are well known to all students of Hindoo mythology, and which may really be described as a dramatic summary of the whole Brahminical religion, is the subject of an engrossing article from the pen of M. Schuré.—More than ordinary insight into character was necessary to do justice to such a complex character as that of Benjamin Constant, and M. E. Faguet deserves great credit for the manner in which he has acquitted himself of the task. His sketch brings out with rare vividness the contradictions of which Constant's character was made up, and enables us to appreciate a man who has exercised a large influence on French thought.—M. G. Valbert, writing on the late Emperor Frederick, has produced an article which does him honour; it is pleasing to find such genuine sympathy ungrudgingly expressed towards one whose very position seemed to show him in the light of a natural enemy to the present generation of Frenchmen, but who by his heroic patience and the nobility of his character was able to win admiration from those least willing to accord it.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (April, May, June).—Apart from their intrinsic value the two articles which M. Paul Janet contributes as an 'Introduction to Philosophical Science' are particularly interesting from the fact that they reproduce the inaugural lecture delivered by him on his appointment to the chair of philosophy, left vacant by the death of M. Caro about a year ago. These papers may therefore be considered as containing the new professor's confession of faith, if we may apply the term to the subject with which he is dealing. In the first of them he refutes the idea, not uncommonly maintained, that philosophy is not a science. At various stages of his investigation, he establishes that philosophy is a science both of problems and of hypotheses, that it is the analysis of the phenomena of the human mind, and from this he goes on to define philosophy as a science of facts and laws, and consequently, of truths. Viewing it from another point of view, he is led to a new definition of philosophy as the partial science of the whole, the fragmentary science of unity, and again, as the science of relative truths, of successive approximation to final truth. Concluding with yet another definition, he pronounces philosophy to be the science of the free mind and the free science of the mind. From this he goes on in his second article to deal with some recent definitions of philosophy, and sums up his objection to them in the assertion that they all imply scepticism, which, being a system and not a definition, consequently involves a begging of the question.—M. Dunan also appears in two numbers with the continuation and conclusion of the study in which he considers and compares visual with tactile space, and shows that the ideas of the world, as conceived by the blind, are absolutely different from those conveyed to the minds of those endowed with sight. He concludes, or rather suggests the conclusion, that a solution of the difficulty is to be found in a theory of idealism, akin to that of Berkeley, yet so far different from his, that it would give a greater share to the objective reality of the outer world.—In two further papers M. A. Richet completes his study of psychical reflexes. His general conclusion seems to be that movements answering to peripheric excitation are, according to the intensity of the emotion, either localised, or irradiated movements, or again, combined acts. They are sometimes phenomena of inhibition, sometimes phenomena of action. Although more or less subject to the influence of the will, they are not provoked by the will, and, of whatever

kind they may be, they seem to have for their one object to protect the life of the individual and of the species.

L'ART (April, May, June).—In continuation of the series of sketches which he is giving of modern dramatic writers, M. F. Lefranc deals with Labiche. Here his appreciation is, to our thinking, better worth considering than one, at least, of the papers which preceded it. Labiche, M. Lefranc writes, was content with being a man of letters; to the public he revealed his mind, but not his life. He made no bid for popularity, and none was ever freer than he from charlatanism.—In a paper of some importance to art-students, M. Paul Lafond denies the authenticity of two paintings preserved in the Pau Museum and attributed to Rubens.—Several of the numbers contain but little besides the annual *compte rendu* of the Salon. In the last of the June numbers, however, M. L. Gauchez continues the series of articles, or rather, notes, which, under the heading 'Rue Trompette, No. 6, à Saint-Germain-en Laye,' he has devoted to Bouvin.—We have also, in two instalments, a short sketch of the Marquis of Marigny, whose claim to appear here is not that he was the brother of the famous, or rather infamous Madame de Pompadour, but that he was director of public works to Louis XV.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (April, May, June).—The light literature for the quarter is supplied by Herr Theodor Storm whose novelette 'Der Schimmelreiter,' runs through the first two numbers; by Herr Hans Hoffman, who contributes 'Himmelfahrt' to the June part; by Signor Salvatore Farina, who appears in a translation entitled 'Im Waisenhaus;' and lastly by Mr. Brete Harte, who concludes the 'Argonauts of North Liberty.'—Herr Franz Xaver Kraus's biographical and literary sketch of Antonio Rosmini, of which we have already mentioned the beginning, is carried on to its close in the June number.—Under the title of 'Die Einführung der französischen Regie durch Friedrich den Grossen 1766,' Herr Gustav Schmoller contributes a paper dealing with the financial administration of Frederick the Great after the Seven Years' War. If, on the one hand, the subject has the merit of not being hackneyed, on the other it labours under the disadvantage of being of very limited interest.—The 'Sketches of St. Petersburg' takes us back to the early years of the century, showing us the state of the Russian capital in the beginning of the Emperor Nicholas's reign, and indicating the causes which led him to adopt the policy which has marked him as illiberal and absolute even amongst Russian sovereigns.—The article to which Herr Adolph Hausrath gives the title 'Die drei grossen Protestanten der Düsseldorfer Schule' begins with a lament that the Wartburg which, it appears, he visited on his way to the Jubilee Exhibition in Berlin, in 1886, is desecrated by frescoes which recall St. Elizabeth and the legends connected with her. In the same strain he comments on the fact that when he got to the Exhibition itself he discovered but one picture, and that a very indifferent one, dealing with a Protestant subject. By way of solace to his feelings he then starts off into an examination of the works of three painters, in whom, apart from any other claim to the epithet 'great,' he has discovered that which would appear to be the greatest in his estimation, sectarianism. The three masters whom he selects are Johann Wilhelm Schirmer, Carl Frederick Lessing, and Wilhelm Kaulbach. How far Schirmer, for example, is more purely Protestant, because of his 'Good Samaritan' pictures than, say, Raphaël with his Cartoons, is not explained. Incidentally, Herr Hausrath makes the *naïve* confession that his visits so bored Lessing—who, though he produced a 'Monk praying by the Coffin of Henry IV.' and a 'Crusader' is considered as essentially Protestant because of his 'Leipzig Disputation'—that he thought it advisable to desist making them. It is not difficult to sympathise with Lessing.—A thoroughly readable sketch, 'Attische Studien,' from the pen of Herr Arthur Milchhöfer, brings modern Athens very distinctly before the reader.—A poem bearing the signature of Herr Ernst von Wildenbruch, contains a monologue of the late Emperor William's horse at its master's funeral. With every respect for the sentiments which may have inspired the author, it is impossible to help wondering at the want of taste in the adoption of a form more suited to burlesque, or, at best, fable, than to elegy.—

Perhaps the most important article in the three numbers before us is that in which Herr Hermann Grimm considers the question of school-reform. He champions the modern, as against the classical, view of education. According to his opinion education should be based—for Germans, of course—on the German language and literature. Although he does not absolutely demand that Latin should be banished, he treats that, too, as a means for acquiring a knowledge of the vernacular idiom.—Herr August Fournier makes Talleyrand the subject of a long essay in which the statesman career is reviewed, and which closes with an estimate of him which, we think, most readers will feel inclined to consider rather overdrawn.—A short sketch, in the May number, recalls the fact that the hundredth anniversary of the poet Rückert's birth occurred on the 16th of the month.—In the June part, there is, exclusively of the fiction, but one contribution which appeals to that somewhat fastidious being, the general reader. When we have mentioned that it is another instalment of Herr Julius Rodenberg's 'Sketches of Berlin Life,' further recommendation of it will be unnecessary.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (April, May, June).—With these three numbers before him the novel-reader may defy *ennui* even on the dreariest of wet days. First and, perhaps, on the whole, it is not unfair to say, foremost there is the well-known name of Herr Ossip Schubin, whose 'Asbein' runs through the whole quarter. In addition to this we have in the April number alone two complete stories 'Am Klosterhof' and 'Irlicht,' with the respective signatures of Herr Konrad Telmann and Herr Hans Hoffmann. May swells the list with 'Solange' by Frau Frieda Port, and 'Viotte's Adagio' which Herr Oskar Levartin has translated from the Swedish of M. von Bröndstedt. Finally, Herr Hans Hoffmann re-appears in the third number with 'Sturmsegel.'—Of the other contributions several are continued through more than one part. Thus Herr Robert Dohme gives his architectural sketch, 'Das englische Haus' in three instalments. The author begins by drawing a dismal picture of the monotonous rows of dwelling-houses which he looks upon as the main characteristic of English towns, though he allows that on sanitary grounds and from the point of view of comfort, the 'self-contained' house may be preferable to the huge barracks of Berlin. All this, however, is by way of introduction. His real object is to describe some of the most noticeable of the mansions of the English aristocracy. Thus Longleat, Bramshill, Haddon Hall, Hatfield House, Blenheim, Coombe Warren, Carlyle House, amongst a long list of others, are sketched not only with pen but with pencil also. Herr Dohme shows a thorough knowledge of his subject, and though English readers may consider the series of papers to be rather spun out, those for whom he is more particularly writing will be indebted to him for much that will be both new and interesting to them.—The chapters on birds, contributed by Herren A. and K. Müller, will be found excellent reading. Their division of the subject is original. First of all they give the natural history of the more familiar songsters to be met with in gardens. Then they go out into the open fields. After that they wander by the banks of streams, and by the shores of ponds and lakes, and finally penetrate into the woods. In this manner they manage to convey a great deal of interesting information, the understanding of which is greatly helped by illustrations on almost every page.—For those whose tastes lie in the direction of 'travels' Herr Hans Pohlrig brings, in the April and May numbers, an excellent account of a journey from Bathoum to Persia by way of Tifis and Erivan. The country and the inhabitants are brought vividly before the reader by the sketches which accompany the author's well-written descriptions.—In a similar contribution Herr Richard Garbe takes us to Ceylon. What with the hot season which is perfectly horrible, the rains which are worse, and the fever which brought him to death's door, he seems to have had a lively time of it. However, in spite of all this, he managed to see most of what is to be seen in the island, and his narrative, which is exceedingly well written, will amply repay perusal.—It is not simply because he himself returned unhurt from his wanderings over the glaciers of Switzerland that Herr Johannes Flach has given the title 'Ungefährliche Gletscherwanderungen' to the paper which he contributes to the May number. His object has been to impress upon the reader the necessity for

certain precautions, such as, for example, the use of a rope, in all Alpine expeditions, and then to indicate the points which it is thus possible to visit with comparative, he almost goes to the length of asserting absolute, safety. Whatever the practical value of Herr Flach's instructions may be, and it seems considerable, his article, profusely illustrated with excellent bits of Swiss scenery, is a capital piece of reading.—As giving an insight into the early training of the German officer, Herr Ludwig Pietsch's article, 'Die preussische Haupt-Kadetten Anstalt zu Lichterfelde,' is of some value.—Herr Moritz Brasch gives an appreciative sketch of the career of Professor Fechner, whose work, 'Psychophysik,' published in 1860 was the foundation stone upon which a new system of philosophy was to rise. As defined by himself, this physical, or perhaps better, physiological psychology is 'the exact doctrine of the functional or dependent connection between body and soul, or, in more general terms, between the corporeal and the spiritual, the physical and psychological world.' Professor Fechner died last November at the age of eighty-six.—Another long and honourable career, which, however, death has not yet closed, that of Professor von Sybel, the well-known historian, is taken by Herr Julius von Pfungk-Hartung as the subject of a very interesting paper. Sybel's most important work is a history of the French Revolution. The first volume appeared in 1853, the last in 1880.—In the June number, Herr Ludwig Pietsch gives the first instalment of a descriptive sketch of Lübeck—Finally we have to notice a rather technical paper in which Herr Reuleaux forecasts certain changes which the application of atmospheric pressure to engineering is, in his opinion, destined to bring about in the immediate future.

DE GIDS (March and April, 1888).—A theological subject, 'Origin of Belief in the Resurrection of Christ,' is treated by Loman. He rejects the vision theory of Renan and others, only to resort to a still more unlikely one. For him all the New Testament writings, and especially the Pauline Epistles, are unhistorical, the latter dating from the second century, and written in the interests of Catholic Christianity. The origin of the resurrection belief is explained as being a concrete expression of the Church's abandonment of the Jewish Messiah ideal, and the rise and triumphant introduction of Christian Universalism. The risen Christ is thus the personification of the new life in the Church after it broke with the fanatical patriotism and Jewish legalism which, according to Loman, were features of early Christianity. This theory is explained, and proofs are adduced at great length; but even granting Herr Loman's rejection of records like Paul's Epistles, hitherto supposed to have historical value, it is hard to see how in the short time available a widespread and deep-rooted belief like that in Christ's resurrection should have originated in a supposed necessity for expressing symbolically the metamorphosis of the original Jewish Messiah's brotherhood into the cosmopolitan Christian Church. On this theory not only St. Paul, but Christ himself takes a comparatively subordinate part in the origin of Christianity.—'Much Cry' is the title of a paper in which a lately born rival, 'The New Gids,' is held up to ridicule, apparently not without justice, its pretensions being much in advance of the performances of its contributors.—(May).—In this number an article is devoted to Dr. F. C. Donders, the famous oculist and founder of an hospital for diseases of the eye at Utrecht, who has just attained his seventieth year, and consequently retires from his professional chair.—'Reminiscences of the Transvaal' gives an interesting account of a prolonged stay there, too much mingled for our taste with reflections on English doings, past and present. The Boer farms and their inmates are graphically sketched, as more Dutch than the Dutch at home, and apparently if possible ruder. Prosperity, which is confidently prophesied for the Republic, seems to arrive slowly, since the writer speaks of many fine farms abandoned and allowed to go to ruin, and great tracts of fertile country quite neglected.—J. H. V. Kips, in a finely written paper—'Harmony and Symbol'—treats of the æsthetic, taking a Doric temple as an example, and conveying his ideas in the form of a dialogue carried on by a Greek poet, architect, &c.—Another paper has for subject the Samson myth. Samson has been considered to be a solar hero; his name is derived from the Hebrew word for 'sun,'

and the similarity of his locks to the sun's beams, of the decay of his strength when shorn to the sun's decay when no longer shooting out rays of light, and sinking to his rest, is obvious enough. Wellhausen, the last great Old Testament critic, adopts this view of the Samson myth. Professor G. A. Wilken, however, brings forward a new theory of that myth, after the new anthropological method in mythology, and casts about him for the primitive and savage notions or customs which the story of Samson may represent. A number of instances are collected from the folk-lore of various peoples in which the hair is regarded as the seat of a man's strength. A giant has some gold or purple hairs on his head which cannot be pulled out without causing him to die, and various tribes consider that when their hair is cut their strength and manhood has departed. The belief is also brought into court, which many savages hold, that the soul cannot leave the body comfortably without some hole being made to let it out; and the cutting of the hair seems in some instances to have been a means to let the soul escape, as when the forelock of the victim was cut off in Roman sacrifices. Professor Wilken has brought together a great deal of material bearing more or less nearly on the view of Samson he wishes to set up; that he has fully accounted for it, we cannot assert, nor does he himself claim.

THE THEOLOGISCH TLDSCHRIFT for May opens with a long paper by M. de Bussy on the difference between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant principle. The dualist doctrines of Catholicism, the double nature of man, the opposite realms of nature and spirit, the ordinary and the extraordinary righteousness, the separation between the Church and the world, are traced to their root in the Catholic view of what man spiritually and originally is. Protestantism, to be true to itself, should not hold this dualistic position, but should regard man as a being of simple nature in process of development, the universe as all equally belonging to God and holy, Church and world as merely different functions of one and the same organism. Protestantism, in fact, welcomes the doctrine of development which expresses in a scientific way the view of a religion which sees union and not division in the world; to Catholicism that doctrine is radically opposed.—A paper on the relation of Jude to 2 Peter leads to no very definite result.—Professor Tiele writes on Ch. de la Saussaye's new 'History of Religion,' in the main with high approval.—Professor Kuenen has two appreciative paragraphs on Sir W. Cox's 'Life of Colenso.'

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Viertes Heft, 1888).—The death a few weeks ago of Dr. Edward Riehm, who for twenty-four years has been one of the editors of this *Zeitschrift*, naturally gives occasion to Dr. Julius Köstlin, who has been so long associated with him in conducting this periodical, to record his high appreciation of his late colleague's character, theological learning, and literary labours. It occupies, of course, the first place here, and, though brief, is a touching tribute to the memory of one of the most scholarly, and yet most modest, of German theologians. His place in the editorship has been taken by Dr. Emil Kautzsch.—Dr. T. Förster furnishes an interesting account of the theological views of Hilarius, Bishop of Poitiers. Hilarius was, if not the first, yet among the first, of the Western bishops who attempted to reduce the orthodox dogmas of the Christian Church to systematic form, and it was largely owing to his exposition and defence of them that they took so strong and permanent a hold on the Latin Church. Dr. Förster gives a brief analysis of these expositions, or rather of his whole theological system.—Dr. Otto Ritschl continues and concludes his 'Studien über Schleiermacher.' He confines these studies, as we have already pointed out, to Schleiermacher's 'Reden über die Religion,' and his object is to show that the philosophical views there set forth are not in reality hostile to Christianity, but are due rather to an all-too-spiritual conception of the nature and essence of the religion of Jesus.—The only work reviewed in this number is Dr. W. F. Gess' 'Christi Person und Werk nach Christi Selbstezeugniss und den Zeugnissen der Apostel.' It is from the pen of Dr. F. Reiff.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (April, May).—Ecclesiastical history bulks largely in the first of this quarter's numbers. A lengthy article, which it is sufficient

to mention, views and criticises Sohn's lately published work, 'Kirchengeschichte im Grundriss.' In addition to this, Herr Bruno Gebhardt contributes an interesting essay on Dietrich von Niehem. Even to students the name is not a familiar one, nor was he who bore it a man of high gifts. In the sketch here given of him he appears not, indeed, as a scholar of the first rank, though his knowledge is varied and considerable; but his accounts of the countries with which he was acquainted give proof of more than average powers, both of observation and description. On the whole, his biography is a valuable help to the better understanding of the state of the Church in the fourteenth century.—In an article bearing the title, 'Ueber die Dichtersprache,' Herr Bruchmann endeavours to show the difference between the language of ordinary prose and that of poetry by submitting the latter to a kind of microscopic examination which supplies him with materials for close on thirty pages of padding.—Finally, Herr Oskar Döring compares Goethe and Diderot's theories of painting.—In the May number the place of honour is given to a paper in which it is proposed that a national memorial should be erected to the Emperor William, and that it should take the shape of a German Pantheon or Westminster Abbey.—The pages which Herr Reinhold Koser devotes to a rather commonplace panegyric on the Elector Frederick William, the 'Great Elector,' as he is universally styled in Germany, are possibly not out of place, since they are intended as a mild celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of that sovereign's death; but that is the most that can be said for them.—Herr Emil Daniels has undertaken to write the history of Prince Alexander of Bulgaria's campaign against the Servians, in 1885, and to show the causes which led to his unexpected success. This he does, it would appear, chiefly for the purpose of drawing the moral that the result of the Russo-Turkish war should not be taken as indicating the worth of the Russian army.—A short paper, in which Herr Ivo Bruns takes a somewhat disparaging view of ancient satire, and a long article, in which Dr. Heinrich Weber criticises Professor Paulsen's 'History of Higher Education in Germany,' make up the contents of the number.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (May 1).—The conclusion of the translation of C. Verbruggen's 'Social Equality,' commences this number, and is followed by a long account of the Rossi Infant Asylum at Schio.—C. Pozzoni writes on tributary justice and the income tax.—(May 16).—F. Persico, noticing a translation of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' by a Neapolitan writer, discusses Shakspeare's intention in the comedy.—P. Prinan relates the story and works of Father Lodovic of Casorie, whose life, by the Archbishop of Capua, was published last year.—Follow more accounts of the National Association for the succour of Italian Catholic missionaries, and a short memoir of Cardinal Vladimir Czacki, secretary to Pio Nono, and Nuncio to France under the present Pope.—G. Salvago Raggi discusses the relations of Italy and other powers as regards the rights of fishing.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (June 1st).—G. Grabinski continues his papers on religious and Italian interests in Palestine and Syria, pointing out that the religious communities are useful in the East, because the monks, leading retired and contemplative lives, pass their time in study and good works, propagating the Italian language in those remote regions, showing hospitality to pilgrims, scientific men, and other travellers, and gaining the respect of the natives by their blameless conduct, the wisdom of their counsels, and the abundance of the alms which they dispense to all without distinction of faith.—G. P. Assarelli, in a paper on the Lotto in Italy, says that all the decrees, and edicts promulgated concerning it, have the sole aim to insure to the Government the greatest possible revenue, and foment the popular passion for gambling. The Government clings to the Lotto, because the people allow themselves to be plucked without a cry, always hoping in the future, in spite of repeated disappointments. Now that the political unity of Italy is a fact, the Government should instead endeavour to emancipate the people from the chains of ignorance, superstition, and prejudice, as when they have been taught to renounce their fatal passion for play. There is no doubt that a large portion of

that superstition and prejudice will vanish, and a real life begin for the nation.—A. Rossi concludes his article on the balance of commerce and Senator Cambray-Digny.—A. Conti briefly notes the principal writings of the late Italian poet, G. Ganella.—(June 16th).—G. Grottanella commences a page of history relating to the burial in Rome of the Queen of Sweden, Cristine Alessandra.—Rather late, let us hope, comes a paper on cholera, and the prejudices relating to it in Sicily, from the pen of E. Cimbali.—A. Rosmini Serbati concludes his 'Fragments of judicial and political philosophy.'—R. Corniani contributes a few traveller's notes on Barcelona and the exhibition, advising those who would see a *fine* exhibition not to go there, but those who desire to see an enchanting city, to go by all means.—C. Legré writes a critical study on Schiller's Don Carlos, in which he endeavours to answer the question, why Schiller did not correct the faults in his work which he himself so clearly saw.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (Year 13th, fasculus 1).—The most interesting paper in this number is one edited by B. Maresca, taken from the Belmonte MSS. It is a memoir now published for the first time, written by Amedeo Ricciardi, a Neapolitan advocate and patriot on the events that took place in Naples in 1799, and dedicated to Miss Helena Maria Williams, an English poetess, and writer of sentimental romances, who got mixed up in the French disturbances, and was imprisoned in 1788, but afterwards released. She made large use of the memoir in question in a book she published in 1801. The memoir was itself written in January 1800, according to the opinion of the editor of the paper. It is here published entire, and relating as it does to the dark page of history ending with the execution of Admiral Carracciolo, cannot fail to be of interest to all who study the life of Nelson.—The second paper, by A. Gaudenti, describes the duration of Longobardian law in the southern provinces of Italy long after the northern provinces had adopted Roman law.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (May 1).—G. Chiarini, in an article entitled 'Woman in Shakespeare's dramas and Dante's poems,' endeavours to show what the two greatest modern poets thought of woman, and in what spirit they artistically represented her. He points out the great and intimate variety and truth of the feminine figures which move in the Shakspearian dramas, and tries to impart to his readers his profound conviction that Dante, who wants Shakspeare's variety but not his truth, is a no less great and marvellous dramatic writer than Shakspeare himself.—Signora Lovatelli writes an interesting and learned article on the toys of the ancients.—Signor Bonghi contributes a paper on 'William I.,' specially referring to the war with France and the early years of the late emperor's reign.—F. Martini concludes his remarks on the national theatre in Italy, pointing out that Italians are rich in the faculty of observation, that first condition of a dramatic writer; but at present there seems to prevail something which prevents the development of that faculty in a determinate form. Italy has scarcely passed through its national battles. When Italian life shall have assumed its own proper aspect; when, from Susa to Mandoria, a common dialect is spoken, a national comedy will perhaps burst forth, the faithful image of new times and a new social state.—G. Lampugnani writes on the Railway question in Italy.—Rocco de Zerbi writes on the possible dictatorship in France.—(May 16).—G. Mazzoni publishes some inedited sonnets by Vincenzo Monti, written in the poet's youth.—J. Bertolini sends an interesting article on Marquis Torro Areas' book, 'Recollections of the Sicilian Revolution in 1848-1849.'—Taking the best books in German and English on the great composer Mendelssohn, for his guides, E. Placci gives an account of his life and works, especially as related in his letters.—G. G. Maldini contributes an exhaustive article on the Adriatic, and the Italian maritime service.—The review of foreign literature speaks of Matthew Arnold's death, and, while acknowledging that poet's worth, deprecates the exaggerated praise and the use of the word 'great.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (June 1st).—Professor Panzacchi commemorates the 8th centenary of the University of Bologna in a short article, recalling its priority in the history of civilization to all other similar institutions, and noting with satisfaction that the representatives of learning from all parts of the world were

to assemble on that occasion. The writer, looking back on its obvious past, cannot, however, refrain from a doubt whether the boasted progress of science in late years has really been so great as its visible results lead us to suppose.—O. Baratieri, in a paper entitled 'Before the Abyssinians' gives a topographical and strategical account of the country from Massana to Ghinda, and the movement of the Italian army previous to the disaster of Dogali.—Salvatore Farina commences a novellette 'The Two Desiderios,' the heroes being two orphans, educated in one of the public asylums at Milan, and who, from the circumstance of their both having the same name form a friendship. This they intended should be warm and sincere, though the difference of their characters leads us to opine that it will not prove lasting. Their name, signifying also desire, gives the second meaning to the title, emphasizing the boys' greatest wishes, one to be rich, the other to learn drawing.—L. Palma discusses at length 'The Reform of Local Administration in England,' describing the system of self-government, which has hitherto been in the hands of the gentry or land-owners, and which it is now proposed to render more elective and thereby more democratic in character. The writer draws attention to the fact that the much used phrase, self-government, has a different meaning since the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 to what it bore previously, and describes how the provincial and commercial interests in regard to the administration of justice, popular instruction, sanitary measures and poor law, are not generally presided over by officers appointed by the Crown or Central Government, but all principally drawn from the influential and wealthy classes of the province or commune in question, only in a few isolated cases requiring the sanction of the Chancellor or Home Secretary. He compares the sheriff and justices of peace of the county to the Italians prefects, sous-prefects, councillors of the prefecture, and provincial deputations, with the important difference that they are not, like these latter, salaried Government officers, but honorary, which is only possible in a land where the governing class is one who, possessing landed property, has a stake in the interests of the country, instead of being guided by motives of personal ambition only. Having passed in review all the various offices discharged by the Poor Law guardians, the Boards of Education, the Quarter Sessions and Unions, the writer proceeds to give an account of the modifications in the system proposed by Mr. Ritchie's Bill, which would leave the Local Boards of respective counties, elected by suffrage, to provide for many branches of the public service. The gravest question, he remarks, concerns the police force, which in London is directly in the hands of the Government, while in the counties it is managed by the justices of peace. He finally remarks on the fact that such all important reform, substituting democracy for oligarchy, has been proposed at a time when the two great political parties in the country deny being actuated by any strong popular impulse, and that in this reform we may see the same facts repeated as in the Emancipation of the Catholics, the Abolition of the Corn Laws, and the Electoral Reform of 1867, namely, that some of the greatest reforms in England have been made by the Conservatives, which he explains by the fact that all unconsidered and immature reforms have always been strenuously opposed in England until they became inevitable, when the Conservatives have always understood that they must change what could no longer be maintained. He considers that the most difficult question relating to the Bill is the control of the rural police, which it would be difficult to place in the power of members of a Council chosen by popular suffrage, in its present wide extension. What most strikes the writer in comparing these projects with similar measures in Italy is, that it is proposed, not only to transfer the aforesaid branches of public works to local committees, but to leave to them also the duty of providing for their expense, which has hitherto devolved on the Central Government, a fact which points to such a satisfactory state of public finances, that Signor Palma concludes his article with a sigh for the time to come when it will be possible for Italy to follow the example set.—A. Graf concludes his notice of the anchorites, ascetics and hermits—Professor Cennarini gives a short account of the poet Giacomo Yanella, a former contributor to the *Nuova Antologia*, whom he characterises as the poet in especial of the epoch of the Liberation of Italy, and compares him with Virgil and Wordsworth.—P. Liroy contributes one of his papers on Alpine heights,

mingling personal reminiscences and observations with facts anent celebrated ascents of the most difficult peaks.—The longest literary record is dedicated to Louisa Saredo's Queen Anna of Savoy, an historical study.—There are also reviewed a volume of novels by Singi Capuano, the 'Story of a Woman,' a didactic novel by Ida Taccini, and some translations from German and English by Emilio Teja, among the translations from the English being Tennyson's 'Lenore,' and various songs from Burns and Hood.—(June 16th).—In a little paper entitled 'Poetry cannot die,' G. Chiarini considers the question whether poetry, in the present day, is alive or dead, and goes on to criticise two recent books on Italian poetry, the one by Enrico Panzacchi, 'New Lyrics,' the other by Alessandro Arnaboldi, 'New Verses.' The writer says that in Arnaboldi's poems, life is a serious thing, and the office of the poet highly moral; in the poetry of Panzacchi, the serious part of life has only a part, for life in his poems is to love, enjoy, and sing. Arnaboldi's poetry is often grave, and thoughtful, while that of Panzacchi is always more happy, light, and musical.—The next article by General Maselli, makes part of a series of important studies, which will soon see the light in the form of a volume. The author, in the article in question, examines in a popular manner one of the most interesting forms of modern social life, under the title of 'The life of the Regiment, observations and recollections.' He tries to show that if, in the general staff, a limit must be imposed on emancipating tendencies which are excessive, in the regiment, on the other hand, it ought not to be permitted, that the individual liberty, which is the soul of military life and of modern tactics, should be gradually suppressed. The life of the superior officer, is, as has been shown, essentially different from the life of the regiment; but as there are differences which cannot be destroyed, so there are some rules common to all the forms of military life which cannot be violated with impunity. If, in order to prepare a perfect general, it is necessary to develop, by a particular cognition of the functions of each arm, 'the function of their co-ordination to a sole aim, pushed to the extent of embracing the entire mechanism of the total life of the army; if to form a true man of command there must be the sentiment of obedience united to that of his own personality, as respect for the attributions of both the superior and inferior, and the sentiment of solidarity enlarged so as to comprehend all the branches of the military family, it follows that, to obtain this general perfection, it would be as useful to pass from the general staff into military tactics, as *vice versa*. Therefore it would be useful that, when the superior authority meets with a superior officer in whom, after long and daily experience is found clearly the stuff for a future general, he should be proposed to pass into the general staff, into which he ought to be admitted without school diplomas and casual examinations.—Farina's tale 'The two Desiderios,' written in his life-like manner, is concluded, and is more a sketch than a story.—Signor Bonghi writes an interesting article on the Italian Exhibition in London, and mentions some of the defects of Italian commerce and art. Speaking of the wine question, which he says is very complex, he wishes that all who are interested in it would study it in London. If Italy, he says, produced celebrated wines before Gaul produced any, wines should not now be made in Italy for palates that are used to French wines. The mixture which commercial relations with France now prevent being made between Italian and French wines, the Italians ought to be able to make with their own. English capital exists in abundance, and he believes that it is not adverse to carry to Italy's aid in this question.—E. Mancini writes on electric phenomena.—G. G. Maldini, discussing the maritime defences of Italy, says that all European States being pre-occupied as to their defensive condition, and decided to prepare themselves for every possible contingency, Italy ought to do the same. The Italian navy is in an encouraging state, but it is necessary that all means should be adopted to push on the minor naval works now in progress. The defences near the coast should be provided with all the necessary materials, and these sent to localities where they would be serviceable, the coast being very extended, and not provided with sufficient fortifications, which is the weak point of Italian defence. Those points which are already fortified, should have this complete armament as if in time of war. It would also be good if the

Ministers of War and Marine would abstain from making public anything that they are doing to improve the national defence, which can be done well without altering in the least the financial condition of the State.

LA REVISTA CONTEMPORANEA.—In the number for May 1, the Italian theatrical question is discussed in an article by G. Roberts on 'The first years of the Royal Sardinian Company.'—There follows a translated story, a paper by Malamani on the Archives of the Austrian censorship, the concluding paper on Swift by A. Forte Randi; the last instalment of R. Cust's articles on the races and languages of Oceania; and a continuation of the inedited papers of Giusseppina Guacci-Nobile, by P. Papa.—The review of English literature mentions with praise Colonel Maurice's 'Balance of military power in Europe.' The writer, speaking of Mrs. Oliphant's 'Makers of Venice,' says that the chapters treating of the Venetian painters are not so satisfactory as those on the heroes of the Republic. The authoress, he says, never seems to have felt in Venice the irresistible impression of the magic of colouring, which distinguishes the Venetian school, not only from the Florentine, but from all others in the world. Mrs. Oliphant's 'The Second Son' is also mentioned. Then the review goes on to give an account of the principal English Reviews and Magazines, saying that, in fortunate England, the political journals and literary reviews do not, as in Italy, kill all books, but on the contrary cause the latter to multiply.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANA.—In the second issue for 1888, D. Bertolini publishes, with notes, the statutes of the city of Conradin in 1349.—Pallani writes on the new questions relating to Savonarola and his times.—L. Zini continues his 'Memoirs of the Duc de Broglie.'

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ART. I.—MUSIC IN EARLY SCOTLAND.

IN tracing the history of music in early Scotland one is very forcibly impressed with the conviction that the art was more generally and intelligently cultivated by our remote ancestors than it has been during the last two centuries. In these primitive times, when a great part of the country had not yet come under the influences of civilization, when interminable wars and constant migrations kept the nation in a state of almost total barbarism, we find the practice of music in such a state of perfection, that we might well say it was never anywhere more popular or in closer connection with the whole public and private life of the people. Instruction in the theory and practice of the art seems to have been one of the chief elements of ordinary education; and schools entirely devoted to music were, as we shall see, instituted in most of the towns of the country, and were warmly supported and patronised. The generality of musical culture seems indeed, as our outline of facts will shew, almost fabulous, and appears to us, considering the musical barrenness of the country in more recent times, like a dream of St. Cecilia.

The earliest records of music in Scotland are those connected with the performances of the bards, who united in one person the characters of poet and musician. Every chief or head of a clan had his own bard, whose office in time of peace was to sing or rehearse the heroic actions of his patron or his ancestors. On the

eve of a battle it was his business to harangue the army in a war-song composed for the occasion, and having for its theme the rewards of a glorious death or the honours of a decisive victory. Not unfrequently these songs, as well as the music to which they were sung, were composed extemporaneously. When Edward II. of England invaded Scotland in 1314, he brought with his army a famous Latin rhymer, with the intention of employing him to celebrate in song the glorious victory which he fully expected to achieve. At Bannockburn the poet was taken prisoner by the Scots, who, as a ransom for his life, demanded from him a poem on the events of the day. The poem was given, but it appears not to have satisfied the victors, for we learn that another bard was appointed by the Scots to 'eternize' their conquest. Sometimes the efforts of the bards had the effect of preventing a combat. 'The performers,' says an old writer, 'would step in between the contending parties, and by their soft, fascinating strains, calm the fury of the warriors and prevent bloodshed.' Generally speaking, however, their songs were an incitement to action.

The old Caledonians were very bountiful to their bards. Lands were appropriated to them, and became hereditary in their families: not a few districts in the Highlands still retain the name of the Bards' territory.* In one of the poems ascribed by the Dean of Lismore to Ossian, reference is made to the generous rewards which these early singers received from the Celtic chiefs—

' Here have I seen the Feine
Whose liberal hand did music buy.'

A eulogy was occasionally rewarded by the chief with a silver cup. 'Even poetry,' says the annotator of the Lismore collection, 'had need to be purchased; and probably were it not for the hope of reward of some kind, many of the noblest poems which have adorned human history would never have seen the light.' Mainzer says the bards were considered sacred in their person and property; and some modern writers have even affirmed that they belonged to an order of the priesthood. That they were regarded with a certain amount of veneration is evident

* Thus, *Tullybardin*, composed of 'tulloch,' a hillock, and 'bardin,' bards.

from the privilege which they enjoyed of passing and repassing in safety between hostile armies; but it requires a clearer proof than ancient history can furnish to show that they took any greater concern in spiritual affairs than the laity of their country. It is well known that the Irish bards were heads of a school which included the West Highlands; and, according to Dr. Skene, the Highland bards were either of Irish descent, or, if of native origin, resorted to bardic schools in Ireland for instruction in the accomplishments of their art. One of the branches of study in these schools is said to have been genealogy—a knowledge of which cannot have failed to be of service to the bard in chronicling the achievements of his patron's ancestors.

The instrument used by the bards to accompany their songs is generally believed to have been the harp. One of the old writers says expressly it was 'like the lyre,' an instrument which, in these early times at least, differed from the harp only in having fewer strings. Of their music we have no authentic specimens. It can hardly be doubted, however, that many of the old simple national melodies which have come down to us from the days of the bards, are the composition of the latter: among the large number of our airs unassociated with the name of any composer it is difficult to believe that no one is to be attributed to these primitive poet-musicians.

Closely connected with the bards were the minstrels, who went about the country from house to house reciting heroic ballads and other popular episodes. In some respects these minstrels resembled the bards: they were admitted into the best families, and they seem also to have accompanied the armies to the field of battle. We read of one minstrel advancing before the troops singing the song of Roland,* regardless of all personal danger. Large sums of money were expended for the maintenance of the minstrels at Court, as well as in the houses of the opulent. In 1329 there was 'paid by the king to the minstrels

* What the melody of this *Chanson Roland* was we do not exactly know. There have been published several supposed versions of it by Dr. Crotch and others; but none of these can have been the original tune.

or bards the soume of £20.' In a document preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh, we find the following item, under date 1497:—'To the menstrallis that playit before Mons [Mons Meg], doun the gate . . . xiijs;' and in 1507 a payment was made to 'divers menstrallis . . . lutaris, harparis, pipars, extending to lxi personis.'

A curious instance of the employment of minstrels in the service of a town is seen in the case of Aberdeen. In 1500, the Council enacted 'that John and Robert, thair commone menstralis, sal have reasonable diets throw the nichtbouris of the towne; and gif ony persone refuss to resave thame to thair dietis it sal be lesum [lawful] to thame to gif to the said menstralis xijd. in the day, baith for meit, drynk and wagis, for simpile folkis.' We learn that these same 'menstralis' were sent to Holyrood to attend the marriage of James IV. in 1503; and that for the occasion they were specially provided with silver badges on which the arms of the city were engraved. In 1534 it was ordained that they should receive, in addition to their day's subsistence, xvjd. from their entertainer, if he were a burgess, or xijd. if he were a craftsman. At this time they were in the habit of passing 'throw all the rewis and streittis of the gude towne at five houris in the morning and betwixt aucht and nyu at even.' In 1545 their number was increased to three, and they were appointed to 'play in thre partis.'

Sir Walter Scott, in his edition of Thomas of Erceldoune's *Sir Tristrem*, has shown by a reference to ancient charters that the Scottish minstrels enjoyed all the privileges and distinctions possessed by the Norman Trouvers, whom they nearly rivalled in the arts of narration, and over whom they possessed one manifest advantage, in their familiar acquaintance with the usual scenes of chivalry. Surrounded, too, as they were, by many memorials of romance, and having easy access to the traditional tales of the country, they were likely to be considered as the most authentic depositories of these narratives. Both Robert de Brunne and Wyntown testify to their eminence over the minstrels of other countries; and it is certainly worthy of note, that while Erceldoune, Kendal, and Hucheon, all poets of the North, are

celebrated by the early historians; and while all our MSS. contain metrical romances in the Northern dialect, we do not possess one anterior to the time of Chaucer, which can be ascribed to a poet of South Britain.

The high estimation in which the genuine minstrels were held, the honours bestowed on them, and the privileges they enjoyed, led to imitations of their dress and appearance by 'vagabonds, idlers, and rogues,' who sought to benefit by their advantages and distinctions; and at last it became necessary to protect the dignity and respectability of the true minstrels from the encroachments of these adventurers. In 1315 it was enacted that, 'Forasmuch as many idle persons, under colour of minstrelsy . . . have ben, and yet be receaved to meate and drynke, and be not therewith content yf they be not largely considered with gyftes;' the law, therefore, restrains the number of minstrels to be admitted into the houses of prelates, earls, and barons, to three or four a day, and that none come to 'meaner men' unless desired. This enactment had very little effect: the minstrels increased in number up to the time of James VI. (1579), and even to a much later date, if we are to put any faith in the statements of some of the older writers.* Long before this, however, the genuine minstrels had descended from their formerly high estate, and were now mostly confined to the lower orders. The fine poem by which Dr. Beattie is chiefly remembered, preserves to us a true description of the ancient minstrel as he was known to early Scotland.

As with the bards, the musical instrument of the minstrels was the harp. Indeed, the terms minstrel and harper are frequently used synonymously, the instrument being always closely associated with the song. This may be seen by referring to some of the old Gaelic poems printed in the Dean of Lismore's collection already mentioned. We may instance particularly one of the fragments of this collection, in which the poet expresses pity for an old bard—

* See Fletcher of Saltoun's *Second Discourse on the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 145, where the number of minstrels in 1698 is computed at more than a hundred thousand.

‘ Who cannot put aside his harp,
 Yet cannot sing as he would wish.

· · · · ·
 When men can neither hear his harp,
 Nor understand the song he sings.’

The harp seems to have been popular in many countries from a very early date. Skill on the instrument constituted a part of the usual acquirements of the educated class among the Celts, as well as among the Danes and Anglo-Saxons. At the banquets of the latter, the harp passed from hand to hand among the company. According to Bede, the Saxon poet Cædmon, in the Seventh Century, being incapable of playing, used to retire from the table, in order to conceal his ignorance of an art so generally practised among his countrymen. The story of King Alfred (878) disguised as a harper and playing in the Danish camp is generally familiar. The introduction of the instrument into Scotland must have taken place at an early period, and is generally believed to have been due to the Irish, with whom the harp was a special favourite. So early as the Sixth Century, if we are to credit the old writers, more than one third of the male population of Ireland were harpers; and the Irish harp, as a musical instrument, has been frequently extolled—never more so, perhaps, than by Lord Bacon in his *Sylva Sylvarum*. Buchanan states that Ethodius, the twenty-fifth Scottish monarch, kept an Irish harper in his palace, and references are frequently made in ancient history to the superiority of the Irish players. Rory O’Cahan, mentioned by Scott in the *Legend of Montrose* as ‘the most famous harper in the Western Highlands,’ delighted the ears of James and his Court by his brilliant execution. Dennis Hempson (whose harp, by the way, is still preserved), played before the Pretender in Edinburgh; and Echlin O’Kane, alluded to by Boswell in the *Tour in the Hebrides*, after exhibiting his skill on the Continent, resided for several years in Scotland before his death, and was well known in the neighbourhood of Blair Athol and Dunkeld. An entry in the document from which we have already quoted bears indirect testimony to the superiority of the Irish harpers:—‘May 1490.—Till ane Ersche harper at ye kingis command, xviijs.’

It must not be supposed, however, that the Scotch failed in their cultivation of the instrument, or that its use was confined to the bards and minstrels. On the contrary, it was for a considerable time the favourite instrument at Court and in the houses of the nobility, and it was only by the introduction of keyed instruments that it fell into disuse. James I., to his other accomplishments, added that of playing the harp. Mary Queen of Scots not only played the instrument herself, but did much to encourage others to learn it. On the occasion of her visit to the Athole family she instituted a kind of competition among the local harpers. The best player was found to be Beatrix Gardyn, of Banchory, and the Queen rewarded her with a very fine instrument as a prize. This identical harp is now, or was lately, in the possession of a gentleman at Dalguise. It is a small instrument compared with the modern harp, being fitted with twenty-eight strings, the longest extending twenty-four inches, and the shortest two-and-a-half inches. The Scotch, it may be noted, strung their harps with wire and brass strings, 'which they strike,' says an old writer, 'with their nayles growing long.)*

An occasional bard or harper was to be met with in Scotland as late as the Eighteenth Century. The last representatives of the former were Roderick Morison and Murdoch Macdonald, the first at Dunvegan Castle, the second in that of Maclean of Coll.† The best of the strolling harpers was one Roderick Dall, who about 1770 was well known and much esteemed by the Highland gentry whose houses he frequented. He was a good composer and a fine performer on the harp, to which he sung in a pathetic manner. Many notices of both bards and minstrels are recorded in the old chronicles, but to enumerate these would lead us into details too minute to be of general interest. The subject is, however, fully dealt with by Mr. Chappell in his *Popular*

* Galileo, father of the celebrated mathematician, in his *Dialogues on Ancient and Modern Music*, 1582, says—'The performer on the harp suffered his nails to grow to a considerable length, trimming them with great care, and forming them somewhat like the quills or "jacks" of a harpsichord.'

† See *Essay on Highland Music*, by Macdonald, p. 11.

Music of the Olden Time, (vol. i., chap. i.), and we recommend those who desire to study the matter further, to read that excellent and reliable work.

The harp continued to hold almost undivided sway in Scotland until the French bagpipe players, in the train of Queen Mary, succeeded in popularising the latter instrument, already a national one in France. It has long been the custom to speak of the bagpipe as if it belonged essentially to Scotland, and were an original product of the country. The early history of the instrument, however, shows that it was in use in many of the continental cities of Europe and even in Ireland long before it sounded 'the war-note of Lochiel.' In Rome it appears to have been held in special esteem, for we find it portrayed on a coin of the reign of Nero, and it is mentioned by Procopius as the instrument of war of the Roman infantry. In the crozier given by William of Wykeham to New College, Oxford, in 1403, there is the figure of an angel playing it. Chaucer's miller performed on it—

'A bagpipe well couth he blowe and soun.'

Shakespeare frequently alludes to it, as when he speaks of the 'drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe'; of the antipathy some people have to its sound; and of some who laugh like parrots at a bagpipe. In Ireland the instrument is of even higher antiquity than in England. References to it are to be found in Irish poetry and prose of the Tenth Century. A pig, gravely engaged in playing the bagpipe, is represented in an illuminated manuscript of the year 1300; and there is a woodcut showing the instrument in a tolerably developed state in *The Image of Ireland*, a book printed in London in 1581.

No trustworthy evidence exists to prove that the bagpipe was in use in Scotland before the middle of the Fifteenth Century. Mention is made of it in *Peblis to the Play*, attributed to James I. (1424-1437), but the instruments employed in that monarch's time were almost without exception of the stringed class. So late as the year 1489, we know from documents which have been preserved, that it was so little cultivated that English players had to be imported for special occasions. Even strolling performers

from the other side of the border seem to have occasionally received formal payment, as we may gather from the following item—

‘July 10, 1489. —To Inglis pyparis that cam to the castel yet and playit to the king, viij lib. viijs.’

Not till the close of the Fifteenth Century, then, can we say that the bagpipe came into general favour in Scotland. About this time the town piper became one of the commonest figures in the burgh life of the country. The duties of this functionary, as defined by the Magistrates of Dundee—and these duties were doubtless similar in other towns—consisted in ‘passing and playing through the burgh every day in the morning at four hours, and every nicht at aucht hours,’—a service for which the town’s Treasurer became bound ‘to deliver him ane stand of clothes of the town’s livery and colours yearly, and every householder [was held] to pay him twelve pennies yearly for his fee, the officers being required to concur with him, and assist, gif neid be, in poynding for the payment.’ In one or two districts the town piper appears to have survived until a comparatively late period. In a little book issued in 1756 by one Robert Bremner, a teacher of music in Edinburgh, we find the following curious paragraph illustrative of this point :—

‘It is an undeniable fact that the musical genius of the people in some towns is much stronger than that of others; and this may be owing to their having or wanting a town piper, or some such musician, to buzz a few little tunes in the children’s ears. . . . I am credibly informed that there is a piper in a neighbouring town that can only play one tune; and was you to walk through every corner of that town you could hear that tune, and no other, in the mouth of every child and servant there. Now, if the piper and his tune were gone, that town would have no tune at all, and in course the people’s ideas of musical sounds would in a short time be entirely lost.’

In some places the instrument seems to have been looked upon with contempt. It is recorded that in 1630 the magistrates of Aberdeen ‘discharged the common pyper going through the towne at nycht, or in the morning with his pipe—it being an uncivil forme to be usit within sic a famous burghe, and being often fund fault with, as well by sundry neichtbouris of the towne as

by strangers.' On the other hand, the bagpipe was from the first received with special favour as a warlike instrument. Its greater portability and its shrill and piercing tones rendered it more suitable for the field than any of its predecessors, and as a result its cultivation was much fostered by the rude chieftains who formed the nobility of Scotland in the days when war was looked upon as one of the amusements of life. At the time of the Jacobite Rebellion the instrument was in the zenith of its popularity. When the Pretender entered Carlisle in 1745 he was preceded by no less than one hundred pipers—an incident which forms the subject of one of Lady Nairne's songs; and no instrument was a closer witness of the many stirring encounters of that time, or found an echo in warmer hearts. The history of the Scottish bagpipe is, in fact, the history of battles. Many of its players have died as heroes, and its music has frequently been the means of bringing success to our armies when success appeared to be hopeless, inspiring our soldiers with a courage and a daring which no other instrument could have implanted in their breasts.

The stringed instruments in use in early Scotland seem to have been those which were generally prevalent over the rest of Europe. The principle of a string stretched on wood and set in vibration by horse-hair or some kind of fibre has been known for ages by almost every nation of the world, and instruments constructed on this principle were certainly in use long before our authentic records begin. In the history of music in Scotland, three stringed instruments—in addition to the harp—stand out with special prominence; these are the Rebec, the Lute, and the family of Viols. A brief description of these instruments must suffice.

The Rebec is described in a MS. of the Ninth Century, and it was probably known much earlier than this. No specimen of the instrument is known to exist. It was a sort of rude violin, of which, indeed, it has been considered the parent, and was strung with three stout gut strings. An old poem speaks of it as 'the squalling rebec,' from which we may infer that its tone was loud and harsh. The instrument is connected with a curious and interesting incident which occurred in Edinburgh on the occasion of the arrival of Queen Mary from France. The

Queen took up her residence at Holyrood, and for some nights the inhabitants of the city, to the number of five or six hundred, 'played on the rebecs, and sang psalm-tunes' under the window of the palace. Knox gives an account of this performance, and remarks, in speaking of the queen: 'The melodie lyked her weill, and she willed the same to be continued sum nychts after with grit diligence.' The rebec was emphatically the instrument of the people. It found very little favour among the higher classes, and before its final extinction, it was seldom heard except on the streets, or at rustic gatherings.

From the time of James I. down to the close of the Seventeenth Century, the lute was one of the most fashionable instruments in Scotland. During that period a lutenist was commonly attached to the royal household, and ability to play the instrument was looked upon as a necessary accomplishment in polite society. In Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, a book held in great esteem in the reign of James I., the author requires of his gentleman 'to be able to sing his part sure and at sight, and withal to play the same on the lute or viol.' Some of the popularity which the instrument attained was doubtless due to its cultivation by James I. and Queen Mary. According to Fordun and other historians, the Prince was an excellent lutenist, and used the instrument to accompany his own compositions; and as to Mary, we are told by Sir James Melville in his *Memoirs* that she played 'reasonably for a Queen.' Of the unfortunate Darnley we read that he was 'well skilled in musick, especially playing on the lute;' and many other instances of the employment of the instrument by the nobility of the time are recorded by our historians. The lute had, however, sufficient intrinsic merit to command for it a universal appreciation. Unlike the rebec, its tone was rich and mellow, and its form and design were so extremely beautiful, as to make the possession of the instrument desirable even by those who could not play it. In this latter respect, indeed, it surpassed anything which has been turned out by the makers of stringed instruments in modern times. Originally the lute was an eight (double) stringed instrument, but in course of time the number of strings increased till in the seventeenth century it reached as high as twelve. Owing to the

multiplication of strings and to an imperfect mechanism of frets and pegs the lute was exceedingly difficult to tune. In this connection the saying of one Mathieson is frequently quoted, that 'a lutenist of the age of eighty has certainly passed sixty years of his life in tuning.' The lute-player used a musical notation of his own known as 'tablature.' In this system the strings were represented by a number of lines on which were marked the letters a, b, c, etc., which letters referred to the frets on the neck of the instrument. Marks of a hooked form were placed over the letters to signify the value of the notes. Several MS. collections of Scottish music written in 'tablature' are preserved; some of these, such as the Skene MS., have been translated and published; others are to be found in the collections of antiquaries and in some of our public libraries. The popularity of the lute in Scotland, as elsewhere, began to wane as the violin came to the front, and with the advent of the pianoforte the instrument dropped entirely out of use.

Contemporary with the lute were the various classes of viol. Frequent mention is made of the instrument in Scottish literature and documents of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. To an inexperienced eye comparing the two instruments there appears to be no great difference between the viol and the violin; but the most that can be said of the viol is that it contained only those elements of the violin which it borrowed from the rebec. About the time when viols were first introduced, *i.e.* about the close of the Fourteenth Century, it was noticed that human voices might be divided into classes, and in the light of this discovery we soon find viols divided into the quartet. It was usual for viol players to have a 'chest of viols'—a case containing four or more instruments of various sizes. Thus in *Music's Monument*, 1676, the author remarks, 'your best provision and most complete will be a good chest of viols, six in number, *viz.*, 2 basses, 2 tenors, and 2 trebles, all truly and proportionately suited.' Gradually the viol gave way before the violin, which was in fact only the perfected form of the stringed instruments, played with a bow, which preceded it.

Although the drum cannot, strictly speaking, be termed a musical instrument, a few words may be added regarding its

early use in the Scottish towns. Prior to the general introduction of printing the instrument formed one of the most important of the civic institutions, as the records of various burghs abundantly prove. By its aid all meetings of the Town Council were intimated; and no funeral ceremony of importance could take place till the mourners had been summoned by the drum. In 1566 John Cowper received from the Council of Aberdeen a pension of six merks a year 'for his service to be done to the towne in tyme cumming in playing upon the swesch*, as weill in tyme of war as in tyme of peace and sport and play.' In 1574 the same individual was ordered to 'pas everie day in the mornynge at four houris and everie nicht at eight houris throw all the rewis of the toune playand upon the Almanay quibissil [German whistle] with ane servand with him playand on the tabourine, quharby the craftismen, thair servandis, and all uther labourious folkis, being warnit and exciteit, may pas to thair labouris, and fra thair labouris in due and convenient tyme.' The town drummer, it may be proper to add, had no connection with the piper in those cases where the latter was also employed by the town. It might be supposed that the one would accompany the other in parading the streets; but this does not appear to have been the case in any instance with which we have met.

One of the most important factors in the vocal music of early Scotland now demands our attention. This is the 'Sang Scule,' an institution which can be traced back to the Thirteenth Century. A 'scule' existed in almost every one of the cathedral cities, and in many of the smaller towns, such as Dumbarton, Ayr, Cupar, Lanark, Irvine, and Tain. Even in the extreme north, in 1544, Bishop Reid founded and endowed a 'Sang Scule' in Orkney. These schools doubtless originated in the necessities of public worship. Boys required to be trained for chanting, and to be able to read Latin, so far at least as the church services were concerned. Before the Reformation the teaching in the 'Scule' appears to have been confined to these two branches, but at a

* This was the name by which the drum was sometimes called. It may be noted that the identical instrument played on by Cowper has a place among the old relics gathered together in the Glasgow Exhibition.

later date it extended to the departments of writing and arithmetic, and probably also to reading in the vernacular. After the Reformation there was of course less need for special instruction in church music, and it is only natural to suppose that the other elementary branches which found a place in the curriculum of the 'Scoles' would gradually supplant the purely musical element. This supposition is, indeed, borne out by a statute passed by James VI. on the 11th November 1579. The portion of this statute which refers to the 'Sang Scoles' may be quoted. It is as follows :

'For instruction of the youth in the art of musik and singing, quhilk is almost decayit, and sall shortly decay, without tymous remeid be providit, our Soverane Lord, with avise of his thrie estatis of this present parliament, requestis the provest, baillies, counsals, and communitie of the maist special burrowis of this realme, and of the patronis and provestis of the collegis, quhair sang sculis are founded, to erect and sett up ane sang scuill, with ane maister sufficient and able for instructioun of the youth in the said science of musik, as they will answer to his hienes upon the perrel of their foundationis, and in performing of his hienes request do unto his majestie acceptable and gude plesure.'

This edict had the double effect of arresting the progress of decline in musical teaching, and also of adding largely to the already existing number of the 'scoles.'

Very little interest seems to have attached to the Edinburgh and Glasgow 'Scoles,' if we are to judge from the vicissitudes through which they passed. In a minute of the Town Council of the latter city, dated 24th December 1588, the 'scuile, sumtyme callit the "Sang Scuile,"' is mentioned as a part of the common good which it was resolved to appropriate in order to defray the expenses incidental to the heavy visitation of a plague. The 'scuile' seems, however, to have been revived in the early part of the Seventeenth Century, for we learn that about that time the Council found a qualified teacher in the person of James Sanderis, for whose better encouragement they granted a monopoly, 'discharging all other sangsters within this burgh to teach musik in tyme coming during thair will allendarlie' [only]? The plan of monopoly appears not to have worked well, and forty years afterwards we find the city without any music master. In a minute of Council, dated 14th August, 1668, we read that the

magistrates 'taking to their consideratioune that this citie is altogether destitute of ane musitian for instructing the youth in the airt of musick, and seeing its the earnest desyre of manie honest men that ane able musitian be tryed out and brought to this place for that effect, and seeing the Bishop is willing to bestow yeirlie upon such a persone ane hundreth pundis Scots for the mans better encouragement who is to be brought here, Its concludit that the toune pay him yeirlie thrie hundreth and fiftie marks, and that to conteneu during the Counsells will and pleasour.' These terms appear to have failed in securing a suitable teacher, and twenty years after the date of this minute we find the town still in search of one. At last, in 1691, the appointment was given to 'Mr. Lewis de France, musitian,' to whom also the Council granted a monopoly of teaching music. After this we hear very little of the Glasgow sang school, and the taste for music seems gradually to have languished in the city. 'There never was but one concert during the two winters I was at Glasgow,' writes Dr. Carlyle, speaking of the years 1744-45, 'and that was given by Walter Scott, Esq., of Harden, who was himself an eminent performer on the violin, and his band of assistants consisted of two dancing-school fiddlers and the town-waits.'*

The 'Sang Scule' of Aberdeen was the most celebrated of these old institutions. It is believed to have existed as early as 1370, and its popularity became so great as to attract teachers of even continental fame. Occasionally its masters were selected from the clergy, and in two instances the appointment led to important preferment—William Hay, who was master in 1658, being made Bishop of Moray, and John Leslie, Bishop of Ross.† In

* See *Old Glasgow: the Place and the People*, by Andrew MacGeorge, pp. 260-1-3. We must not, however, judge too hastily of the state of music in Glasgow by Dr. Carlyle's experience. In 1744-45 the people had something else to think of than public concerts.

† The title of 'Sir' frequently occurs in the lists of teachers of the sang schools. This designation appears to have been applied to inferior members of the clergy about the time of the Reformation. Bishop Percy says: 'Within the limits of my own memory all *Readers* in chapels were called *Sirs*, and of old have been writ so; whence, I suppose, such of the

this school both vocal and instrumental music were taught, as appears from the title of Forbes's rare work, 'Cantus, Songs, and Fancies, both apt for Voices and Viols, as is taught in the Music School of Aberdeen' (1662). From the Burgh Records of the town we find that on October 7th, 1496, a contract was entered into by the Council and Robert Huchosone, Sangster, 'who obliges himself by the faith of his body all the days of his life to remain with the community of the burgh upholding matins, psalms, hymns,' etc., the Council also appointing him master of the Sang School. Some of the entries in the Aberdeen records are both curious and amusing. Under date 4th October 1577, we have the following:—'The said day the counsell grantit the soume of four poundis to the support of James Symsonne, doctour of their Sang Scull, to help to buy him cloythis.' In 1609, 'the bairnis and scholeris of the Sang Schoolis' are 'ordered to find caution for their good behaviour.' In Dundee there was also a flourishing music school. There are records of it from 1603 on to 1650, when it appears to have suffered in the general spoliation of the town which took place in the latter year.

The payments made to the masters of the 'Scules' varied considerably. The following items show the stipends they received both in the leading and in the smaller towns * :—

ABERDEEN, 1594.

'Item, to the maister of the Sang Schoile, . . . xiiij.'

DUNDEE, 1621.

'Item, to Mr. John Mow, Mr. of the music schoole, for his fee and hous maill, . . . ccl. li.'

AIR, 1627.

'Item, to the Mr. of musick scule for teaching of the musick scule and tacking up the psalmes in the kirk, x bolls victuall and xiiij of silver.'

lady as received the noble order of knighthood, being called *Sirs* too, for distinction sake had *Knight* writ after them; which had been superfluous if the title *Sir* had been peculiar to them.—See Boswell's *Shakespeare*, vol. viii., p. 8.

* Of course, in estimating the value of the sums quoted from old records, we must bear in mind that the items are stated in Scottish money, the value of which was only one-twelfth of money sterling; and we must also take into consideration the prices of various articles of food about the date at which the payments were made.

ELGIN, 1622.

'To the master of the music scole, . . . jc. li.'

ST. ANDREWS, 1626.

'Item, to the maister of the musik scholl, and for taking up of the psalme at preaching and prayeris of fie, . . . ijc. li.'

In the treasurer's accounts of the Glasgow Town Council in 1609, we find the following item:—'Giffen upon the third of Marche 1608, to John Buchan, Mr. of the Sang Scole, for Witsunday and Martymes termes, maill [rent] of hous £xx.' The stipend of the master of the Edinburgh school appears to have been the modest sum of ten pounds in sterling money.

No definite information as to the musical materials used in the 'Sang Scoles' has been handed down to us, but it can hardly be doubted that, as already indicated, the music of the Church would receive primary attention. Prior to the Reformation the Gregorian chant would no doubt be used as the foundation of the teaching, though it is but right to say that such evidence as we have of this is mainly in regard to schools instituted in connection with collegiate churches, monasteries, and other religious houses. In the regulations made by Lord Sempill for his Collegiate Church of Lochwinnoch, founded in 1504, after making provision for the fifth chaplain, it is said: 'He shall be an organist, and shall daily teach a school of singing under the roof of the said collegiate church, the boys therein to be instructed according to their power in the pointed Gregorian chant or dotted song and descant* . . . *as is wont to be done in other like churches of this kingdom.*' The words we have italicised may rightly be taken as evidence not only of the amount of attention paid to music at this period, but also of the subjects which were generally taught. The 'descant' referred to in the quotation was an art by which the singer was enabled to add to a melody at first sight (*i.e.*, extemporaneously) a kind of rough second part, consisting entirely of concords. This second part was confined by the early theorists under numerous restrictions of a puzzling character, so that to gain facility in the

* The old system of musical notation was by points or dots; hence the terms 'pointed Gregorian chant' and 'dotted song.' Our modern term 'counterpoint,' *i.e.*, point against point, has a similar origin.

'dotted descant' must have required no small amount of practice and attention. There was thus, in the preparation of the church services, work enough for the music schools of the pre-Reformation era, and we may be satisfied that they attempted little else in the way of teaching. With the introduction of the first Psalters of the Protestant Church there came a hardly less onerous task for the masters of the then existing 'Sang Scules.' In these Psalters we think we must be content to find the leading material—so far at least as vocal music is concerned—used in the 'Scules.' The elaborate arrangements of the psalm tunes published after the Reformation required no little skill on the part of the singers who used them. As many as five parts were sometimes employed, each part being, besides, written in a different clef—not as now, when two clefs only are used. The manner of printing the parts—two on one page and two *inverted* on the other—which we find, for example, in Hart's collection, Edinburgh, 1635, is also an evident testimony that reading in parts was a common practice in families and churches, where two and two would sit opposite each other at a table, or in the old-fashioned square pews, and use the same book. We are told by James Melville that Erskine of Dun 'of his charity entertained a blind man who had a singular good voice. Him he caused the doctor of our school teach the psalms in metre with the tunes thereof and sing them in the kirk;' and another writer speaking of the method in which public worship was conducted in Scotland about 1638, says—'Prayer being ended, the congregation joined in singing a portion of the psalms, a part of the service in which they took great delight, and in which they were so well instructed that many of them could sing without the aid of a Psalm-book.' Then there are the occasional appearances of the people in the streets, as at the return to Edinburgh, in 1582, of Durie, one of the city ministers, when the crowd to the number of two thousand sang psalms in *four parts*, at the sound of which, according to Calderwood, 'heaven and earth resoundit, and singer and listener were moved to tears.' From all this we may readily infer that, whatever else was taught in the 'Sang Scules,' the music of the psalter formed the leading ingredient. The days of the 'Scules'

were indeed the 'golden age' of psalmody in Scotland; and when these time-honoured institutions sank into oblivion, the music of the church lost its best and strongest support.

Various reasons might be assigned for the extinction of the 'Sang Scales.' The metrical version of the psalms issued in 1650 was without tunes; while the variety of metre, necessitating a corresponding variety of music, which characterised the previous version, was much more limited than it had ever been before. The church itself, partly, perhaps, by a recoil from the pressure of the Articles of Perth, the Service Book, or other features of the Episcopal movement, became indifferent to the musical element in its worship. The old psalm-books with the music became increasingly scarce, and the fallacy, not yet quite extinct, laid hold of the Scottish mind that the quality of the musical material, or its execution, is of no account if the heart be rightly exercised. Thus the necessity for the instruction provided by the 'Scales' gradually passed away, and in less than a hundred years after the edict of King James, scarcely one of these institutions remained. In Aberdeen an attempt was made some fifteen years ago, to form a connecting link with the past by a revival of the 'Sang Scale.' A leading citizen purchased a hall which he named the 'Song School,' but the scheme has unfortunately proved unsuccessful. The only traces of the 'Sang Scale' now remaining are at Dunfermline, where the precentor of the parish church still enjoys a yearly salary of £8 6s. 8d. as teacher of music in the Sang or Grammar School, which is a sinecure.

For an adequate treatment of the Church Music of early Scotland much more space would be required than can be given here, and we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a notice of the two musical instruments—the 'regal' and the organ—which were in use in the churches before the Reformation. Up to the beginning of the Thirteenth Century there was no music at all worthy of the name, and instruments were totally unknown in the church. The 'regal' was the precursor of the organ, and was even used long after the introduction of the latter by congregations unable to afford the more expensive instrument. Musical writers have not explained the exact nature of the regal, but it was evidently incapable of playing anything more than the melody. It was

certainly a small instrument, for it is frequently alluded to by the old writers and poets under the name of 'portative' (from the Latin *portare*, to carry). Thus Gavin Douglas (*cir.* 1513)—

‘On crowd,* lute, harpe with monie gudlie spring
Schalmes, clarionis, portatives heard I ring.’

Carter, the well-known antiquary, calls it ‘a portable organ, having one row of pipes giving the treble notes.’ In Germany it was sometimes known as the ‘Bibelregal,’—a name which conclusively shows that the instrument was occasionally made so small as to fold up into the size of a church bible. It seems generally to have been tastefully shaped and embellished, and there are some interesting representations of it still extant in the old ecclesiastical edifices of England and Scotland. There is, for example, in Beverley minster a figure of a man playing on a regal with one set of pipes; and in Melrose Abbey there is preserved a sculptured figure of an angel holding in his arms a double regal, the pipes of which appear to be in two sets. In the Household Book of the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary, under the year 1538, we have the following entry:—‘Item, payd for a payr of regalls iiij li. x s. ;’ and in an Inventory of Henry the Eighth’s musical instruments we read of ‘thirteen pair of single regalls,’ and ‘five pair of double regalls,’—the latter being so-called evidently on account of their having two rows of pipes. From its convenient size, the regal would no doubt be used a good deal in private houses; and in this connection it may be of interest to note that it is believed to have been the instrument which proved so great a solace to Milton in his blindness. Being easily carried from place to place, it was also very suitable for out-door purposes; and indeed an old writer, describing the instrument, says it is ‘a portable organ used in *processions* in all Roman Catholic countries.’ It was the precursor of the organ, strictly so-called, in several of the monasteries and conventual establishments of the pre-Reformation period; and doubtless, as we have already suggested, was allowed to survive in many places to a comparatively recent date, merely

* A corrupt name for the Crwth, a Welsh instrument resembling the violin.

through motives of economy. At what time it finally disappeared in Scotland we cannot precisely say ; but in England so late as 1767 one Bernard Gates is recorded to have received a salary of £56 as ‘tuner of the regalls’ in the Royal Chapel. Three years later, the same individual is styled ‘tuner of the organs.’

The history of the organ proper is too complicated a subject to be taken up here in any detail ; but as the instrument has at several periods formed an element in the musical part of Christian worship in Scotland, a few words on the probable date of its dedication to this sacred function may not be unwelcome. In most histories of the organ we meet with a description of a small collection of pipes worked by hydraulic action, known as ‘the water-organ of the ancients’ ; but although diagrams generally accompany the description, the account is somewhat apocryphal. ‘The *Magrepha*, or organ of ten pipes, with a keyboard, is alleged to have existed in the second century, but doubts have been expressed regarding the nature of this instrument also. It is, however, an historical fact, that an organ, the gift of Constantine, was in the possession of King Pepin of France *circa* A.D. 757. . . . In the tenth century, an organ having 400 pipes is mentioned by Wolstan ; the organ was played with “keys,” and was blown by thirteen separate pairs of bellows. Drawings of this period still extant represent the organ as an instrument having but few pipes, blown with evident labour by two or more persons, and played upon by a monk.’ On all the earlier organs the keys were of wood and of enormous size, so large in fact that nine had a breadth of nearly five feet, and the organist had to strike them down with his fist ! Thus it is evident that these instruments were incapable of playing anything more than the melody of the ancient church music. Improvements in their construction are attributed to Pope Sylvester, who died 1003. When we come to the time of Chaucer, they must have been in common use, for he thus speaks in his *Nun’s Priest’s Tale* of a crowing cock ‘highte chautilclere’—

‘ His vois was merier than the mery organ
On masse daies that in the chirches gon.’

Calderwood connects the first introduction of organs into Scot-

land with the reign of King James I. (1424-1437). But while there is some foundation for this statement—which, by the way, is corroborated by the elder Tytler—it is not wholly correct. An authentic reference to the organ is made by Fordun on the occasion of the removal of the body of Queen Margaret from the outer church of Dunfermline to the vicinity of the high altar in 1250. About this date it became the fashion for young Scottish monks and clerics to seek their education in France, and many of them returned to their native country filled with a desire to imitate the services of the churches across the Channel. To some of these young ecclesiastics is in all probability to be attributed the introduction of the organ into Scotland. We read of one Taylor, a Dominican friar, who after receiving his training in France, returned to Scotland, and at once set to work on the reformation of the church music of the country. This was about the middle of the thirteenth century; and that Taylor had something to do with the introduction of organs into Scotland is abundantly proved by the following written specially against him by Ælfred :—

‘ Since all types and figures are now ceased, why so many organs and cymbals in our churches ? Why, I say, that terrible blowing of bellows that rather imitates the frightsomeness of thunder than the sweet harmony of the voice ? One restrains his breath, another breathes his breath, and a third unaccountably dilates his voice ; and sometimes, which I am ashamed to say, they fall a quivering like the neighing of horses. Then they lay down their manly vigour, and with their voices endeavour to imitate the softness of women ; then by an artificial circumvolution, they have a variety of outrunnings ; sometimes you shall see them with open mouths and their breath restrained, as if they were expiring, and not singing ; and by a ridiculous interruption of their breath seem as if they were altogether silent. At other times they appear like persons in the agonies of death ; then with a variety of gestures they personate comedians ; their lips are contracted, their eyes roll, their shoulders are moved upwards and downwards, their fingers move and dance to every note ; and this ridiculous behaviour is called religion, and where these things are most frequently done, there God is said to be most honourably worshipped.’

A delightful piece of satire ! But it evidently did little good. In spite of opposition the new movement continued to spread ; although it cannot be contended that in those early days organs would be very numerous, owing to the poverty of the country

and the turbulent course of the national history. By and bye the cause was espoused by James I, who added an organ to each of his own chapels; and during the latter part of his reign, the instrument was heard in most of the cathedral churches of the country, including St. Andrews and Dunblane, and even St. Magnus in Kirkwall. In 1437 we learn from the Council Records of Aberdeen that a payment of 26s. 8d. was made that year 'for blowing of the organis' in the city church; and in 1485 a tax on all sheep and swine brought into the burgh was imposed for a like purpose. In 1486, an organ was placed in Ferne monastery in Ross-shire; and we read of the church of St. John in Perth being provided with an instrument in 1511. In 1530, two organs were presented to the old abbey of Kinloss, near Elgin; and the priory archives of Inchmahome show that an instrument was in use there about the time of Queen Mary's visit to the island in 1547.

What became of all these early instruments it is hardly necessary to add. With the overthrow of the abbeys and cathedrals by the vandals of the Reformed Church, came the destruction of the organs which these buildings contained. The object of the clergy appears to have been to get as far away from art of every kind as possible; and in regard to music, especially to have nothing more than was necessary for the 'psalms and spiritual songs,' which were now introduced into the services of the church. As a consequence, music—as we have already seen in the case of the 'Sang Scales'—in a great measure ceased to be cultivated. While the organ continued in use in the church, a knowledge of the art was absolutely necessary, both to the players and the singers, but when the duty of leading the psalmody was delegated to a 'precentor,' whose miserable salary made him dependent on his craft, music fell into a bad repute, and Scotland entered upon an eclipse, from which she has not yet fully emerged. Her intellectual standard may have been raised by the change from the old to the new faith, but her artistic tastes certainly suffered for the elevation. The ancient religion may have been wrong, but the fact remains that not only the historians and poets, but also the painters, the sculptors, and the musicians, were members of the Church of Rome; and when

the latter ceased to be the church of the country, music, as it was known in early Scotland, gradually ceased to be cultivated, and became for a time one of the lost arts. We may regret the coincidence, but we cannot blind ourselves to the truth. Happily, Scotland is again beginning to re-assert her position, and with the ample means for musical education now at her command, we may confidently look forward to her taking an honourable place among the musical nations of Europe.

J. CUTHBERT HADDEN.

ART. II.—THE ULTIMATE FATE OF GIORDANO BRUNO.

THE first portion of the present paper, published in the *Scottish Review* of July, brought down the history of Giordano Bruno's last years to the termination of his trial before the Venetian Inquisition, on July 30, 1592.* In the

* The writer of this article was much edified by a newspaper criticism, which threw out a sort of doubt as to the authenticity of the minutes of the trial at Venice, seemingly on the ground that Previti, who has recently reprinted them, is a Jesuit. The suggestion of such a doubt is a curious proof of the lengths to which a certain school will go when confronted by hard facts. If these documents are not genuine, the chief offender is, of course, the present Government of Italy, for placing them before the public as a portion of the State Papers of the Venetian Republic: and next, the free-thinker, Domenico Berti, who first published them at full length in 1868, in his learned and valuable work, the *Vita di Giordano Bruno da Nola*, (pp. 327-385), and the other writers who have used them ever since. The present writer merely cited Previti's edition because it is the most recent and correct, and because the trial is printed in it along with some other documents which were unknown to Berti. The same critic blamed him for garbling a passage cited from Bruno regarding women. Let him dare to publish an unexpurgated version of that passage. He will find the original on pp. 299 and 300 of the 2nd volume of the Leipzig edition of Bruno's works (*Opere di Giordano Bruno*. Lipsia. Weidmann. 1830). It forms part of the dedication of the *Eroici Furori* to Sir Philip Sidney. No wonder Bruno is a creature whom Sidney never names. No wonder also that the English translator of the *Eroici Furori* omits the dedication *in toto*.

following pages will be discussed the vexed question of his ultimate fate, or, in other words, whether it is or is not the fact that he was burnt at the stake. The assertion that he was burnt has now become in many quarters a sort of commonplace, and it is often stated as if it were a known fact. But this notion, as has been shown by Professor Desdouits,* did not obtain general currency before the year 1701—a full century after the alleged event. It is, indeed, mentioned by earlier writers, but very rarely, and is usually spoken of as a disputed question, and accompanied by some qualifying phrase such as ‘It is said that —.’ By some writers, such as Desdouits and Balan, it is regarded as a mere fiction. By a second school of historians, comprising such authors as the famous Bayle and Moreri, it is regarded as an exceedingly doubtful statement resting upon insufficient evidence. By others, again, such as Previti and Gaggia, it is accepted with hesitation, as the most probable opinion. By a fourth school, which includes such writers as Berti and Stiavelli, it is assumed as if it were indisputable, and treated with a kind of enthusiasm. This last group are certainly open to the charge of feeling the want of a martyr of some kind, and being determined to show one, by fair means or foul. But the first group might be taunted on the other hand with a desire for a triumph over literary opponents, and a wish to prevent Bruno appearing in a sort of heroic light.† The object of the present pages is not

* *La Légende Tragique de Jordano Bruno.* Paris : Ernest Thorin. 1885. In this work the learned Professor, who regards the burning of Bruno as a pure myth, seeks to trace its origin and development.

† It is a curious phenomenon that so many writers, including even such as Previti and Gaggia, who admit that the burning is a subject of grave doubt, cannot resist the temptation of giving a dramatic description of the supposed scene. In this respect, however, all others seem to pale their ineffectual fires before the English translator of a part of the *Eroici Furori*. In *The Heroic Enthusiasts*, pp. 33, 34, we read how ‘his face was thin and pale, with dark, fiery eyes; the forehead luminous with thought, his body frail and bearing the signs of torture; his hands in chains, his feet bare, he walked with slow steps in the early morning towards the funeral pile. Brightly shone the sun, and the flames leapt upwards and mingled with his ardent rays; Bruno stood in the midst with his arms crossed, his head raised,

to advocate either opinion, but to place the evidence on both sides before the reader and so enable him to arrive at an opinion for himself.

The trial of Giordano Bruno before the Venetian Inquisition ended, as above stated, on July 30, 1592. It was followed in the ensuing month of September, by a diplomatic correspondence between the Venetian and Roman Governments. The latter desired the extradition of Bruno, and his committal to the care of the Roman Inquisition: the former resisted the request, from unwillingness to admit anything which seemed to imply a subjection of the Tribunals of the Republic to those of the Papal States. To this it was answered that Bruno was not a subject of the Republic but of the Kingdom of Naples, and that the original proceedings against him (before his flight from the Convent of the Minerva) had been begun in Rome. (It was finally decided to grant the extradition, as a sign of the readiness of the Republic to gratify the Pope. This was in January, 1593. In the succeeding month of February Bruno was a prisoner in the prison of the Inquisition at Rome.

Then follows a blank of six years. This blank is owing to the inexorable secrecy in which the Roman Inquisition still

his eyes open——.’ The sunbeams in this description are not an happy feature, considering that the place was a low spot in the valley of the Tiber, the date the middle of February, and that the entry in the Archives of San Giovanni Decollato gives the impression that the hour was before day. There is, of course, no shadow of an hint to lead to the idea that Bruno was ever put to the torture anywhere; but the fact is that the ‘torture-chambers of the Inquisition’ form one of the favourite theatrical ‘properties’ of a certain class of writer, and must be had in on any possible occasion. As to Bruno’s physiognomy, it is evident that the writer of the before-going description had either never seen or does not believe in the portrait which forms the frontispiece to the first volume of the Leipsic edition of his works, and which represents a low criminal type, sufficiently familiar to the judicial authorities of Naples. (Stiavelli’s woodcut is different—a sort of cross between Dante and Savonarola, with a dash of Torquemada thrown in). It is an unfortunate feature of the word-painters that their witness agrees not together. Some give us an harrowing description of how his tongue was cut out beforehand, to prevent his speaking at the place of execution, while others favour us with his last words uttered amidst the flames.

insists upon shrouding its proceedings, and which is all the more provoking in this instance because we know that its archives contain the most complete elucidation of the whole history up to the point of Bruno's surrender to the Civil Magistrate. What can possibly be the motive of all this secrecy it is impossible to guess.* It is very true that it may sometimes be better that what is commonly called a 'clerical scandal' should be heard with closed doors. But this argument does not apply to such a trial as that of Bruno, especially when it is about 300 years old. It is surely impossible that the authorities of the Inquisition can be so entirely blind to the nature of the popular reputation which that Tribunal already enjoys as to suppose that any possible revelations could make it worse than it is. And, on the other hand, mines of the most interesting historical matter are kept closed to the historical student. (The experience of Fr. Previti is a melancholy instance of what meets investigators in this quarter. Thinking that as a Jesuit Priest, writing a scientific historical work, from a point of view opposed to that of Bruno's admirers, he might have a little more assistance given him than had been granted to the anti-clerical Berti, he applied for permission to consult the archives of the Inquisition. He was not allowed to see anything, although he was tantalized with the information that the ink is already a good deal faded. He was allowed to have copies of five small entries, all of which will be given immediately hereafter, and

* When our own fellow-countryman, the Rev. Dr. Carmont, was tried before the Inquisition within the last few years, the eminent advocate—Canon Menghini—who conducted his case was compelled, before being admitted to plead, to take an oath of secrecy as to the proceedings so strict that he was not able afterwards to tell his own client what he had said on his behalf, and was consequently obliged, in order that his arguments upon the point of great public interest involved might be known, to publish beforehand his opinion upon the case and the grounds upon which it was based. And yet the question was a mere point of Canon Law as to the immunity of the clergy from the jurisdiction of secular courts. On the other hand, in the notorious Z— matrimonial case, which came before another Roman Church Court, the depositions, which were revolting, were printed, and although not actually published, circulated a good deal from hand to hand.

a certain amount of information was afforded him ; but to such an extent is the element of mystery carried, that he is not allowed to give the name of the official who was permitted to give him the extracts and information in question. He was told that the archives contain everything concerning the case, but nothing to show what occurred to the prisoner after he left the hands of the Inquisition, as, for instance, whether he was executed or not. He was not allowed to see a copy of the sentence, or even to hear what were the eight points upon which Bruno was condemned.

It is known that among the judges were the celebrated Bellarmine, and the still more celebrated Baronius, the latter of whom happened at this time to be the confessor of the reigning Pope, Clement VIII., and it is also known that Bellarmine, first in the character of theologian to the Inquisition, and afterwards as Cardinal, took the leading part in the proceedings in the case.

The great length of time which the trial occupied has been accounted for upon various grounds. It is suggested that the naturally mild disposition of Clement VIII. made him very averse to proceed to extremities. It is known that the whole of Bruno's works were carefully examined from end to end by theologians, a process which must have taken some time. It is known that great hopes were entertained that he would recant, and long delays were granted, both unasked and at his own request, in the hope that these expectations might be realized. But none of these explanations seem to the present writer to be sufficient to account for the long period of six years. In fact, the last is self-contradictory, because, when Bruno left the Inquisition at Venice, he was only too eager to recant and beg pardon for everything or anything.

It is indeed this last point which seems to the present writer to contain in all probability the key to the mystery. As is well known, the ecclesiastical Courts in such cases do not hand over to the Civil Power—as was done with Bruno—any but the *relapsed*, that is, those whose re-adoption of their former courses seems to show them to be incorrigible. Now, Bruno,

when he left Venice, could not be called *relapsed*, because he had never repented before. It appears evident, therefore, that he relapsed during the six years. When he left Venice, he was in a state of the utmost docility and penitence—whether genuine or affected, is another question. When he re-appears in 1599, he is in a state of implacable defiance.

It will be observed that the Roman Inquisition, finding him in the dispositions in which he left Venice, seems to have complied with all his wishes, except that of being set at perfect liberty. His particular dread had been that of being sent back into a convent of his Order; and this was accordingly not done; he remained under detention in the prison of the Inquisition itself. He had asked that no public punishment of a disgraceful character—meaning, it may be presumed, such an one as being sent to the galleys,—might be inflicted upon him; and accordingly none such was inflicted. Even in the face of the life which he had led and the books which he had published, including the *Candelajo*, he was not degraded from Holy Orders. (Having regard to these facts, and to the extraordinary change which is manifest in 1599, the most probable conjecture seems to be that he was treated with mildness as long as he remained in the dispositions in which he left Venice. If the statement of Gaspar Schopp that he was excommunicated before being handed over to the Civil Power is correct, it seems to follow that he had been released from the excommunication which he had incurred by absconding from his Order. It may be supposed that he enjoyed a certain amount of relaxation in the strictness of his confinement—he was very probably admitted to the Sacraments—it is even possible that he was allowed to say Mass. Had he continued as he had begun, the worst that could have happened to him would have been a life-long detention, which, however, would in the course of time have become much modified, and most likely have been changed at length either into a permission to re-enter a convent of his Order, or even into a ticket-of-leave, allowing him to live in the world under police supervision as a secular cleric, the special thing which he had desired. But he evidently changed his mind. Whether the recurrence to the profession

of his former opinions was accompanied by attempts to propagate them among fellow-prisoners, or among the officials of the Inquisition, whether he attempted any such thing as clandestine correspondence with the outside world, whether he fell into any other acts of a special character,* is, in the absence of knowledge as to what the records of the proceedings contain, mere matter of conjecture. The two first extracts communicated to Fr. Previti are as follows :—

‘ Thursday, Jan. 14, 1599.

‘ Eight heretical propositions of the apostate friar Giordano Bruno, of Nola, of the Order of Friars Preachers, prisoner in the prisons of the Holy Office, collected from his books and trial by the Rev. Fathers the Commissary and Bellarmine, were read. It was ordered that these selected propositions should be shown to him, in order that he might consider whether he would abjure them as being heretical. Other heretical propositions may be seen in his trial and in his books.’

‘ Thursday, Feb. 4. 1599.

[The heretical propositions]† ‘ of the Friar Giordano, son of the late John Bruno of Nola, Priest, professed in the Order of Friars Preachers and an apostate therefrom, prisoner in the prisons of the said Holy Inquisition, and examined and tried concerning and upon heretical pravity, and other things in the proceedings of this case, having been detailed at length ; and the proceedings taken against him therefor having been read ; and the same having been maturely and carefully considered ; and the opinions of the Rev. Fathers the Theologians Consultants of the said Holy Inquisition, present in the said Congregation, as given both in writing and by word of mouth, having been heard ; and all and everything which was to be seen and considered having been seen and considered—Our Most Holy Lord [the Pope] decreed and ordered that only

* If he was really burnt alive, there must have been circumstances of very great gravity to bring about so horrible a punishment. Carnesecchi, for instance, who was executed while refusing to recant, in 1597, was beheaded.

† The extract as printed in Fr. Previti's book is nonsense, seemingly caused by the omission of some words such as those here inserted in [].

those heretical propositions should be indicated to him by the Fathers Theologians, viz., by Father Bellarmine and the Commissary, and not only heretical as now so declared but [also] by the most ancient Fathers, by the Church, and by the Apostolic See; and if he acknowledges them as such—well; but if not, let him have another delay of 40 days.'

The next document, however, is dated more than ten months later, namely, Tuesday, Dec. 21. It is the minute of a Congregation of the Inquisition held upon that date in the Palace of that Tribunal close to St. Peter's. There were present nine Cardinals, including Bellarmine, and six others besides the Notary, viz., the Commissary General and his Assessor, the Remembrancer of the Signatures, the Vicar General of the Friars Preachers, and the Procurator Fiscal and another Assessor of the Tribunal. Among the prisoners visited was 'the Friar Giordano, son of the late John Bruno of the city of Nola in the Kingdom of Naples, Priest professed in the Order of Friars Preachers and an apostate from the said Order, Doctor of Divinity, prisoner in the prisons of the said Holy Office, and examined and tried concerning and upon heretical pravity.' After other matters 'he was brought out of the said prison and into the hall of the Congregation, presented before the aforesaid Most Illustrious, etc., and visited by them; and they heard him upon everything which he wished to say, and upon the merits of his case, and his needs both as regarded his fare and other things; after which, when he had been removed from the hall of the Congregation, the Cardinals present decreed that the Fathers General and Vicar of the said Order of Friars Preachers should deal with him, and show him the propositions which he must abjure, that he might acknowledge his errors, amend, and be ready to abjure, and that so they may gain their brother as may be most expedient.'

A month later, the Pope himself gave his decision upon the report of the delegates:—

'Thursday, Jan. 20, 1600.* In presence of our Most Holy [Lord the Pope].

* In Previti, p. 388, the dates of this and the next entry have, evidently

‘The petition of the Friar Giordano Bruno, imprisoned in the Holy Office, addressed to our Most Holy Lord, was opened but not read.

‘In the case of the same Friar Giordano, of Nola, of the Order of Friars Preachers and apostate therefrom, the Rev. Fr. Prior Hippolytus Mary, General of the said Order, reported that, in obedience to the command of the Most Illustrious, etc., he, along with the Procurator General of the said Order, had spoken with the said Friar Giordano, as to whether he was willing to acknowledge the heretical propositions emitted by him in his writings and depositions, and that he would not do so, asserting that he had never uttered heretical propositions, and that they had been mistaken by the servants of the Holy Office; and our Most Holy Lord, after hearing the opinions of the aforesaid Most Illustrious, etc., decreed that the case must go on, in the due manner, and sentence be given that the said Friar Giordano be handed over to the Secular Court.’

And it is accordingly recorded :—

‘Tuesday, Feb. 8., 1600. In presence of their Most Illustrious Lordships.

‘Sentence was pronounced against the apostate Friar, Giordano Bruno of Nola, of the Order of Preachers, an unrepentant and obstinate heretic, and he was given over to the Secular Court of the Civil Governor of Rome, then present at the said Congregation.’

It is a matter of conjecture what can have been the reason why Bruno was unwilling to recant again. All he could have had to do would have been to say that he would not oppose his own opinions to the decision of those who were better fitted than himself, from every point of view, to form a judgment upon the points in dispute. This he could have done without even a ruffle to his self-esteem, as he had already stated in his trial at Venice that he had studied theology only very little. Moreover, in any case, it was his avowed and published doctrine that to suffer martyrdom on account of religion is an act of such arrant folly as to approach the nature

by a blunder of the printers, been printed before instead of after the numerals ‘IV.’ and ‘V.’

of mental derangement. 'Let the sense,' he says, in the *Eroici Furori*,* 'feed according to the law of things that can be felt, the flesh be obedient to the law of the spirit, the reason to its own law. Let them not be confounded nor mixed. . . . Verily, it is a shameful thing that one should tyrannize over the other, particularly where the intellect is a pilgrim and strange, and the sense is more domesticated and at home. . . . This is a law of Nature, and therefore a law of the author and originator of Nature. . . . How have you gotten this melancholy and perverse humour, which breaks the certain and natural laws of the true life, and which is in your own hands, for one, uncertain, and which has no existence except in shadow beyond the limits of fantastic thought? Seems it to you a natural thing that they should live divinely and not as animals and humanly, they being not gods, but men and animals? It is a law of fate and Nature that everything should adapt itself to the condition of its own being. Wherefore then, while you follow after the niggard nectar of the gods, do you lose that which is present and is your own, and trouble yourself about the vain hopes of others?' (And on this principle he had frankly acted at Venice. Perhaps he now thought that his life was already irretrievably forfeited. It is evident from the minute of the Inquisition of Jan. 20, that this was not so, since he could not have been executed without being in any case first degraded from Holy Orders and handed over to the Civil Magistrate, and it was only on that day, and in consequence of his steady refusal to recant, that it was determined to let things go so far as that point. - But if, in any case, he thought so, whether rightly or wrongly, it is conceivable that he may have elected to suffer by fire rather than to purchase a commutation to decapitation or strangulation at the cost of giving his opponents the triumph of his admission for a second time that he had been wrong. It is indeed possible that he may have deliberately preferred to have done with the whole thing once and for all, rather than face life-long and close imprisonment or penal servitude. There

* Pp. 109-110 of the English translation.

are, again, some minds in which a diseased self-complacency seems to drown the voice of reason, and such is not an impossible explanation in the case of a man of so eccentric a career, and whose nervous disorder is so markedly revealed in his works, especially in the *Candelajo*, although it must be admitted that no such explanation of his acts seems to have occurred to any of his contemporaries. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the science of mental pathology was then in its infancy. Yet another hypothesis has been suggested, viz., that he had made secret arrangements for a rescue when he should be brought out for execution. This latter view is certainly supported by the fact that if the execution took place at all, it took place upon a different day from that upon which the public had been given to expect it, and that it was kept so secret that even the guild-brethren who were to help the convict were only informed within a few hours of the preceding midnight. The possibility of his having established a clandestine correspondence has already been suggested, and a letter of this sort may, unknown to him, have fallen into the hands of the authorities, and caused them to adopt these singular precautions with a view to baffle the design. This theory would moreover account for Bruno's persistent refusal to recant—as a means of ensuring his being brought outside the prison, for the enigmatical remark ascribed to him by Schopp, to the effect that he heard his sentence without much trepidation, for the lightness of tone ascribed to him by the entry in the archives of San Giovanni Decollato, and for his persistence to the last, as he would have been expecting rescue at every moment till he was finally choked by the smoke. But this is only conjecture, and although it is a remarkably ingenious theory, and perhaps the best explanation of his having been burnt at all, if burnt he was, it does not explain the difficulties in which the general fact is enveloped by the remarkable absence of any trustworthy evidence of its having ever occurred.

That Bruno was delivered to the Secular Power seems pretty clear. The question then arises, What happened to him afterwards? Did he live and die, either repentant or un-

repentant, either in prison or upon ticket-of-leave, most likely under a feigned name, and, in any case, in a condition of even more complete obscurity, more unknown and more forgotten, than he had hitherto been? (The popular statement, on the contrary, is that he was burnt in the *Campo dei Fiori*, on February 17.

It may be confessed at once that the historical arguments in favour of this tragic theory, although they may at present be such as to produce something like moral certainty in the minds of some historical students, are of such a character that a very little positive evidence to the contrary would be sufficient completely to discredit them.

But the evidence to the contrary is all negative. In the first place, no record of the execution has been found among the archives of the Civil Government of Rome. This is in itself sufficiently startling, for an execution always entails certain expenses which are found entered in the accounts: those of wood, etc., for instance, for the burning of witches, will at once occur to the student of Scottish Municipal Records. But there is no such trace whatsoever to indicate a like end for Giordano Bruno. It is possible, on the other hand, that they have been lost, or that, for some reason, no entries for expenses, etc., were made. The silence of other authorities is, however, still more suspicious. The Venetian Ambassadors in Rome addressed voluminous despatches to their Government, in which they carefully mention the executions of Carnesecchi and others who were put to death upon religious grounds; but although Bruno had actually been a prisoner extradited from a Venetian Tribunal, they make no allusion to any such thing as his being executed. No hint of any such event is to be found in the *Storia degli Anni Santi* of Alfano and Marco Manno, nor in Ciacconio, nor in Sandini, nor in any other contemporary writer of ecclesiastical history. This remark applies equally to Protestant writers; and yet Rome was crowded with strangers at the moment of the alleged event, on account of the Jubilee, and very many of these were Protestants, yet none of them, either in their public or private writings, show that they had ever heard such a thing mentioned. Nor do later Protestant writers, in compiling lists of persons put to death on religious grounds,

include Giordano Bruno among the number. The Bishop of Nola, Bruno's native place, was at Rome, but shows no knowledge of such an event. There are preserved long letters written at Rome by Cardinal d'Assat, one within forty-eight hours of the supposed execution (February 19, 20, and 22), but he says nothing about it. The Friar Paul Sarpi, an enemy of the Church of Rome, and a member of Bruno's own Order, expatiating, only ten years later, upon the executions which had taken place in Rome upon religious grounds, seems never to have heard or suspected that Bruno's had been one of them. Stronger than all, perhaps, is the complete silence of the contemporary diarists in Rome, including such a writer as Mark Antony Valena, who made a special point of accurately noting all the executions which took place. It must be confessed that such an universal silence, in every direction where such a thing might be expected to be mentioned, is almost inexplicable, except upon the hypothesis that the execution itself is a fiction of later days, whatever allowance may be made for possible carelessness of official clerks, or for subsequent loss of documents, for the extreme obscurity of this almost unknown prisoner, the indifference of Protestants as well as Catholics to the fate of an atheist, the postponement of the date of the execution, its late and sudden arrangement, and its seemingly early, unknown, and unexpected hour, along with the not unreasonable consideration that its circumstances as narrated are so horrible that it is conceivable some of the few who knew of it might not have cared to write about it.

The tradition of the execution is, in fact, only supported by three pieces of evidence which claim to be contemporary. There are, however, two other allusions to it which may be called nearly contemporary, but the first at least is of a very vague and unsatisfactory character. Martin Hasdale wrote to Galileo that Brengger wrote to Kepler in 1608 to ask him if it were true that Bruno was burnt, and that Kepler replied 'I knew from Wachter that Bruno was burnt at Rome, and that he endured the agony manfully, asserting constantly that all religions are folly, and that God is simply the same thing with the world, with the circle and with the point.' He continues that Brengger replied that it was marvellous that a man who believed that there is no God to deal

future rewards or punishments should have been so mad as to refuse to profess anything in order to save his life, and especially to avoid such pain. It will be observed that this is hearsay little better than gossip. The other allusion is in a book printed by Gaspar Schopp (to be mentioned presently at greater length) in 1611, wherein he cites the conduct of Bruno at the last as 'a monumental instance of obstinacy proceeding from mere ill-temper'—'*pertinaciæ ex odio profectæ memorabile exemplum*'—since he was a man who preferred to be burnt alive rather than, etc., etc. This again merely shows that Schopp believed, or wished to appear to believe, that such had been Bruno's end.

The three documents which claim to be contemporary, and which assert the execution as a fact, will now be laid before the reader, and he will be able to form his own opinion.

The first of these three documents has hitherto been the main (and was for long the sole) authority upon the point under discussion. At some time in the XVIIth Century there was published somewhere a book intituled *Macchiavellisatio qua unitorum animos dissociare nitentibus respondetur, in gratiam domini Archiepiscopi castissimæ vitæ Petri Pazman succinte excerpta. Saragossæ. 1621.* This book appeared with a false author's name and a false statement of place of printing. It is supposed to have been printed in Germany. It contains a real or fictitious letter from Gaspar Schopp to his Lutheran friend Conrad Ritherhausen, dated from Rome, Feb. 17, 1600. Whatever be the truth as to the fate of Giordano Bruno, the genuineness of this letter has been most widely contested, and, it must be admitted, upon very strong grounds. Gaspar Schopp is known as a forger, and a man in many ways untrustworthy, and the strong suspicion which these combined circumstances are calculated to inspire is very much increased by the fact that the letter contains frequent falsehoods on points on which it is possible to check the writer from other sources. If it is a forgery, it is quite possible that Schopp never heard of it. The date of the *Macchiavellisatio* is believed to be false, as it is only first mentioned by the Lutheran Ursinus, in his book *De Zoroastre Bactriano*, printed at Nuremberg in 1661. But even if it were published in 1621, Schopp, who was passing his last years at Padua, might well have been uncon-

scious of it.* It is written in a slightly controversial tone, sometimes nearly approaching to banter, and displays throughout a very unseemly degree of levity. This is in itself suspicious, as it seems unnatural that a subject so terrible should be treated with lightness, and rouses an idea that the writer of the letter was conscious that he was playing a practical joke.† But the document has many other suspicious features. For instance, its author states that he was present at the General Congregation of the Inquisition at which Bruno was degraded from Holy Orders, and that he learnt the convict's opinions by hearing the sentence read on that occasion: but he does not even know on what day the Congregation in question took place, assigning it to another, and he gives as Bruno's doctrines a farrago of nonsense which has hardly anything in common with them, and which consists of many more points than eight, the number of those upon which, as we know from the actual minutes of the Inquisition already given above, Giordano was really condemned. It is as well to transcribe the whole passage relating to Bruno, in order that the reader may be able not only to see the statements relating to facts otherwise unsupported, but also to gauge their probability by a comparison with the rest.

Schopp, or the writer in his name, begins by saying that the continuation of the subject of the punishment of heretics, of which he had before been treating, is as it were thrust upon him by the very fact of that day 'on which Giordano

* He had made so many enemies that he is said to have been timid about leaving his house, for fear of being cudgelled.

† In an historical paper like the present it would be out of place to enter into the region of pure conjecture, as to the authorship of the accounts of Bruno's execution, supposing them to be forgeries. But it must be admitted that the indications of the so-called Schopp being a practical joke, the ludicrous set of opinions therein ascribed, as though in mockery of the Inquisition, to Giordano, a good deal that may be irony (such as the eulogiums bestowed upon the Inquisitors), the coarse jesting nature of the book in which it appeared, and its publication in Germany, where Bruno had many connections, are all harmonious with the idea that this letter may be a composition of his own in his old age, when the exact day of his degradation from Orders had escaped his memory.

Bruno has been publicly burnt for heresy, alive and with his eyes open, in the Campus Floræ, in front of Pompey's Theatre.' He proceeds to warn Ritherhausen against the statements of Italians who may say that Bruno was a Lutheran, as they ignorantly call all heretics Lutherans,* and so on, saying that Lutherans and Calvinists (unless relapsed or publicly scandalous) are quite safe to come to Rome as much as they like, and then continues— 'In the same way I myself should perhaps have believed the common tale that Bruno was burned for Lutheranism, if I had not happened to be present at the Inquisition when sentence was pronounced upon him, and so knew what his heresy was. This Bruno was a native of Nola in the Kingdom of Naples, and a professed Dominican friar.† More than eighteen years ago he began to doubt about Transubstantiation (which, as your favourite Chrysostom says, is opposed to reason), and then to deny it, and soon began to call in doubt the virginity of Blessed Mary (whom the same Chrysostom says was purer than all the cherubim and

* It is difficult to tell why Schopp or anybody else should have made this manifestly false statement. It must have been well known in Italy that the Oriental heretics, dating from a thousand years earlier, could not be Lutherans, and the notoriety of the public affairs of Germany, of Switzerland, of France, and of England, must have made them well acquainted with the existence of Zuinglians, Calvinists, and Anglicans, as well as of Lutherans.

† The rubbish which now follows is, of course, one of the main grounds for attacking the genuineness of this letter attributed to Schopp. That he should be wrong in his facts as to Bruno's past may be only the weakness of a careless and inaccurate gossip. That he should not be able to give the names of his books may be, as the letter itself suggests, only a fault of memory. But what is to be thought of the farrago of nonsense, showing, it may be observed, not the faintest notion of Giordano's real opinions, and far exceeding in items the eight points upon which only we know that he was condemned, which is here attributed to him, with the remark that the writer knew it all from having heard the sentence read? It has been argued that the letter thereby carries on its very face the stamp of being an ignorant fabrication. There remains, however, the explanation that Schopp heard the Latin document read with only a very imperfect appreciation (either through ignorance or inattention) of its meaning, and that he got these silly notions together afterwards from the conversation of those as ignorant and unscrupulous as himself.

seraphim.) So he went to Geneva, and stayed there two years.* But he could not entirely accept Calvinism, although there is nothing that leads more directly to atheism, and so was expelled thence, and went to Lyons, and thence to Toulouse, and so on to Paris, where he acted as a Professor extraordinary, since he found that the Professors ordinary are obliged to attend the service of the Mass. After this he went to London, where he published a little book upon the *Beast Triumphant*, i.e. the Pope,† whom your people are accustomed to compliment with the title of the Beast. From London he went to Wittenberg, and there, unless I mistake, he lectured publicly for two years. From Wittenberg he went to Prague and there published a book *De immenso et infinito*, another *De innumerabilibus* (if I remember the names right, but I had the books themselves at Prague) and a third *De umbris et idæis*, in which he teaches things that are horrible and at the same time ludicrous, as, for instance, that there are innumerable worlds, that the soul passes from one body into another, and even into another world, that one soul can animate two bodies, that magic is a thing good and lawful, that the Holy Ghost is merely the Soul of the world, and that this is what Moses meant by writing that the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, that the world is eternal, that Moses wrought his miracles by magic, in which he had become more

* This, as already indicated, is not true. He was only there two months.

† This is a pure invention. The *Spaccio de la Bestia trionfante* has nothing whatever to do with the Pope. It is a kind of allegorical treatise on elementary morals. At the same time, it is as well to quote the words of Stiavelli, an enthusiastic disciple of Bruno, whose *Vita di Giordano Bruno narrata al popolo* has just been published in Rome at the price of one franc :—' Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Puritans, all felt the prod of his satirical pen, and all with one voice cried out at his blasphemy. They were all agreed. . . Although all religions, however unwillingly, recognised the fact that they were the *Beast* whom Bruno was attacking, the Catholics felt themselves most in it, because it was commonly said and believed that by the title of the *triumphant Beast* our philosopher had meant to indicate the Pope. We do not believe that this was what Bruno meant, because for him all religions, and not the Catholic religion only, were beasts to get rid of.' (*Vita*, p. 97.)

expert than the other Egyptians, that he [Moses] invented his own laws, that the Bible is a delusion, that the devils will be saved, that no one but the Jews are descended from Adam and Eve, and the rest from the two whom God made the day before,* that Christ was not God, but was a famous sorcerer who deceived men and was therefore justly hanged, that He was not crucified, that the Prophets and Apostles were bad men, sorcerers, most of whom got hanged,—but an account of the monstrosities which he has asserted in his books and words would be endless. To sum it up in one word, he maintained everything which has been asserted either by heathen philosophers or by our own heretics either old or new. From Prague he went on to Brunswick and Helmstadt, and there is said to have lectured for some time. Then he went on to Frankfort, for the purpose of publishing books, and at last came into the hands of the Inquisition at Venice. When he had been there quite long enough, he was sent to Rome, and very often examined before the Holy Office, which is called the Inquisition, and was convicted by the best Theologians. Sometimes he obtained forty days to think things over, sometimes he promised to recant, sometimes he took to defending his own fancies again, sometimes he got them to give him another forty days, but in the end he did nothing but make fools of the Pope and the Inquisition. When, therefore, nearly two† years had expired since he came into the Inquisition here, upon this ninth‡ day of February last passed, in the Palace of the Chief Inquisitor, and in the presence of the most illustrious Cardinals of the Inquisition (who excel the others in age, in experience, and in knowledge of Divinity and of Law), and of their Theological Consultors, and of the Civil Magistrate, the Governor of the City, this Bruno was brought before the Tribunal of the Inquisition, and there upon

* *Ab iis duobus quos Deus pridie fecerat.* What can Schopp (either real or fictitious) have thought that he meant by this?

† This again, it will be observed, is a false invention. The period was seven.

‡ Here is the blunder as to the date. If the reader will turn back to the last minute of the Inquisition, he will see that the day of the delivery of Bruno to the Civil Magistrate was not February 9, but February 8.

his knees heard read the sentence pronounced against him. This sentence gave a sketch of his life, his pursuits, and his doctrines, and related the diligence which the Inquisition had shown to convert him and to advise him as a brother, and the stubbornness and impiety which he had displayed. Hence, therefore, they degraded him [from Holy Orders],* and then forthwith excommunicated him, and delivered him for punishment to the Civil Magistrate, whom they besought to punish him as mercifully as possible and not to shed his blood. To all this he answered nothing, except to say in a threatening tone:—"Perhaps you are more afraid to pass this sentence upon me than I am to receive it." The officials of the Governor thereupon took him to prison, where he was closely confined, in the hope that he would even yet recant his errors; but in vain. To-day, therefore, he was led to the pile. When the image of the Crucified Saviour was put before him in his last moments, he rejected it with a look of contempt and dislike.† And thus he perished miserably in the fire —.' The letter then continues with some discussion of a

* As to this fact there seems to be no doubt, for the Bishop of Sidon is entered as having received a fee of 27 scudi for performing the ceremony, in the account-books of the General [Papal] Administration, April 1, 1599 to July 3, 1600. (Williams' *Heroic Enthusiasts* (p. 34) says that the Bishop only 'demanded two scudi in payment,' but it is as well to be accurate even in details). It has been argued that Bruno must have been burnt, because he was degraded from Orders. It might almost as well be argued that ministers are occasionally burnt in Scotland, because they are occasionally degraded from Orders by the General Assemblies. A notorious case, which may be a parallel to Bruno's, occurred in the Roman Inquisition within the present century. In this case the convict was a Bishop, and was solemnly degraded from every ecclesiastical Order, from the Episcopate downwards. He was then handed over to penal servitude for life. He was released by the Revolutionists of 1848, but, on the re-establishment of the Temporal Power of the Papacy, returned, and voluntarily surrendered himself. He was then allowed to become a menial servant in the prison, but ultimately obtained a ticket-of-leave, and died in obscurity.

† *Cum Salvatoris crucifixi imago ei jam morituro ostenderetur, torvo eam vultu aspernatus rejecit.* Professor Desdouits thinks that this episode is a plagiarism from Grammond's account of the execution of Vanini, who was put to death for atheism, by order of the Parliament of Toulouse, in 1619.

personal character addressed to Ritherhausen, and passes to other matters.

The second piece of evidence in support of the statement of Bruno's execution is an extract from the newsletters (*Avvisi*) from Rome, and appears to have been first discovered by the Marchese Gaetano Ferraioli. By him it was communicated to Berti, who published it in the appendix to a lecture upon Copernicus. A slightly different text was printed by Ademollo, in 1875, in the *Gazzetta d'Italia*. The errors which are to be found in the newspapers of the present day, owing to divers causes, including the nature of the gossip collected by correspondents and the occasional habit of writing beforehand statements and descriptions of events which they consider certain to happen, are well known, and there are probably few who would attach much importance to a newspaper paragraph as opposed to the silence of official documents. Moreover, these particular paragraphs, whose source is sufficiently dubious, vary in different copies and one text (that in the Medicean archives) contains the extraordinary falsehood that Bruno had been *twelve* years in the prison of the Inquisition. The most singular feature, however, of these paragraphs, is that they contain some of the very same errors as does the letter ascribed to Schopp. This is the case, for instance, with regard to the duration of Bruno's residence at Geneva, and the date of the General Congregation of the Inquisition at which he was degraded from Orders. It would therefore seem that the so-called Schopp was fabricated from these notices, or they from Schopp. On the whole, the latter alternative seems the most probable, impossible as it is to conjecture the motives of the forger in either case, unless it were that Bruno was still alive, and that the forger (who might even have been himself * or some of his friends) had some

* As intimated in a former foot-note, if Bruno was not really burnt, it is at least as possible an hypothesis as any other, that he was the author of the forged accounts of his own death. The date of the so-called Schopp letter is quite uncertain—and Schopp was a man to whom it was very safe to attribute it, especially if he was already dead. Those who cannot or do not believe in Bruno's tragic end will have little difficulty in forming a picture of the wily Neapolitan, liberated from the Roman goal upon ticket-

reason, such as the desirability of concealment, for wishing it to be supposed that he was dead. The execution might have attracted less attention, might possibly even have escaped notice. Hardly so, the General Congregation. The degradation of a clerk from Holy Orders is a rite very seldom performed, and, when it is to be done, the *Roman Pontifical* invests it with every circumstance of pomp and publicity which can impress the popular imagination with awe. The rarity and terrible nature of the occasion, the imposing scene presented by the two Courts, Civil and Ecclesiastical, both in public session together, the length and solemnity of the proceedings, the striking and spectacular character of the culminating ceremony; finally, the sight of the convict, guarded by soldiers and police, led through the streets to the common goal,—all these things together seem to make it hardly possible that a professional news-gatherer, writing within the same week, could have been mistaken as to the day upon which the event had taken place. The paragraph which asserts the execution is coupled with and preceded by another, dated a week earlier, which, as far as it goes, tells the other way, as it proves that, whether Giordano Bruno was ultimately burnt or not, he was certainly not burnt upon the day when his execution was expected. The paragraph is as follows:

‘ Saturday, Feb. 12. 1600.

‘ We believed that we were to have seen to-day a very solemn execution (*justitia*) and it is not known why it has not taken place. It was that of a Dominican from Nola, a most stubborn heretic, who was sentenced on Wednesday in the house of Card. Madruccio, as the inventor of divers monstrous opinions, to which he adhered most stubbornly, and still adheres, although theologians go to him every day. They say that this friar was at Geneva for

of-leave after a long course of humbugging the chaplain, evading the surveillance of the Roman police by going into some territory (probably in his native South) where he would be freer to while away his old age in pursuits congenial to the author of the *Candelajo*, and taking precautions, with grim humour, against the possible suspicions of the local authorities as to his identity, by having accounts of his own execution during a former generation scattered in the literary world.

two years,* then went to lecture in the University of Toulouse, and then to Lyons, and thence to England, where they say that his opinions were no way liked, and afterwards he went to Nürnberg, and from thence came into Italy, where he was seized; and they say that in Germany he disputed several times with Card. Bellarmine; and, in short, if God does not help him, he will die obstinate and be burnt alive.'

Then comes the paragraph which asserts the execution. It will be noted that it contains a singular mis-statement as to the nature of Bruno's opinions. The Saints are never mentioned during his trial at Venice, and the Blessed Virgin only once, on which occasion his reply was perfectly orthodox.

'Saturday, Feb. 19.

'The abominable Dominican friar from Nola, written of before, was burnt alive in the Campo di Fiore on Thursday morning. He was a most stubborn heretic, and having, from his own mere whim, constructed divers dogmas against our faith, and in particular against the Most Holy Virgin and the Saints, the wretch willed stubbornly to die in them; and he said that he died a martyr and willingly, and that his soul would go up to Heaven with the smoke—but he knows now whether he spoke the truth.'

The third and last testimony is of a different and far more incisive kind. There existed in Rome in 1600, and does still exist, a Lay Brotherhood named in honour of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist (*San Giovanni Decollato*), who undertake the special duty of comforting and helping prisoners under capital sentence. Fr. Previti mentions that the archives of this Brotherhood contain a notice of the execution of Bruno. He, however, does not give it, from which it may be inferred that he never saw it, for it is of such a character that if he had seen it he would certainly not have omitted it. The present writer, anxious to know what it was, addressed to Mr. H. D. Grissell, at Rome, a request to procure for him, if possible, a copy of it. The gentleman named had the goodness to apply to the Marchese Ricci, the present Head of the Brotherhood in question, and he, with immediate courtesy, forwarded the extract. It

* *Sic!*

appears that in the Index to the Archives of the Brotherhood there is the reference 'Bruni-Giordano. Apostate friar. Burnt alive as a stubborn heretic. Died unrepentant. Anno 1600. Vol. xvi. p. 87.' And in Vol. xvi. at p. 87, is this entry:—

'1600. Thursday. Feb. 16. During the night, notice was given to the Brotherhood that in the morning was to take place the execution of a sufferer. And therefore, at the sixth hour of the night,* the Comforters and Chaplains met at St. Ursula's, and went to the prison of Torre-di-Nona, where they entered the chapel, and offered the accustomed prayers. There was then placed in their care, as condemned and ordered for death, etc., Giordano, son of the late John Bruno, Apostate Friar, of Nola, in the kingdom [of Naples], an unrepentant heretic. The brethren exhorted him with much love, and caused send for two Fathers of St. Dominic, and two of the Holy Name,†, two from the Chiesa Nuova, and one from St. Jerome's, who, with all affection and great learning, showed him his mistake, but he remained to the end in his accursed stubbornness, deluding his own brain and understanding, with a thousand errors and vanities. Thus perverse he was led by the executioner (*ministro di giustizia*) into the Campo di Fiori, where he was stripped naked, bound to a stake, and burnt alive. Our brethren went with him all the way, singing the Litany: and the Comforters entreated him, up to the very last moment, to lay aside his stubbornness, in which he finally finished his wretched and unhappy life.'

It may be admitted at once that this ghastly entry, with its minute and rather business-like details, seems at first sight to leave no room for doubt as to the fact it professes to record. But on a

* Taken by the old Italian reckoning from the ringing of the Evening Angelus, and by the hour of the Angelus in Rome in February, this means midnight. The sense seems to be that at some hour after night had fallen, the members of the Guild received an intimation of the impending execution, but not of the name of the convict, and were directed not to attend at the prison before midnight.

† *Del Gesù*, i. e., Jesuits. They would perhaps have been selected because Bruno was known to have sought the ministry of Jesuits on the only two occasions when he tried to go to confession during his wanderings. The Dominicans, of course, were members of his own Order.

closer examination, the reader finds himself confronted by the fact that it also has a false date. Feb. 16, in 1600, was not a Thursday, as we here find stated, but a Wednesday. This remarkable error seems to show that the entry was not made at the time, but at some subsequent period,* and an whole flood of possible sources of inaccuracy is thus let in upon the record. Once admitted, as this error seems to prove, that this part of the Archives was written up at some subsequent period (perhaps to replace a supposed lost or destroyed original, or merely to make up a complete series of the executions at which the Guild-brethren were believed to have exercised their ministry,) and it is easy to picture the rest, (The writer had somehow got hold, like others, of the notion that Giordano Bruno was burnt, therefore the Guild of St. John *Decollato* must have been there to console and exhort him, therefore they must have offered prayer in the chapel, sung the Litany on the way to the stake, etc., because such was their custom; therefore also he was stripped naked, etc., because such was the custom. Thus the whole thing revolves itself into a make-up. There only remains the detail of the hour. Even as to this, the present writer cannot speak, as he does not know how long before the execution it was the custom to send for the brethren, and this may therefore be only another instance of filling in from knowledge of the ordinary practice. Moreover, he is unable to tell what arguments, palæographical or other, there may be to cast doubt upon this portion of the Archives.

It appears then that all that is really known is that Giordano Bruno was degraded from Holy Orders and handed over to the Civil Magistrate, that he was not burnt on Feb. 12, four days after, when it was expected that he would be so, but that a belief afterwards existed that he was burnt subsequently, on Feb. 17. Was he or was he not?

The question is very difficult. It may be summed up thus:—
Upon the latter theory, Giordano Bruno, after contending

* Is it possible that it may have originated in some calculation backwards, when it was no longer remembered that 1600 had been a Leap-year?

with his judges up to the farthest point where he was able to do so with safety, once more put in practice his own avowed and published principle, and practically said, 'All right. I will recant or profess anything you like, rather than be burnt. Only, for any sake, let me disappear.' And his wishes were complied with. In favour of this hypothesis there is (a) the tremendous antecedent improbability of his having held out.* His whole career, and especially his attitude at Venice, seem to show conclusively that he was a man whom nothing would have induced to face the stake if he could by any possibility help it, even if his so-called principles had so required, which they did not. And such a permission to disappear (say, under a false name in some remote penitentiary) is remarkably in conformity with the patience and extreme desire to avoid proceeding to extremities with him which were displayed by his judges all along. (b) There is the fact, which may be taken as a certainty, recorded in the *Avvisi*, that the execution did not take place upon Feb. 12, when it was expected to do so. (c) There is the complete, absolute silence as to any such execution having ever taken place at all, of all the official documents and records; of all the diplomatic agents who were noting every event for their respective Governments; of all the diarists who were keeping journals of everything that took place, including those who made a special point of executions; and of all the persons in Rome at the time, when the city was crammed on account of the Jubilee, including many who were connected with Giordano Bruno by country, by religious order, or by literary pursuits, or to whom the cruelties of the Inquisition would have offered a ground for remarks to be seized on with passionate eagerness.

On the other theory, Giordano Bruno for some reason or other remained inexorable and was burnt alive on February 17. In favour of this there are (a) a letter printed very many years afterwards in an obscure and disreputable publication in a distant country, bearing the name of a man of tainted reputation who was

* Except, indeed, upon the theory before mentioned that he had (as he thought) secretly arranged for a rescue, and refused to recant in order that he might get brought out of the prison for execution.

possibly dead, and showing almost inexplicable ignorance as to facts otherwise known which it professes to state as by an eye-witness, (b) an anonymous newspaper paragraph, which shows complete ignorance about him as far as it can be checked, and (c) an entry with a blunder as to the date, in the present archives of a Roman charitable association. To these may perhaps be added the entire absence of any contemporary statement that his life was spared after February 17, or of any subsequent notice of him of any kind.

The question, it must again be repeated, is very difficult. It could only be settled by the discovery of some fresh evidence which may have hitherto eluded the most searching investigations of historians and antiquaries. But these investigations have been so long and so thorough that it is very unlikely that any such additional evidence exists. It is improbable therefore that the mystery will ever be cleared up. And if the proposed monument should ever come to be erected in the Campo dei Fiori, it will occupy the singular position of commemorating a problematical hypothesis.

One thing is certain. The organizers of the Giordano Bruno agitation will never be induced to give up their Martyr by anything so trivial as the mere doubts of historical scepticism.

APPENDIX.

As the extract from the archives of the Confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato has never, as far as the writer of the foregoing article is aware, been printed before, he thinks it as well to give the actual words of the original text, preserving the strange orthography and the senseless punctuation :—

In the General Index.

1600.

Giustizia di un Eretico
Impenitente
brucciato vivo.

Bruni Giordano
Frate Apostata
brucciato vivo
per Eretico ostinato
e mori impenitente.
Anno 1600. Vol. 16, p. 87.

In Vol. XVI.

1600. Giovedì 16. febbrajo, alle ore di notte, fu intimato alla Compagnia che la Matina si dovesse fare Giustizia di uno Paziente, e per, alle 6 di notte, adunatisi i Confortatori i Cappellani in S. Orsola ed andati alle Carcere di Torre di Nona, entrati nella Cappella, e fate le solite orazioni, ci fu consegnato —Scritto a morte condannato, etc.—Giordano del q^m Giovanni Bruni, frate Apostata, da Nola (di Regno) Eretico impenitente, il quale esortato dai nostri fratelli con gran carità, e fatti chiamare due Padri di S. Domenico, e due del Gesu, due della Chiesa Nuova, e uno di S. Girolamo, I quali, con ogni affetto, e molta dottrina mostrandoli l'Errore suo, finalmente, stette, sempre nella sua maledetta ostinazione, aggirandosi il cervello, et intelletto, con mille errori, e vanità, ed anzi, imperverso, nella sua ostinazione, che dal Ministro di Giustizia, fu condotto in Campo di fiori, e quivi, spogliato nudo, e legato a un Palo, fu bruciato vivo: accompagnato sempre dalla nostra congregazione cantando le Littanie, e li confortatori sino all'ultimo punto, confortandolo a lasciare la sua ostinazione con la quale finalmente finì la sua misera ed infelice vita.

ART. III.—JAMIESON'S DICTIONARY.

1. *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language.* By JOHN JAMIESON, D.D. A New Edition, carefully Revised and Collated, with the entire Supplement incorporated by JOHN LONGMUIR, A.M., LL.D., and DAVID DONALDSON, F.E.I.S. 4 Volumes. Paisley, 1879-1882.
2. *Supplement to Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, with Memoir and Introduction.* By DAVID DONALDSON, F.E.I.S. Paisley, 1887.

IN the year 1808, Dr. Jamieson, writing of the Scottish Lowlands, said: 'It is surprising that no one has ever attempted to rescue the language of the country from oblivion,

by compiling a Dictionary of it.'* It would appear, however, from the Memoir of Dr. Jamieson which has been republished in the New Supplement to his Dictionary, that at the time Dr. Jamieson wrote, another attempt had been made, not indeed by a Scotsman, but by an English clergyman, the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, vicar of Epsom; and, moreover, that the intention of each was well known to the other, so well, indeed, that their mutual friends had 'advised that the one should buy the other off, and obtain the accumulated materials for the use of his own work.'† But admitting that even this latter statement is correct, it is certainly surprising that down to the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, no more than two writers had ever attempted to compile a Dictionary of the Language of the Scottish Lowlands. And still more surprising does it seem to us, that since Dr. Jamieson's work was published, no attempt has ever been made to compile another to compete with it. We have had Abridgements and a New Edition of Jamieson, but anything like a Dictionary by a different hand, or on different lines, or in any shape or form a rival to it has never appeared. The fact is, Lowland Scotch occupies the unique position of being the only language of a civilized people which has but one Dictionary.

The reasons for this are not far to find, though opinion will in all probability be divided in respect to them. But one thing seems to us to be clear and beyond controversy; and that is, whatever the real reason or reasons may be, it is not that the existing Dictionary does not admit of a competitor. It has doubtless many excellencies, and for the time at which it was compiled is a monument of learning, research, and lexicographical work, as we hope to point out; but, as we must also point out, it has its defects, and is by no means what a Dictionary might and ought to be. The real reason we believe is of a much more serious nature. Not only has there never been a popular demand for a Dictionary of the Scottish Language, Scotsmen have been, and are still, losing, gradually but surely, if indeed many have not already lost, whatever interest they once had either in their native literature or

* *Dictionary*, p. 6.

† *Supplement*, p. 13.

their native tongue, and are doing, unconsciously no doubt, but nevertheless effectually, what they can to efface both their language, literature, and themselves as Scotsmen from the face of the earth. This may seem a bold and strong statement, and to many will doubtless be extremely unpalatable, as plain statements often are; but it is one which we venture to think can be amply made out.

Unquestionably there are Scotsmen who are proud of their name and country, and quite as anxious as they need be to retain their national characteristics. There are others also who, as soon as they find themselves on the southern side of the Tweed, or elsewhere outside the boundaries of Scotland, and even before, have an overmastering desire to pass as full-fledged Englishmen, and when discovered to be what they are, are as much ashamed of the place of their origin as the hero who, after considerable catechising as to the place of his birth, was obliged to own that he was born in a certain town in the West, and hoped to appease his tormentors with the apology: 'But, sure's death, I couldna help it.' These, however, are the weaklings of the race, and are welcome to whatever fine feathers they may gather or assume. But turning away from them, let us see what Scotsmen in general are doing for the preservation of their language and literature.

When Dr. Jamieson wrote the Preface to his Dictionary, there had been a great revival of interest in the literature of Scotland, both on the North and on the South of the Tweed. Seventeen years later, when he issued his supplemental volumes, the interest was still in existence. It was the time of Sir Walter Scott, David Laing, Chalmers, Pinkerton, Robert Jamieson, Dr. Robertson, and Dr. M'Crie. In the meantime, too, a number of works, more or less connected with the history and literature of the country, had begun to appear. At the time, indeed, that is little more than a couple of generations ago, educated people in Scotland were well acquainted with the language of their country, and were not ashamed either to write or speak it. Lowland Scotch was as fashionable in the drawing-rooms of Edinburgh as English was in the drawing-rooms of London. In the country, too, books in broad Scotch were by no means uncommon. Most respectable householders possessed and read them. But since then

the interest which all this indicated has decidedly fallen. English, sometimes of the most hybrid type, has taken the place of Scotch in the drawing-rooms, and to a large extent in the market, and almost as completely in the counting-house as in the drawing-room; while for Scotch books—those, we mean, which are written in Lowland Scotch—except it be the poems of Ramsay, Burns, Tannahill, and Janet Hamilton—there is no demand. A Society, it is true, has recently been established, in imitation of the Early English Text Society, for the publication of Scottish Texts; but the institution of this or a similar Society can scarcely be called a popular movement; nor can it be taken as indicating to any extent what is the popular feeling. The truth is, that in this matter the popular feeling is non-existent.

Nor is any really practical attempt being made by the majority of those whose business it ought to be, to create one. In the schools of England English literature is both read and studied. Excellent series of text-books are in existence, not only of Shakespeare, Spenser and Chaucer, but also containing selections, admirably chosen and edited from writers such as Langland, Gower, Dan Michel, Mannyng of Brunne and Hampole, and the authors of *Cursor Mundi* and *Havelok the Dane*; and to judge from the variety of these text-books and the number of editions they have passed through, there cannot be the slightest doubt that they are extensively used. But in the schools of Scotland Scottish literature is neither studied nor read. If by any chance Anglo-Saxon is studied, it is not for the elucidation of old Scottish writers, but as a preparation for understanding the text-books and writers we have just referred to. Some time ago the Delegates of the Clarendon Press announced for publication a volume of Specimens of Lowland Scottish Literature, but the advertisement has been withdrawn and the book has never appeared, for the reason we suspect that that learned body of publishers, whose services in the cause of education can with difficulty be overrated, were too prudent to embark on so doubtful a venture, or to run the risk of issuing so unsaleable an article. Even in the Universities, where better things might have been expected, the Professors of Literature are professors not of Scottish nor even of Scottish and English Literature, but of English.

Scottish literature is indeed touched upon in their lectures, but it is not made a principal subject. It is dealt with in passing, just as it is in text-books on English Literature. One of the consequences of this is that Scotsmen who have passed through the Universities, and who have some claim to be educated, are not ashamed to confess their inability to read such works as *The Bruce*, *Wallace*, Gavin Douglas' *Palice of Honour*, Bellenden's *Livy*, *The Complaynt of Scotland*, or Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*, or even to own their entire ignorance of them. The existence of such works as *The Craft of Deyng*, *Ratis Raving*, or even of the Scottish *Legends of the Saints*, is known to remarkably few, while of the relation between the language of Hampole, the Yorkshire Hermit, and his contemporary Barbour, the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, still fewer Scotsmen, it is to be feared, have even the faintest idea.

Meanwhile, in the midst of this almost perfect indifference to the language and literature of the country—always a nation's most distinctive and most precious heritages—it is curious to observe what is being done in order to retain for Scotland its national characteristics, and to prevent that complete effacement which is admitted on all hands to be going on. Now and then by the very few who feel profoundly on the subject wise utterances are made—utterances which ought to burn themselves into the heart of the nation; but all such utterances fail to attract anything more than a passing attention. There is no popular response to them, even though they are commented on and supported by the Press. On the other hand, what is being done by those who profess to champion the interests of the country and to all appearance are in possession of the popular ear? An ambitious politician rises in his place in the House of Commons and indignantly inquires whether 'England' has been inserted in a certain treaty instead of 'Great Britain,' or a popular lecturer gathers around him a crowd and denounces the substitution of the word 'England' for the word 'Scotland.' That is all. But suppose that the name Scotland is retained, and we have not the least desire that it should not be retained; or suppose even that some form of Home Rule be granted during the next session or so of Parliament, if the rising generation continue to be

taught to regard the use or knowledge of their mother tongue as a piece of vulgarity, and no persistent and well-directed effort is made to prevent them from growing up in almost absolute ignorance both of the literature and the history * of their country, what will the most elaborate scheme of Home Rule, or any other merely institutional re-arrangement avail to prevent those who may immediately follow them from being Scotsmen merely in name? Really, if the matter were less serious, the efforts of our fussy politicians and professional champions would be ridiculous. A nation is not saved from absorption into a richer and more powerful neighbour by merely stickling for a name, though after all, Juliet notwithstanding, there is something in a name, nor even by the readjustment of its secondary or subordinate political or local institutions; but by the preservation of its own individuality of thought and language, and by constant recurrence to their ancient sources. We do not mean, of course, that Scottish literature ought to be studied to the exclusion of all other. That would be the merest folly, as well as a fruitful source of narrowness and fierceness about opinions. What we do mean, and what we contend for, is, that for Scotsmen their own literature and their own language ought to be a principal subject of study, and that ignorance of them ought to be regarded as an unpardonable defect.

We have been led into these remarks partly by what seems to us to be the present state of public feeling, and partly because they are germane to the matter we have in hand. Before passing to it, however, we may perhaps be allowed to refer to another topic, equally kindred. A proposal has been recently mooted for the compilation of a Scottish Dictionary after the plan of Dr. Murray's *Historical Dictionary of the English Language*. Such a work is devoutly to be desired, but unless it be as complete and exhaustive as Dr. Murray's promises to be, it will be little less than a national failure. But where in Scotland shall we find

* In a letter to the present writer a learned and acute student of Scottish history, well acquainted with his countrymen both at home and abroad remarks: 'One thing I have particularly noticed about the Scottish people is crass ignorance of their own history, to a point which is quite astonishing.'

anything like Dr. Murray's hundreds of readers? When the number of readers required for such a work is considered, the announcements that in one year some three readers have been found, and that in another four more have offered themselves, sound almost ludicrous. Certainly they are by no means promising, and seem to suggest that the compilation of the work will be deferred to the Greek Kalends. And besides, where in Scotland shall we find a Clarendon Press to undertake the risk of publication? Which of our Universities has anything like sufficient funds, or which of them ever undertook the publication of a single work? At present the very utmost they seem capable of doing is to prepare youths for Oxford and Cambridge, or the Universities of Germany. Places for the development of literature and learning they do not seem to be. When these things are considered together with the state of public feeling in the matter, the idea of producing a Scottish Dictionary in any degree comparable with the monumental work of which Dr. Murray is the Editor, appears to be little better than utopian.

Of the nature of Dr. Jamieson's work, or of the greatness and value of his Dictionary, it is almost needless to speak. Its Editor very justly remarks that, 'when first issued it was greeted with immense enthusiasm, and was accorded the highest praise. The vast learning and research, the extensive and multifarious reading, and the exact discrimination between meanings which it displayed, at once attested the greatness of the author's ability and the excellence of his work,' (*Supplement*, p. vi.) And this high esteem, it has in a large measure since retained. At the time of its publication, indeed, it was without an equal; and we doubt whether even now there is any work of a similar nature which is at all entitled to be claimed as its rival in what may be called general interest. As a mere register of words and their meanings, it is all that Jamieson, or any other man of the time, working single-handed and with other employments to attend to, could make it. Glossaries were then few and very imperfect. Those who compiled them, as Dr. Jamieson observes, generally explained the terms which almost every reader understood, and quite overlooked those that were more ancient and obscure. Even Ruddiman's

Glossary to Gavin Douglas's *Virgil's Æneis*,* which is excepted from the foregoing censure, though certainly meritorious, is by no means without its defects, as is testified by the very numerous additions made on the margins of the copy before us in the handwriting of Dr. Jamieson himself. When Jamieson began, the work of Dictionary-making had, in fact, in connection with the Scottish Language, to be commenced *de novo*, and as the story of the inception of a great work is always interesting, notwithstanding that it has frequently been cited, we shall be pardoned if we transcribe it to the present pages.

'The first idea of it,' says his unknown biographer, 'arose accidentally from the conversation of one of the many distinguished persons whom he met at Mr. Dempster's residence; Dunnichen being long the frequent rendezvous of not merely the most eminent men of Scotland, but of such learned foreigners as from time to time visited the country. This was the learned Grim Thorkelin, Professor of Antiquities in Copenhagen. Up to this period Dr. Jamieson had held the common opinion, that the Scottish is not a language, and nothing more than a corrupt dialect of the English, or at least of the Anglo-Saxon. The learned Danish Professor first undeceived him—though full conviction came tardily—and proved to his satisfaction that there are many words in our national tongue which never passed through the channel of the Anglo-Saxon, nor were even spoken in England. Before leaving Dunnichen, Thorkelin requested the Doctor to note down for him all the singular words used in that part of the country, no matter how vulgar he himself might consider them; and to give the received meaning of each. Jamieson laughed at the request, saying: "What would you do, Sir, with our vulgar words; they are merely corruptions of English?" Thorkelin, who spoke English fluently, replied with considerable warmth, "If that great *fantast*, Johnson, had said so, I would have forgiven *him*, because of his ignorance or prejudice; but I cannot make the same excuse for you,

* The title-page to this work is interesting and worth transcribing. It is as follows, though the page itself must be seen in order to thoroughly enjoy it:—Virgil's Æneis, | Translated into Scottish Verse, | by the, | Famous Gavin Douglas | Bishop of Dunkeld. | A new Edition | wherein | The many Errors of the Former are corrected, and the De- | fects supply'd, | from an excellent Manuscript. | To which is added | A Large Glossary, | Explaining the Difficult Words: Which may Serve for a Dictionary | to the Old Scottish Language. | And to the whole is prefix'd | An Exact Account of the Author's | Life and Writings from the best | Histories and Records. | Edinburgh, | Printed by Mr. Andrew Symson, and Mr. Robert | Freebairn, and sold at their Shops. MDCCX.

when you speak in this contemptuous manner of the language of your country, which is in fact more ancient than the English. I have now spent four months in Angus and Sutherland, and I have met with between three and four hundred words purely Gothic, that were never used in Anglo-Saxon. You will admit that I am pretty well acquainted with Gothic. I am a Goth ; a native of Iceland, the inhabitants of which are an unmixed race, who speak the same language which their ancestors brought from Norway a thousand years ago. All or most of these words which I have noted down, are familiar to me in my native island. If you do not find out the sense of some of the terms which strike you as singular, send them to me ; and I am pretty certain I shall be able to explain them to you." Jamieson, to oblige the learned stranger, forthwith purchased a two-penny paper book, and began to write down all the remarkable or uncouth words of the district. From such small beginnings, made more than twenty years before any part of the work was published, arose the four large quarto volumes of his Dictionary and Supplement, the revolution in his opinion as to the origin of the Scottish language, and that theory of its origin which he has maintained in the learned Dissertations which accompany the Dictionary,' (*Supplement*, pp. 11 and 12).

Opinion may be divided as to the value of the theory with which Thorkelin possessed Jamieson ; in the present, indeed, it is pretty generally set against it ; but there can be no doubt that Scotland, and, in fact, the whole Republic of Letters owes to him a debt of gratitude for the incentive he gave to Jamieson, as well as to the latter for the zeal and ability with which he followed it out.

Jamieson, however, is something more than a mere register of words and their meanings. It is a marvellously rich repository of information respecting almost everything connected with the Scottish people—their antiquities, folk-lore, institutions, manners, and customs, all of which are illustrated with a remarkable wealth of learning. As an etymologist, Jamieson was perverted by Thorkelin, but whenever he takes in hand to explain some ancient custom, his genuine antiquarian instinct seldom fails him. He has the knack too of hitting upon the right passages for quotation, and is never sparing of them. Now and then he goes wrong, very often in consequence of his false etymologies, or because of a too implicit trust in his authorities. Perhaps one of the most striking instances of this is the long article on *beltane*. In support of his contention that the word is connected with *Baal*

and that *baltein* signifies the *fire of Baul*, he travels all over the world in quest of information. Many volumes of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Bellenden, Pennant, Strabo, Plutarch, Ovid, as well as Irish and Icelandic authors, are all made to contribute. His etymology has since been shown to be wrong, *beltane* having nothing to do with Baal, and neither 'bayle fires' nor *baltein* * having any connection with the worship of the Phœnician god; but one cannot help admiring the industry the article exhibits, and no one can read it without being interested or without acquiring from it a considerable amount of information. As an Etymologist, in fact, Jamieson, as we have already remarked, is not always to be trusted, the unfortunate twist given to him by Thorkelin often sending him off in a wrong direction. But when one learns to distrust his etymologies, and begins to read his Dictionary simply for the facts it contains, and apart from his philological theory, its value soon becomes apparent. There are few works—the present writer is acquainted with none—from which more may be learned about the inner life, the language and literature, and the social and domestic habits of the Scottish people, and from which it may be learned as easily. Such articles, for instance, as those under *Abbot of unreason*, *airt*, *arage*, *arles*, *assoilyie*, *banerer*, *bedeman*, *black-book*, *blink*, *brogh*, *bull's head*, *capercailye*, *cat*, *clag*, *clam*† *constable*,

* See Dr. Murray's *Historical Dictionary of the English Language*. In the article on *Beltane* Dr. Murray somewhat brusquely remarks: 'The rubbish about *Baal*, *Bel*, *Belus* imported into the word from the Old Testament and classical antiquity, is outside the scope of scientific etymology.' In Dr. Jamieson's day, however, anything like scientific etymology did not exist. It is one of the latest growths of the present century.

† But Jamieson has here gone wrong, and his Editor has not put him right, on the matter of the scallop-shells worn by pilgrims. The scallop-shell was the sign of the Compostella pilgrimage, just as the ampul was the sign of the Canterbury, and a badge with the effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, the cross keys and the vernicle, was the sign of the Roman pilgrimage, and was the token that those who wore it had performed a pilgrimage to that famous shrine or professed to have done so. The other sign of St. James was a staff; the legend of which has been told in the Scottish version of the *Legends of the Saints*, and in the *Legenda Aurea*. The legend of the scallop-shell or clam is as follows:

dalt, dede and its compounds, *dreaming-bread, farefolkis, Hal-loueen, keltie, kirk, maiden, mail, nicknevin, pas, pit and gallows, rountree, skul, sow, tappe-tousie, wraith, yule* and others are singularly replete with information, sometimes of the most curious and recondite kind. We do not mean to say that they are all what they might be; nor should we like to pledge ourselves that they are in every particular correct. Most readers will nowadays probably regard them as a little too diffuse; but theories apart we must own that they have always appeared to us eminently entertaining and instructive. Take, for example, the article under *farefolkis*. The explanation of the origin of the word *fairy** is

'When the body of the Saint was being miraculously conveyed in a ship without sails or oars, from Joppa to Galicia, it passed the village of Bonzas, on the coast of Portugal, on the day that a marriage had been celebrated there. The bridegroom with his friends were amusing themselves on horse-back on the sands, when his horse became unmanageable and plunged into the sea; whereupon the miraculous ship stopped in its voyage, and presently the bridegroom emerged, horse and man, close beside it. A conversation ensued between the knight and the Saint's disciples on board in which they apprized him that it was the Saint who had saved him from a watery grave, and explained the Christian religion to him. He believed and was baptized there and then. And immediately the ship resumed its voyage, and the knight came galloping back over the sea to rejoin his astonished friends. He told them all that had happened, and they too were converted, and the knight baptized his bride with his own hand. Now when the knight emerged from the sea, both his dress and the trappings of his horse were covered with scallop-shells; and therefore the Galicians took the scallop-shell as the sign of St. James.' *Cutt's Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, p. 169.

* The word comes from the Lat. *fatum* through the O. Fr. *fae*, a fairy, and *faerie*, enchantment; but Jamieson, while admitting that it is highly probable that the word has found its way into the language through the French, will have it that its origin is Gothic. He is unable to find a word to which to fit it, but maintains that 'it is not improbable that there may have been a Gothic word of this form, though now obsolete, corresponding to *Nornir* and *Valkyrior*, the modern names of the *Parce*, used in like manner as a designation for these imaginary beings.' The contention is ingenious, but shows to what extent its author was led astray by Thorkelin's four months study of Lowland Scotch. Some of Jamieson's arguments are extremely curious, and it is often amusing to watch him hovering about the right point but trying to persuade himself that it is wrong; and all because of Thorkelin.

wrong, owing to the Thorkelin twist, but the facts gathered together in the article to illustrate the belief in fairies form a brief but sufficient chapter on that now defunct but still interesting superstition. Or take the articles under *dede* and its compounds, *dede-bell*, *dede-candle*, *dede-chach*, *dede-deal*, *dede-dole*, *dede-drap*, *dede-knack*, *dede-light*, *dede-spale*, *dede-swap*, *dede-thraw*. Here is a series of brief articles, which though gruesome reading, illustrate in a remarkably lucid manner the extent to which the minds of men were formerly dominated by the idea of death. Such as those, again, under *pennie-brydal*, *manage*, *croishtarich*, *fire croce*, *fleming-lauche*, *jougs*, *branks*, *hoif*, *husband*, *udal*, *widder-sinnis*, *stent*, *stang* etc., are valuable for the light they throw on many an ancient, and not a few still existing religious, social, domestic, and legal customs.

At the same time excellent as *Jamieson* is, it must be owned, more especially when compared with the examples of lexicographical work with which during recent years we have been made familiar, that it has many and serious defects. We have no intention of recording them, for the simple reason that we prefer to think of the good *Jamieson* did rather than the errors he propagated, or of the good he left unachieved. And besides, whatever the defects of his work, they are more than counter-balanced by the excellent work he performed. Still there is no reason why we should shut our eyes to them. The defects of a master are often as instructive as his strongest points. The Dissertation we for the present pass over as we may have occasion to return to it again. But here we may note the almost entire absence of method, except so much as is implied in the arrangement of the words in alphabetical order, an order which is not always scrupulously adhered to. Then there is no attempt whatever at historical treatment. Even the quotations are not always arranged in their chronological order. Then, again, there is the frequent absence of cross-references, and it is often only after a good deal of searching that one is lucky enough to find the word one is in quest of in some other than its proper place. In the articles dealing with verbs only the present or past tense or infinitive is given, and one has to hunt about for their different parts. Of course, the reader may find

them if he knows what they are ; but if he does not, he has to search about until he does. These are faults which might easily have been remedied, and it is somewhat singular that Jamieson did not observe and correct them. For one fault he is certainly not to blame, and that is the absence of a very considerable number of words. Many of them are used only in localities with which he was not acquainted, and others of them occur in books which in his day had not been printed, or, as in the case of the *Legends of the Saints* attributed to Barbour, were not known to exist. The marvel is, indeed, that, working almost unaided and distracted by other avocations, he was able to register as many as he did. Had he been in possession of the works which his Editor was in a position to summon to his aid, he would have been saved much labour, and there is no doubt would have left behind a work very different from what he did. But even that entitles him to be regarded as one of Scotland's greatest men of letters, and has certainly earned for him the warmest admiration of all who are capable of appreciating its value and the difficulties amid which it was completed.

For the work of revising and editing *Jamieson*, Mr. Donaldson has enjoyed many advantages, more especially when dealing with his fourth volume, and the *Supplement*. In Jamieson's day, as we have already remarked, the science of Etymology was in its infancy, and has since made rapid strides. In the meantime, too, many excellent glossaries have been compiled. Mr. Donaldson has had in his hands the Dictionaries of Stratmann, Wedgewood, Skeat, Wright, and Grein, and has been able to call in to his aid the many, and for his purpose invaluable, publications of the Early English and Scottish Text Societies, together with such German works as Kölbing's *Sir Tristan*, and a variety of other publications, as his list of authorities testifies, though of course during the revision of the first three volumes of the Dictionary a number of these works were not in existence. And, as might have been expected, the New Edition of the Dictionary (for the present we say nothing of the *Supplement*, as we shall have to return to it further on) exhibits signs of marked improvement. The number of words registered has been very largely increased. Good use has been made of

Edmonstone's *Glossary of the Orkney and Shetland Dialect*, of Gregor's *Glossary of the Dialect of Banffshire*, Dr. Skeat's *Glossary to The Bruce*, and a number of others. In Clydesdale words, the dialect with which the Editor appears to be best acquainted, the New Edition is particularly rich. The number of variants, too, is larger; and altogether, considered merely as a register of the vocables of the Scottish language and their meanings, Mr. Donaldson's Edition may be said to come much nearer to completeness than the original work, though, as we shall have to point out further on, both the New Edition and its *Supplement* still fall short in this respect of what they might and ought to have been. In the matter of arrangement the New Edition is vastly the superior. The old *Supplement* has been incorporated in the Dictionary. The alphabetical list has been more strictly adhered to, and the words registered under I and J, I and Y, V, U and W, in the original work have been separated and arranged under their initial letters. Other improvements also may be noted, but these are sufficient to make the New Edition a decided gain, and to increase immensely its utility.

On the other hand, it is only right that we should point out what appear to us to be its shortcomings. We must own that we do this with a very considerable amount of reluctance, but as it is our bounden duty, we are under the necessity of bracing ourselves to it. In our opinion, then, the Editor has dealt much too tenderly with the work he undertook to carefully revise and edit, and so far as the greater part of the work is concerned, the words 'carefully revised' might have been omitted from the title-page. A few attempts have been made to correct the etymologies, but these are by no means so numerous as they ought to have been, while several of the defects which we have pointed out as existing in the original work, have been left untouched. One has still to hunt after the different parts of a verb, and for the comparative and superlative degrees of an adjective, and often unfortunately without success. Numerous variants are wanting, or if given, are not registered under the ordinary form. Dr. Jamieson's definitions are, as a rule, remarkably accurate, but some of them stood in need of revision, but have not received it. *Cude*, for instance, is defined by Dr. Jamieson as 'a chrisom, or face-cloth

for a child at baptism, according to the Romish rite.' Here, if 'chrisom' is to be taken as a definition, we have a couple of errors which the Editor passes by without note or comment. A cude is not a chrisom but a chrisom-cloth. Chrisom is the holy chrisom with which a child is at baptism anointed. Hence Cotgrave has 'the crisme or oyle wherewith a baptized child is anointed;' and in the story of *Genesis and Exodus* we have—

' Cristene folc haveth laiges,
He ben smered thor quhiles he liuen,
With *crisme* and olie, in trowthe geuen,' l. 2456.

A chrisom-cloth, again, is not a 'face-cloth.' St. Ailred calls it, in his *Life of St. Ninian*, cap. i., a 'vestis nuptialis;' and it is correctly described both as to its character and significance in the following passage from Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*: 'Last of al the barne that is baptized, is cled with ane quhite lynning claith callit ane *cude*, quhilk betakins that he is cleue weschin frae al his synnes, that he is brocht to the libertie of the haly spreit, that he suld lyve ane innocent lyfe al the days of his lyfe, aye quhile he cum to the judgment seit of our Saviour'—a passage which doubtless accounts for the practice universally prevalent in the present, of clothing children in white for their baptism. An *arval*, *arvel*, or *aruell* feast is defined by Dr. Jamieson as a funeral feast, and his editor, we observe, gives the same definition in his *Supplement*; but as a matter of fact an *arvel* was not a funeral, but an heir or succession feast—a feast which a man's heirs gave on succeeding to their inheritance, and at which they drank themselves into their father's estate.* A *wimple*, *wympill*, or *wempill* is defined as 'a winding or fold,' 'a wile, a piece of craft,' 'a winding in a road,' but the fact that it is also a kerchief, or shawl, used by women for covering the head or neck, or the whole of the upper part of the body is not mentioned. Nor have we any hint that a *wempil* is or was identical with a *curch*, *courchie*, or *querch*. This last form—*querch*—occurs neither in *Jamieson* nor in the Editor's *Supplement*. Under *courchie* Jamieson has a note, which, so far as it goes, is excellent, but one or two

* Cf. Sir Geo. Dasent's *Burnt Njal*, I. pp. lxxxviii, and cxv.

curious facts might have been added to it. For instance, as a contrast to the Act of Parliament directing men to see that their wives and daughters wore 'on thair heidis schort courchis with lytil hudis, as ar vsit in Flanders, England, and vther cuntries,' a slightly earlier Act might have been cited, ordaining that 'na woman cum to kirk nor mercat with her face muffalled, or covered, that sche may not be kend, under the pane of eschiet of the courchie.' Ordinances of a similar nature might have been cited from the Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen; and as throwing still more light on the ecclesiastical and social customs of the past, the fact might have been referred to that, in 1643, the Kirk-Session of Monifieth gave the 'bedall 5s. to buy ane pynt of tar to put upon the women that held the plaid above their head in church.* In the Midland Counties of England, or at least in Derbyshire, one may often see a board fixed to a pole on a piece of waste land with the words printed on it, 'Rammel may be shot here.' In Glasgow and elsewhere the words, 'A Free Coup' are used. But strange to say, when we turn to the Revised Edition of *Jamieson* for the word *coup*, though defined both as a verb and a substantive, its meaning as a place where rubbish may be deposited, one of its most frequent meanings, is nowhere given. This is the most singular oversight on the part of the Editor we have seen. † Other instances might be referred to, but these can be dealt with more conveniently later on.

And now turning to the *Supplement*, we may say at once that we have read it with mixed feelings—with feelings of pleasure and gratitude, but also with those of disappointment. There is work in it which is of no mean quality, and sufficiently excellent to show that if the Editor had chosen to keep the whole of his work upon the *Dictionary* up to the same high level, he might have substituted his own name for that of Dr. Jamieson's in connection with the language. Unfortunately, however, the workmanship of the *Supplement* is uneven, and marked by some of

* Dr. Edgar's *Old Church Life*, I. p. 113.

† Since this was written we have come across the word correctly defined in the *Supplement*; but the fact that we have made the oversight illustrates what we say further on.

the defects we have had occasion to refer to in connection with the original work. For our own part, we can scarcely reconcile ourselves to the necessity for a Supplement at all, and can only account for it by the fact that Mr. Donaldson did not enter the field until after the arrangements for the issue of the New Edition had been completed; but even that is rendered less imperative by the statement contained in the Preface, that 'by far the larger portion of the work consists of materials collected during a long and varied course of reading extending over many years.' But if a Supplement was unavoidable and necessary, we might at least have been spared a Supplement to the Supplement. *Jamieson* was bad enough, but here, as if that were not sufficient with its Dictionary and Supplement, we have now Dictionary, Supplement, and Addenda. This is, to say the least, inconvenient and troublesome, and likely to lead to confusion and waste of time. Again, at the beginning of the fourth volume of the *Dictionary* (New Edition), we are promised an Essay on the Scottish Language in the supplemental volume, but in its place all we have is an Introduction of scarcely six pages, of which but two short paragraphs are devoted to the language. Of the once famous Dissertation on the origin of the Scottish Language, in which Dr. Jamieson sought to trace the language up to its source, and to prove the truth of Thorkelin's theory, it is said, 'it can now be considered only a notable feat of literary card-building: more remarkable for the skill and ingenuity of its construction than for its architectural correctness, strength and durability, or practical usefulness.' This is true; but then, in a work passing under Dr. Jamieson's name, it would have been none the less fitting to have educed at least a few substantial reasons for the statement, and more in keeping with the character and aim of his work to have given a detailed account of what is now known to have been the origin of the Scottish Language, and some particulars respecting its structure and history. In short, Mr. Donaldson seems to us to have allowed a golden opportunity to pass unused. Very little is generally known on the subject, not much has been written about it, and with his wide reading and necessarily accurate knowledge of the language, he might have done a piece of very serviceable and very acceptable work.

There is one class of entries in the *Supplement* which we must own our inability to account for satisfactorily. They are such as the following: 'Jamieson left this word undefined, but suggested a meaning which is unsuitable' (96 a.); 'Jamieson's statement regarding this word is a mistake' (96 b.); 'In both entries the meaning has been missed' (97 b.); 'Jamieson's suggestion regarding the meaning of this term does not suit the passage quoted' (105 b.); 'Not defined by Jamieson' (122 a.); 'Del. Jamieson's note' (122 b.); 'Jamieson's etym. is wrong' (145 a.); 'Jamieson's definition of this term is misleading' (177 a.); 'The meaning which Jamieson suggested for these forms is a mistake; so also is the etymology' (211 a.); and even in the *Addenda* we have: 'Under this heading in the Dict., delete the definition' (308 a.) Entries such as these may be found on almost every page. Our difficulty is not with their correctness—for on examination they prove to be necessary—but to account for their existence in a supplement to a revised work. It seems to us that the proper place for making the corrections they indicate was, if at all possible, in the Dictionary, and that they ought to have been made silently while the work of revision was in hand. But it may be that this was not possible, and was due to some cause over which the Editor had no control.

In most respects the plan laid down by Jamieson has been faithfully followed in the *Supplement*, but in one important respect it has not invariably. Not the least characteristic, and certainly one of the most interesting features of Dr. Jamieson's work is its abundance of quotations. We have heard of people who prize it chiefly on account of them. But in compiling the *Supplement* its author has been somewhat sparing of them. Here and there we meet with a number of references, but not a single quotation whereby to test the accuracy of the definition, or to fix it in one's memory; and on the other hand, many words are registered with nothing at all in the shape of a reference or illustrative extract. Some of the definitions are defective. *Fluthery* is defined as 'flabby, soft, not firm, boggy, marshy.' It has also the meaning of excited. *Nose-on-the-grundstane* is a simile not only 'expressive of the hard grinding of poverty, of the result of improvidence, and of a lazy person compelled to

work,' it is also used of persons who are not lazy, but diligent, and is expressive of the fact that their application is inconveniently incessant. *I-hote* is wrongly entered as *hote*, and the same reference (Douglas, L., 17, 27.) is given under two words of widely different meaning. Besides meaning to mitigate, restrain, calm, *mese*, *meis* or *mes*, means to put out, quench, as in the following passage :

' Quhen the fyr was all one hycht,
Withine and out was brynnand brycht,
The young man hynt deliuerly
A wattir crowat stud hyme by,
And kist wpwart agane the blea,
And swyth the gret fyr can he mes.'

It is very doubtful, too, whether, as is asserted in the *Supplement*, *mais* or *maise* is the more common form of the word. To the entry under *mydlit*, *myddillit*, mixed, the meaning 'interfered' might have been added. For *peakie*, the meaning ought to have been widened out into 'complaining' not from poverty alone, as in the *Supplement*, but from any cause or from no cause. The word is often used to denote a murmuring, discontented, complaining disposition. The meaning of *sannie*, again, is not exhausted by saying that it is 'an abbreviation for Alexander, and a ludicrous and familiar name for the devil;' it is also used to designate a soft, foolish fellow, and is pretty nearly equivalent to the English word *zany*. Under *an*, *at* is spoken of as a contraction for *that*, but surely this is a slip of the pen; for *at* in Scotch, as a relative pronoun, can claim a position equal to *that* and is in fact its twin, if not its elder brother. The meaning given to *arled* is quite misleading. It is formed from *arles*, the coin which one who hires a servant gives to the person he hires in token that they have come to terms, and that their agreement is settled; neither the one nor the other regards the coin, shilling, half-crown, or whatever it may be, as part of the payment, but simply as a sign that they have concluded a bargain or arrangement. And hence the word does not mean 'secured by part payment or part possession,' but simply engaged. *Batter*, again, while meaning a 'spree' means also in Clydesdale a plaister, and in the plural is employed by children in at least one locality to denote the cover of a book.

From the definition of *brander* the meaning 'to roast on the fire' has been omitted; so again to tell or divulge a secret has been omitted from the additional meanings given for *cheep* or *chepe*. *Ease*, *eis*, *eiss*, and *ess*, are given, but not *es*, nor *hes*, nor yet *unhes*. 'To tempt to evil' is not registered among the meanings of *fand*, though its use in this sense is frequent. *Fere*, again, is often used in the sense of brother, but is not entered in this sense; and to mention but two more the meaning 'out of' is omitted from the definitions of *of*, and 'when' from those of *fra*.

The omissions we have noticed both in the *Dictionary*, the *Supplement* and the *Addenda* are numerous. We cannot pretend to have read all the books contained in the admirable list of authorities given in the first part of the *Supplement*, but we have read or partly read one or two of them. Here is a list of words or of words and variants, with their meanings, which we have failed to find in any section of the work, set down just as we have met with them—*Kene*, teach; *nemot*, an ant; *almus*, alms; *heiaſt*, highest; *dedeſne*, disdain; *sithare*, *ſythtar*, *sithware*, moment; *beſily*, busily; *ground-wall*, foundation, stay, support, *ſaveoure*, savour; *manauce*, menace; *thratene*, threaten; *querch*, female head-covering (velum); *evelinge*, equal; *willand*, wandering; *vevar*, pond; *med*, reward; *dressit*, prepared; *gylry*, guile; *reme*, realm; *hyit*, hastened; *Criſtine*, Christian; *vmlappit*, surrounded; *ſchane*, shone; *ſtrinthis*, strength; *miſſat*, grieved; *wauerand*, wandering; *ſey-grond*, deep sea; *ſchipe-brokine*, shipwrecked; *wrak*, pain; *lyſing*, falsehood; *rekyne*, reckoning; *ſeſchlyk*, fleshly; *ſeſchias*, flesh, *rywit*, arrived; *diſceſit*, distressed; *wechyt*, bewitched; *crowat*, (ampula) jar, pail; *ſchocht*, sought; *ſanit*, signed with the cross; *enerthand*, adherent; *gebat*, cross, *bet*, kindle; *ſchurgis*, scourges; *ennowrnyt*, adorned; *thriſſmen*, bondmen; *ſtrekyt*, stroked; *wastine*, a waste place; *loſit*, destroyed; *leſtely*, lastingly; *leſtand*, lasting; *warlaw*, the devil; *lynt*, linen; *warice*, cure; *ſay*, preach; *flat*, sent; *file*, pollute; *thankfully*, acceptably; *ſtabelaste*, reared; *forferlyt*, fascinated; *mere*, tie up; *arane*, intercourse, conversation; *rewit*, bereft; *tate*, unbroken in; *fane*, *fone*, ceased; *hatine*, called; *harmys*, signs of grief; *falow*, to decay; *lyne*, to string (a bow); *yape*, cunning; *eyrne*, eagle; *fyne*, end; *quem*, quiet, pleased;

barnysce, children; *fleit*, scared; *for*, in spite of; *word*, fame. We miss also the following golfing terms:—*toe*, *mashie*, *niblick*, *spoon*, *foozle*, *sclaff*, *iron*; but our list is long enough. It is sufficiently long to show that, notwithstanding the research and diligence brought to bear on the revision of the *Dictionary* and the compilation of the *Supplement*, a rich harvest of words and variants may still be gathered from the numerous volumes cited as authorities, and to prove that the work Jamieson took in hand is not nearly completed.

But having pointed out what seem to us to be the defects of the *Supplement*, let us turn to the much more agreeable task of recording our appreciation for what is good and commendable in it. Notwithstanding all we have said, we have not the slightest hesitation in saying that the volume, in spite of its shortcomings, is a very valuable contribution to the lexicography of the Scottish Language. There is much in it which deserves the warmest praise. So far as the etymology is concerned, and we mention this first because *Jamieson* professes to be first and chiefly an 'Etymological Dictionary,' the *Supplement* is decidedly superior both to the original work and the New Edition. Fortunately for himself and his *Supplement*, Mr. Donaldson, unlike Dr. Jamieson, has not been overshadowed by any one exercising an influence like Thorkelin's. The philologists by whom he has been guided belong to a sounder school; and here and there on his pages may be traced the sure hand of such scholars as Dr. Dickson and Dr. Skeat. The notes, indeed, which bear the signature of Dr. Skeat, are numerous, and among the best in the book. One of the suggestions he makes we are happy in being able to confirm. In the lines:

'Be thou atteichit with thift or with tressoun,
For thy misdeid wrangous and wickit *fay*,'

he suggests that the meaning of the last word is faith. Such, we believe, is actually the case. The word is used with precisely this meaning in the following lines:—

'And Peter brought to Christis *fay*
Thre thousand men on Witsunday.'

The derivation given in the *Supplement*—Fr. *fait*, Lat. *factum*—must therefore be wrong; and the only satisfactory one must be that suggested by Dr. Skeat, viz., Fr. *foi*, Anglo-Fr. *fei*, *fey*.

The antiquarian and historical articles which Mr. Donaldson has written for his *Supplement*, are in some respects superior to anything of the kind in the *Dictionary*. We miss, it may be, the liberal quotations and the signs of varied and extensive readings so characteristic of Dr. Jamieson's articles, but, on the other hand, those in the *Supplement* are more like what we have come to think a Dictionary article ought to be. They are briefer, more decided, more direct, and owing to the absence of the Thorkelin influence and the possession of surer principles of etymology, more correct and convincing. Such articles as those under *maor*, *meind*, *mort-bell*, *noll*, *nonshanks*, *bent siluer*, *cane*, *cherite*, *cremar*, *cunnar*, *maldy*, *ounceland*, *peace of a fair*, *plook*, *salmon-tail*, *wattle*, *gait dichting*, are full of curious information which throws additional light on the ways and institutions of the past. The article under *cunnar*, for instance, deals with the ancient customs in respect to the making, testing, and selling of ale, and is abundantly illustrated from the Records of the Burgh of Prestwick and other sources, though we see no reference to the fact that formerly what is now called the 'national drink' of the country was not whiskey, but the less potent beverage prepared by browsters, who were generally, strange to say, women. The words *baxter* and *girdle* are fairly well treated in the Dictionary, but the sources whence he derives his interesting particulars respecting *cunnaris* and their functions, might have been used by Mr. Donaldson to supply some useful additions under each of these words. In like manner, Mr. Toulmin Smith's comparatively recent publication on Guilds, might have been used for the correction and improvement of the article in the original work on Guilds either there or here in the *Supplement*. The entry under *salmon-tail* is the longest Mr. Donaldson has written. It is also the most curious and interesting. Few persons in the present know anything of the famous *law of salmon tails*, but those who take the trouble to consult Mr. Donaldson's *Supplement* will find that once upon a time salmon tails were the subject of very bitter and loud com-

plaints, and that in connection with them the city of Glasgow passed through some very serious and critical times. There is one feature in the *Supplement* to which, though we cannot accord to it unqualified praise, we must refer before concluding. In dealing with many of the verbs, Mr. Donaldson has not only given the present tense or infinitive, he has also registered some of their other forms. This is a decided gain. And one remark more we must make. Very modestly Mr. Donaldson states in his Introduction that a large portion of the words he has registered and defined in the *Supplement* consists of words previously recorded, but explained only in separate glossaries or scattered explanatory notes; but to know where these are, and to distinguish and make use of them, is one of the first qualifications of a Dictionary-maker. And that Mr. Donaldson has this qualification both his list of authorities and the *Supplement* itself are the witnesses. He has gathered together many words and variants, a considerable number of which are far from common, for the first time, and made them accessible, and has thus rendered a service for which all students of the Scottish Language cannot be otherwise than extremely grateful. And yet another remark let us make lest, we should be supposed to undervalue the work to which we have called attention. Though *Jamieson* is not all that could be desired, it is our only Dictionary, and a rich and valuable repository of information on all that pertains to the language and the past and present life of the Scottish people. Under the hands of Mr. Donaldson its value has suffered no diminution. He has increased its utility, added to its stores of information, and made it a still broader foundation for all future work in a similar direction. It is not always that this can be said of an Editor, but in respect to the New Edition of *Jamieson*, it can be said with no fear of contradiction; and to say it is a pleasure.

Some pages back we expressed our doubts as to the possibility of preparing a Dictionary of the Scottish Language on the same lines and of the same exhaustive character as Dr. Murray's Historical Dictionary of the English Language. Our doubts are based not on any sense of the paucity of materials for such a work, but on what we believe to be the present attitude of the

Scottish mind towards its language and literature. We shall rejoice to find that our doubts have no real foundation. That there is abundance of materials for such a work is beyond the possibility of question; they were never so numerous, and are accumulating almost day by day; but before they can be used, and the work can assume a tangible form, and, in fact, before those on whom the main part of the burden of its compilation will fall, can work with any hope of success, Scotsmen will require to show a much more genuine interest than they are now doing in the history, literature, and language, of their country, and to lend a support to the study of them, which is not only sentimental, but also of a thoroughly practical and helpful kind.

ART. IV.—THE PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The Provinces of the Roman Empire. By THEODOR MOMMSEN. Translated by W. P. DICKSON, D.D., LL.D. London, 1887.

THE thirty years which have elapsed since the publication of the Third Volume of Dr. Mommsen's *Roman History* have added much to the means at our disposal for a more thorough investigation of the conditions, administration and policy of the Empire than has as yet been attempted. Side by side, too, with the increasing material has been the increasing recognition of the importance of the subject. If the theories of Niebuhr on the legends of early Rome, or the origin of the plebs or even his speculations as to the true nature of the agrarian question have chiefly an antiquarian interest, the same can hardly be said of even the minutest details in the history of the first three centuries of our era. Professor Freeman has made it his mission to point out, and Mr. Bryce, in his *Holy Roman Empire*, has admirably illustrated the lesson, that on the central and abiding power of Rome, conditioned as it was by the policy developed during these centuries, subsequent European

history has largely hinged. But up to the present time, though German professors have communicated to one another and to the learned world, much fresh and important information as to the real causes and tendencies at work under the series of wars and revolutions commonly known as the Imperial History, and though particular provinces have been investigated with some thoroughness, the general public have still been left with Dr. Merivale as its chief, if not its only, guide. We can scarcely say of him what Dr. Mommsen says of the authorities whom he has so conscientiously followed, that he tells us what deserves to be passed over, and is silent on what we most wish to know, but still there is no denying that his picture of the empire is based on imperfect, though admirably used, materials, while the sources of information have been so widened, since the publication of his book, and the methods of investigation so improved, that it no longer represents the best and latest research. We shall understand both the necessity for the long interruption of Dr. Mommsen's History, as well as the change in the appreciation of the various kinds of historical data, if we recall what the *Edinburgh Review* remarked twenty-five years ago. 'We are told,' said the reviewer of the former volumes, 'that Dr. Mommsen intends to proceed with a history of the empire, as soon as he has completed the labour in which he is now engaged, of editing a great collection of Latin Inscriptions, rather a waste of time, we cannot help thinking, of the powers of a man who can write history.' But no man, however great his powers, can write history without the raw material of facts out of which to produce it, any more than the Israelites could make their bricks without straw, and in the great and laborious work of editing the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* which has mainly occupied some of the best years of Dr. Mommsen's life, he has laid open an almost inexhaustible mine of facts by which historians, yet perhaps unborn, may illustrate, correct and almost indefinitely supplement the evidence of the classical writers. The 'renunciation' with which Dr. Mommsen tells us that the present volume has been written, has been a marked feature in his whole career, and we congratulate both him and the reading public that it has not prevented him from himself

producing the first fruits in anything like a popular form of this immense and self-denying work; and of showing how order, life and vitality are to be breathed into the apparently dead bones of monumental evidence. The nature, indeed, of the evidence supplied by epigraphy is of almost endless variety, and throws light on almost every part of the public and private life of the Romans. Laws engraved on bronze supply administrative details; funeral inscriptions and honorary 'tituli' throw light on many a political and military career, and enable us to tabulate with exactitude the various gradations of office and rank open to men of every class. Military inscriptions and diplomata show us the strength and distribution of the imperial armies, throw light on wars passed over by historians, and above all show how provinces and districts the most remote were made to contribute their quota towards the defences of the empire. From the same source we gain evidence as to trade-routes and manufacturing industries, religious ceremonies and foreign cults, charitable institutions and funeral collegia. The position of Palmyra, the date of the British wall, the dealings with nomad tribes of Africa, the protection of the Greek cities on the Pontus are more or less completely explained, while in many cases, as for example in Trajan's Dacian and Parthian wars the uncertain and vague chronology of the historians can be set right satisfactorily by the same kind of evidence.

Nor is it inscriptions alone, in the limited sense of the word, by means of which the historians may now be corrected and supplemented. The study of coins and medals furnishes distinct and often important evidence of its own, sometimes positive, sometimes negative, sometimes doing much to decide vexed questions of chronology, sometimes throwing light on names, titles and insignia, sometimes supplying data from which inferences may be drawn as to the precise relations existing between the empire and its client states. Geographical and topographical evidence again, collected by archæologists all over Europe, must henceforth be regarded as ancillary to history. Under this head are included everything relating to the Roman system of roads, military or commercial,

to the object, nature and direction of such military works as Hadrian's Wall in Britain, the German 'limes,' and the traces of earthworks at the mouth of the Danube. Then, too, the existence or non-existence of villas, traces of mining operations, the positions of entrenched camps, the evidence of water-cisterns along desert routes, the traces of innumerable towns and villages in districts now utterly abandoned—all these and many more are now at the disposal of the historian, or rather, for they have many of them been long at his disposal, they are now taking their place as evidence which he cannot afford to neglect or undervalue.

The volume before us which Dr. Mommsen has at last found time to produce is on the Provinces of the Empire from Cæsar to Diocletian. It is to be the fifth of the entire work, and the intervening volume, which may now be awaited with some certainty, will contain the internal history of the empire, the fluctuations of the principate, and perhaps a general account of the imperial administration. All this, however, is partly contained in existing histories, partly may be extracted from the Handbücher which Mommsen and Marquadt have already produced. A consecutive account of the particular provinces has hitherto never been published, and this want has caused the empire as a whole to be incorrectly and unfairly judged. Dr. Mommsen therefore has thought it best, and the public will certainly approve his judgment, to anticipate the resumption of the general history by the treatment of this hitherto neglected subject.

We must not however expect to find in this volume a complete and chronological history of the Roman provincial government. Partly the geographical arrangement of the book precludes the possibility of this; but partly also the authorities even now at our disposal, do not provide the materials for such a work. The historians of the empire with few exceptions hardly rose above the level of chroniclers of court anecdote, and even those, like Tacitus, who were capable of taking a broader view, were necessarily much in the dark about the details of a policy decided by the emperor's private council, and carried on in the various remote parts of

the empire. The 'acta senatus' were still no doubt accessible to the historian, but the senate's activity was of quite secondary importance, and at best referred only to the senatorial provinces. A more serious disability, however, even than want of means, was the want of political insight which prevented our 'authorities' from perceiving that the living development of the empire was shifting from the centre to the circumference. 'The Roman state in this epoch,' says Dr. Mommsen, 'was like a mighty tree round whose dying trunk vigorous shoots were springing up in all directions.' Even writers like Strabo and Pliny the Elder, though they give us much information about the provinces, do not tell us exactly what we most want to know. Still in spite of this omission, some sort of picture of the empire, though somewhat vague and blurred, our 'authorities' do give us. If Italy was depopulated, we have good grounds for believing that the provinces were rich and flourishing; if Rome cowered before a Nero or a Domitian, the provincials for the most part enjoyed an efficient and regular administration, while many of them were almost as completely Romanised as Rome itself. 'If an angel of the Lord had to decide in the balance whether the regions held by Severus Antoninus were governed then or now with greater understanding and greater humanity, whether morality and national prosperity has since then advanced or receded, it is very doubtful whether his decision would be in favour of the present.' A full and thorough explanation of the conditions and causes of a result so striking is perhaps for ever beyond our reach. So far as it is possible at all to fill in the picture, to represent the steps and stages by which this result was attained, it can only be done by collecting scattered notices and allusions often thrown out for quite other purposes and in other connections as well from the 'Texts' which we possess as from the often more valuable but more difficult evidence of inscriptions. From these materials by means of imagination, 'the mother of all history as of all poetry' we may possibly 'detect universal institutions in their relation to particular provinces, as well as the particular conditions given to them by the nature of the ground and of their inhabitants.' This then is Dr. Mommsen's

aim in the present volume. It was the great work of the first three centuries of our era to embody the Greco-Roman civilization in the outward form of the city community, and to bring into this circle of culture the foreign or barbarian elements within the empire. Under the Republic this process can hardly be said to have begun. Indeed a necessary condition for its commencement, progress and completion, was the '*pax Romana*' inaugurated in name at least by the reign of Augustus, and this 'peace by land and sea' was entirely dependent on the efficiency of the defensive arrangements along the great frontiers of the empire. In accordance with this general consideration Dr. Mommsen's volume falls naturally into two main divisions, which the geographical arrangement of chapter, does not indeed bring into particular prominence, but on the other hand does not really conceal. Chapters I., IV., VI., and IX., to which we may perhaps add the brief but admirable account of Britain in chapter V., give a chronological and consecutive account of the frontier policy pursued along the three great natural barriers of the Rhine, the Danube and the Euphrates, and also the relations, friendly or hostile, with the barbarian tribes beyond the frontier, which either shaped or resulted from that policy. The other chapters deal rather with the inner development in civilization, commerce, administration and literature, which was meanwhile going on behind the iron barrier of the legionary camps.

Before following Dr. Mommsen in his brilliant description of the frontier policy in particular parts of the empire, it will not be out of place briefly to summarise the various methods pursued both generally and at particular periods and crises. Augustus laid down the principle, and except in intervals of civil war, it was never departed from, that the legions should as far as possible be removed out of sight, and posted along the frontiers of the empire. This then at all periods was the basis of defence. It might be supported and assisted by other means, but at all periods the safety of the empire rested primarily on the efficiency of its army. Each legion with its contingent of auxiliary troops had its own standing camp or winter-quarters, the position of which was usually selected

with a view to the protection of exposed points. As any particular frontier was either extended or made more compact, these camps were naturally liable to be moved, but this was the exception only. As a rule the great camps like Mogontiacum, Vindonissa, Carnuntum, Deva and Eboracum, remained unchanged for centuries, often developing into towns of the first importance. Between, behind and in front of these great camps were numerous castella, sometimes garrisoned by the auxiliary troops, sometimes, as we learn from Tacitus in the case of the Helvetii, by the militia of the various native cantons themselves. Beyond this military frontier, the arrangements varied at different times and according to local conditions. Sometimes native tribes, half brought within the empire, and yet not incorporated in it, were entrusted with the task of keeping off less tractable and more distant tribes, a method applied especially with the Caninefates and Frisii at the mouth of the Rhine. At other points, a stretch of territory beyond the frontier was left unoccupied by any barbarian tribe, and bounded on its outside by a 'limes' or boundary road, studded with small castella, not however strictly for purposes of defence, but rather for the regulation of the frontier traffic, and also for the superintendence of the tolls and customs. This course was taken along the boundary of Lower Germany, when it was impossible to trust the barbarian tribes, and therefore necessary to thrust them back. It was also attempted, but had already become an anachronism, by Commodus on the Pannonian frontier. A more usual policy, especially during the first century, was to establish buffer or client-states between the empire and the barbarians beyond. The client-king or prince was allowed to manage the internal affairs of his kingdom and retained his own army, which was often trained in the Roman manner and was expected to secure the frontier against attack. Thus Thrace was a client-state under the lead of the Odrysae till Claudius. Even Moesia and Noricum were for some years entrusted in a similar way to a native chieftain, though with the Roman title of *præfectus*. Quite early in the empire, however, those client states were found to be not wholly satisfactory, and Moesia and Galatia under

Augustus, Cappadocia under Tiberius, Mauretania under Caligula, and Thrace and Judæa under Claudius, were formally organised as provinces. At the beginning of the second century, Armenia and Idumæa were the only client-states remaining, with the exception of the remote kingdom of Cherson on the Tauric Bosphorus. Trajan, by the annexation of the two former, put an end to the system. The second century saw a development of frontier defence in two directions, both significant of the more defensive attitude which Rome was soon to take up. In the first place we find instead of the unfortified 'limes' of the earlier empire a number of fortified barriers, consisting either of earthworks only as in the Raetian limes between Regensburg and Lorch, and perhaps in the more uncertain traces at the mouth of the Danube and the valley of the Theiss, or in earthworks supplemented by more solid materials and timber barricades, and supported or flanked by castella at irregular intervals, as in the German limes from Lorch to the Taunus, or lastly, in a regular wall of solid masonry, with camps at regular intervals, and between them with castles and watch-towers, as in Hadrian's Wall in Britain. Of these probably the last alone was regularly garrisoned in force; the others, except in times of special crisis, were patrolled rather than guarded, but their very existence implies greater precaution and a less sense of security. Still more significant was the practice, which became more and more usual after Hadrian, of paying subsidies to barbarian kings on the condition of their protecting the frontiers,—a practice which however it might answer temporarily, was usually the beginning of the end, and out of which developed later still the custom of granting land to barbarians inside the Roman frontier, on the same condition of preserving it against kindred or rival tribes. When we reach this point, Alaric in Italy, the West Goths in Spain and the Franks in Gaul already appear within the horizon.

The basis or principle of frontier defence was, as we have seen, laid down by Augustus from the first, but much remained to be done, especially in the West, in the way of carrying out his policy. Nowhere was there anything like a scientific

frontier. Whatever steps Julius Cæsar had intended to take had been prevented by the civil wars and his untimely death, and Augustus found himself face to face with a problem on the solution of which, as he knew well, the very existence of the empire depended. Hitherto Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum had been administered by the same governor. Neither had a determined frontier, and both were continually exposed to barbarian raids; the former from the various Alpine tribes, the latter from the complex of nationalities to the north and north-east of Macedonia. In both directions, Augustus, after the battle of Actium had left him without a rival, determined gradually but systematically to push the frontier forward. Already he had pushed his legions along the valley of the Kulpa, and at its junction with the Save, had established an important camp at Siscia, a Pannonian stronghold, which was to have been the basis of operations for a Dacian war. This was prevented by the war with Antonius and the break up of the Dacian power. And, accordingly, when Augustus was free to resume his frontier work, it was the lower rather than the middle Danube that called for his attention. Here Macedonia was hitherto the frontier province, exposed to continued attacks from Dardanii, Thracians, Bartarnæ, and Mœsians. To put an end to this state of insecurity, Licinius Crassus was commissioned to subdue all the region between the Balkans and the Danube; the Bartarnæ were driven across the river, and while the turbulent Thracian tribes were put under the supremacy of the chieftain of the Odryseæ, who thus entered into the client-relation to Rome, the Mœsian civitates were temporarily also put under a vassal chieftain with the title of *praefectus civitatum Mœsiæ et Triballiae*, (C. I. L., v. 1838). Sixteen years later, however, Mœsia had become a military province under an imperial legate. It was not till a year or two before this change took place, that Augustus resumed his policy of advance in Illyricum. Then, however, the work was taken in hand in earnest. First Agrippa, then Tiberius commanded in person, and while in the south the Dalmatian tribes were subdued, in the north, the region between the Save and the Drav was occupied, the legions were pushed forward from

Siscia to Paetovio, while Carnuntum on the Danube, was also garrisoned. From this time indeed, the Danube was regarded as the political boundary, from Carnuntum to its mouth, though the region between it and the Drav was not yet occupied by troops. Into the details of the campaign we cannot enter, nor into the various risings of the Thracian tribes, nor the critical rebellion in Pannonia in the year 6 A.D. But by the end of Augustus' reign, in place of the vaguely bounded Illyricum, there were three military provinces of the first rank, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Moesia. Thrace was a client-state under the protection of the Moesian legions, and Macedonia had ceased to be a military province, and was handed over to senatorial administration.

During the interval of completing the Danube frontier, that of Northern Italy had been regulated, though on a somewhat different plan. Here the Alps were infested with tribes of Rætian or Celtic origin, which gave no peace to the towns of North Italy and Liguria. Over these tribes, numerous, indeed constant triumphs had been celebrated, but with little practical effect. Nor could any improvement be expected until the northern as well as the southern slopes had been penetrated and cleared by the Roman arms. In 15 B.C. this task was undertaken and accomplished by the two step-sons of Augustus. While Drusus from Italy penetrated into the Rætian mountains, Tiberius from Gaul advanced into Vindelicia. The work of organisation was more difficult here than that of conquest. While on the one hand Italy must be secured against attack, on the other it was undesirable to concentrate a large military force in its immediate neighbourhood. In order, therefore, at once to protect Italy and to separate it from the great military commands, Augustus established a girdle of small procuratorial provinces garrisoned by auxiliary troops, and extending from the Maritime Alps to Noricum. While, however, not themselves garrisoned by legions, the great camps of Paetovio on the one side, and Vindonissa on the other, could at any time send reinforcements in case of need.

On the Rhine the policy of Augustus was less bold and decisive, or at least was actuated less by military and imperial

interests than by considerations of internal policy and finance. Here, too, one of the imperial princes, Drusus, was in command for five years, and on his death in 9 B.C., was succeeded by Tiberius. The tribes on the middle Rhine, the Sugambri and Tencteri were pushed back. Lower down, as we have seen, the Caninefates and Frisii were brought half within the empire, while the Batavi were actually incorporated in it, though compelled to supply men for the auxiliary force rather than tribute. But the plans of Augustus at first evidently aimed at more than this. The whole country up to the Elbe was traversed freely, if not occupied, by Roman legions, and though family dissensions, ending in the temporary retirement of Tiberius, produced some intermission in the policy, already by 6 A.D. Roman administration and even Roman law were gradually being introduced. It seemed only necessary to take decisive steps towards annexing the hitherto neutral kingdom of Maroboduus, to the north of Noricum and Pannonia, in order to shorten and compact the northern frontier of the empire, and to bring the Danube and the Rhine into closer connection. There can be no doubt that this was the policy which Augustus intended. Two events, however, entirely changed all this. The revolt in Pannonia saved Maroboduus from attack; while the defeat of Varus in Germany was followed by the entire relinquishment of the forward policy in that direction. The military disaster could of course have been easily retrieved, and indeed the following campaign of Germanicus perhaps sufficiently vindicated Roman prestige; but the Pannonian revolt had shown that dangers might result from pushing on the legions too far to the front, and the establishment of an Elbe frontier would not have removed the necessity for retaining legions on the Rhine, nor would the occupation of Bohemia have justified any diminution of the Pannonian army. Not prepared, therefore, to meet the increased financial necessities of a considerably larger army, Augustus drew back, and made the Rhine the military, if not always the political, boundary of the empire. Of the prudence or timidity of this policy, perhaps we are insufficiently informed as to the circumstances of the empire to judge. It was, however, as Dr. Mommsen says, a turning-point in the destiny of nations. 'An ancient legend records that in

his last expedition to the Elbe, a female form of superhuman size and German mien appeared to Drusus, the conqueror of Germany, and in the Latin language uttered the simple word "Retreat." The word was never spoken, but its purport was fulfilled.'

From this time forward, therefore, the terms Upper and Lower Germany were retained chiefly to hide the reality of this backward step. With slight exceptions, they were on the Gallic side of the Rhine, and their history is that of a Roman army rather than of a Roman province. During the first century no less than eight legions were posted along the river, and strong military camps were permanently situated at Vetera, Bonn, Mogontiacum, Argentoratum, and Vindonissa.

This, then, was the basis of the frontier policy of the west, as laid down by Augustus. Into the details of its development by his successors, we cannot follow Dr. Mommsen's sometimes elaborate account, nor indeed do more than call attention to its most important moments. The conquest of Britain begun by Claudius, though not completed till Domitian, was hardly a modification of Augustus' plans. He had recognised, as Julius Cæsar had before him, that with an independent Celtic population across the Channel, the permanent tranquility and Romanization of Gaul could never be assured. An adequate history of the Roman occupation of Britain still remains to be written. But short comparatively as Dr. Mommsen's treatment of the subject is, it gives a clearer view of the successive steps of the conquest than is to be found elsewhere, and his view of the relations of the semi-client kings of the Trinobantes to the Romans and to the other native tribes, deserves to be very carefully compared with the admirable though more conjectural hints thrown out by Professor Rhys in his little book on *Celtic Britain*, than which no better examples could be given of the legitimate though uncertain inferences to be drawn from coins. On the lower Rhine, with the exception of occasional fighting under Tiberius and Claudius, peaceful relations were the rule, though on the death of Nero, the weakening of the German legions through the march of Vitellius to Italy, the insubordination and ultimate defection of the Batavian auxiliaries, and the complications arising from the mistrust between Flavian officers

and Vitellian soldiers, well nigh brought about the crisis of a German war. Dr. Mommsen describes this episode in its full details. One of its most important consequences was the thorough re-establishment of military discipline by Vespasian, and the exclusion henceforward of Italians from the legionary armies, while the auxiliaries were in future officered not by their own chieftains but by Roman citizens from the Italian and provincial municipia. While on the lower Rhine the empire did not extend beyond the river, the policy pursued in the Upper Province received a modification under Domitian, the development of which was carried on and concluded probably by Trajan. Here the Chatti were threatening and aggressive, and as peculiar facilities for attack were allowed them along the Main and Neckar valleys, it was deemed advisable to take both these districts within the frontier of the empire. This was the object of Domitian's war against the Chatti: this, too, was the work on which Trajan was engaged, both as legate of Upper Germany and during the first year of his sole rule after Nerva's death. In the once depopulated district of the *Agri Decumates*, cultivated at best by a few Gallic immigrants, flourishing towns now sprang up. *Sumelocenna* (Rottenburg), *Lopodunum* (Ladenburg), and above all *Aquæ Aureliæ* (Baden), all owed their origin to Trajan, while it was probably by him that the German limes was commenced running round the Taunus through Wörth and Miltenburg to Lorch, a defensive work which was probably hardly completed by the time of Marcus, and which, either by him or possibly by Hadrian or Pius, was brought into connection with the Rætian limes, running west to Regensburg. Some German Bruce or Hodgson, however, is still wanted to extract all their historical importance from the remains of these structures. However, the change of frontier seems to have answered its object well. The frontier was completed, *Mogontiacum* brought into closer connection with the camp at Regensburg, and in the second century it was found possible to reduce the German legions from eight to four, a reduction of the first importance, in view of the increasing dangers on the Danube.

Perhaps no chapter in the volume is so full of interest and importance as that on the Danubian provinces. From the first

the greatest danger lay on the Lower Danube in Mœsia. Dalmatia soon became a tranquil, and even a flourishing and civilised district. Pannonia, too, under the Julio-Claudian emperors, though from time to time exposed to attacks from the Roxolani and Sarmatian tribes settled in the valley of the Theiss, was comparatively secure, partly through the presence of the Danube fleet, and partly owing to the kingdom of the Suevi, which under Vannius and his successors had stood in some sort of dependent relation to Rome, and had undertaken to a great extent the frontier defence. Vespasian, however, in redistributing the legions after the civil war of 69 A.D., whilst he left Dalmatia unguarded, established great legionary camps at Vinbodona and Carnuntum, and henceforth the empire took the frontier defence into its own hands. Lower down the Danube, however, Mœsia was rarely free from the raids and incursions of the Dacian tribes. The position was no doubt improved when Thrace under Claudius was made a regular province, but the continued hostilities with Sarmatae, Bastarnae, and Dacians are vividly set forth in the inscription to Plautius Silvanus, legate of Mœsia under Nero. (Orelli, 750.) On the accession of Vespasian, no essential alteration was made here. No addition was made to the Mœsian legions, and no great camp was established at the mouth of the Danube. To him the Oriental frontier appeared to be most in need of reinforcements; and as he fully shared the reluctance of Augustus to increase the military budget, he left the Mœsian garrisons very much as they were. The result of this false economy, hastened also by the decay of military discipline, was seen in the events of Domitian's reign. Pannonia was attacked by allied bands of Suevi and Sarmatae; while Mœsia was still more seriously overrun by the Dacians, united now under Decebalus, trained in the Roman discipline, and even officered by Roman renegades. The war in both directions was disastrous to Rome, and though the Dacians were eventually defeated at Talpae, Domitian was not the man to attempt any rectification of the frontier arrangements, and he soon, to gain an apparent triumph, consented to pay the Dacian king what was practically an annual subsidy to keep the peace.

An arrangement so damaging to Roman prestige was not likely

to be tolerated by Trajan, who accordingly, while still in Germany, seems to have made a reconnoissance to the Danube to prepare for a Dacian war. By means of medals and inscriptions, aided by the reliefs on the Column of Trajan at Rome, the loose and vague account of Dio Cassius may be connected and supplemented, and the general course of the two wars which followed be fairly understood. If Trajan ever intended as more than a temporary expedient the establishment of Dacia as a client-state after the first war, he was soon convinced that this was neither the time nor the place for such a return to the Augustan policy. On the contrary, the occasion seemed to him to demand an essential modification of the *status quo* by extending the Roman frontier beyond the Danube and taking in Transylvania, little Wallachia, and part of the Banat, to form the new province of Dacia. This was garrisoned by a legion stationed at Apulum, and though only an outlying province with no attempt at a scientific frontier, and mainly defended by its own mountains, it yet served to take the strain off Mœsia, while the Dacian people, so long a standing menace to this province, were almost exterminated. But the cis-Danubian provinces themselves stood in need of more thorough guarding. Pannonia had been divided probably by Domitian into an upper and lower province: Mœsia was now treated in the same way. Now for the first time legions were posted at Brigetio and Acumincum, while Troesmis in lower Mœsia, henceforward became one of the most important strongholds in this part of the empire. The result was sixty years of security and peace, during which a prosperous civic life grew up both in Pannonia and Mœsia, and also in the Hellenised province of Thrace.

Permanence of security, however, along the Danube frontier depended on conditions, other than Roman watchfulness, or even the submission of the frontier tribes. The Danube region has throughout history been in the path of the great westward migrations of Aryan, Turanian and Slavonic tribes. Under Marcus the impulse passed on from one of these again disturbed the frontier relations in Pannonia, and once more Marcomanni, Quadi and Iazyges, threw themselves into Rætia, Noricum and Pannonia. Financial difficulties, the ravages of the plague, and

the addition of a Parthian war accentuated the crisis, but after a struggle of sixteen years, the supremacy of Rome was once more asserted, Noricum and Rætia were garrisoned for the first time with legionary troops, and Trajan's policy was on the point of being developed and completed, by the creation of two new provinces, Marcomannia, in the territory of the Suevi, and Sarmatia in the valley of the Theiss, when the death of Marcus ended the succession of capable emperors, and Commodus returned to the *status quo*.

Sixty years of peaceful relations followed, and in spite of increasing misgovernment, no serious invasions were attempted, though we find that Severus, who did much temporarily to restore military discipline, moved forward an additional legion into Dacia. After his death, however, a twofold change became increasingly apparent. On the one side the Roman Empire became a party to internal conflicts; rival imperatores were put forward by each of the great frontier armies, and the arms which should have been used against barbarians were too often employed in civic conflicts. But if the frontiers were thus left exposed, there was on the other hand fresh movements of barbarian tribes beyond them, and the Goths, now brought within the Roman horizon, soon took advantage of the undefended state of the Danube provinces. While rival generals contended for the imperial power, Dacia, Mœsia, and Thrace were practically lost to the empire, and the Greek coast cities, both here and along the northern shores of the Pontus, and even in Macedonia and Greece, were exposed to the piratical expeditions of Goths, Carpi, and Heruli. Fortunately for the empire, these tribes were as yet under no united command, had no common aims or plans, and thought of plunder rather than of permanent conquest. That these Gothic wars would have been arrested had the policy of Marcus been carried out, it is impossible to assert. It was indeed the weakness of the central administration much more than of the frontier arrangements which was at fault; and when once Aurelian and Probus restored unity to the empire, it was proved that the Roman power was still too strong to be broken by anything other than itself. Dacia, however, was finally

abandoned, and the Danube was once more made the imperial frontier.

On the Eastern frontier Rome, since the time of Pompeius, had been face to face, not with a number of vaguely bounded barbarian tribes, but with a great empire ruling over wide tracts of Central Asia, and claiming to be the successors of the great Persian empire of the Achæmenidæ. With the Parthian power, the Romans were first brought into contact after the last Mithridatic war, the conquest of Armenia, and the organisation of Syria. They had now to meet what Prof. Freeman calls the 'Eternal Eastern Question'—a question made more complicated and difficult by the belief which generally prevailed among the ancients that it was impossible for two equally sovereign States to maintain peaceful relations with one another as long as their frontiers were conterminous. In the case of Syria this difficulty seemed to be sufficiently met by the Syrian desert, which furnished a sufficient barrier, but further north the frontier of the empire extended up to the very confines of Armenia, which accordingly since the time of Pompeius had been made subject to Roman influence, was watched by Roman garrisons, and in fact was in reality already, if not in name, a client-state. The effect of this policy, however, was to produce an essential contradiction between the political position of Armenia and its national tendencies. By nationality, civilization, institutions, and geographical position, Armenia belonged to the East. Greek civilization had never penetrated here, and there was therefore no firm support on which Roman influence could rest, except indeed the immediate neighbourhood of Roman troops. After the battle of Actium, Augustus found this Eastern Question both one of the first and by no means one of the easiest problems which he had to solve. Setting aside the wild schemes of Oriental conquest by which Antonius had complicated the already difficult position, but which had no charm for the cool and calculating spirit of his conqueror, there were three alternative courses which might have been pursued in regard to Armenia. It might have been definitely annexed to the empire, and guarded with legionary camps, or it might have been relinquished to Parthia, and the

Upper Euphrates accepted as the limit of demarcation between the two empires, or, thirdly, it was possible to continue the middle course hitherto adopted, to leave Armenia in the hands of a king of its own, but of a king dependent on Rome in respect to his foreign policy, and in fact holding his power on sufferance. Many considerations must have urged Augustus to strike a decided blow. The tribes of the Caucasus, whose co-operation was important, had been already approached by the legates of Antonius. North of the Pontus the kingdom of Polemon, who owed his position to Augustus, extended as far as the Phasis; while beyond the Euphrates the king of Media was an exile and a suppliant of Augustus, and Tiridates himself was ready to make almost any sacrifices for the sake of immediate peace. Above all, Augustus had at his disposal well-nigh 50 legions. The opportunity, however, was not used. The first concern of Augustus was to reduce the huge army which the civil wars had called forth, and to bring order and economy into the disorganised finances of the State.

On the other hand regard for Roman prestige made it impossible to relinquish the influence which Rome had had in Armenia for more than a generation. It therefore continued to be a client-kingdom; and though, in the course of his reign, Augustus did strengthen the position by incorporating the client state of Galatia with the empire, and intended to do the same with Cappadocia, still Syria was the only province guarded by legionary troops, and these were neither sufficiently numerous, nor sufficiently near to support the Roman faction in Armenia, in the face of national antipathy and Parthian intrigue. Accordingly, the next 80 years were marked by continual friction with Parthia, which took every opportunity of putting some Arsacid prince into the place of the Roman nominee. Tiberius, Caius, Germanicus and Vitellius, were all charged with special missions to maintain the *status quo*, and when Nero succeeded to the empire, his capable ministers, Seneca and Burrhus, considered that the time had come to change the Roman policy in Armenia, by practically relinquishing the country to Parthian influence, insisting only on a nominal suzerainty for Rome. This policy, in spite of the not uninterrupted success of Corbulo, was persisted

in by the home government, and Armenia was held by the younger branch of the Arsacid family. Greater tranquility resulted under the Flavian emperors. Not only was one great cause of contention removed, but the posting of a legion in Cappadocia by Vespasian was perhaps as much a security for peace as a support in case of war. Under Trajan this peaceful policy was reversed. Even the nominal suzerainty of Rome might at any time give occasion to a war, if not for Roman interests, at least for Roman prestige. Such a juncture presented itself in 113 A.D., and Trajan determined to pursue in the East the same forward policy which had apparently succeeded so well in Dacia. Thus the third alternative, for which Augustus had been too prudent, was at length adopted. Not only was Armenia itself annexed, but in order to bring it thoroughly within the empire and permanently to cut it off from Parthian influence, another province under the name of Mesopotamia was also added. Trajan, indeed, did not stop even here, but his last campaigns can hardly be called the result of any definite policy: they were rather actuated by pure love of conquest, and it was not an unreasonable reaction from this which induced Hadrian to return to the non-intervention of Nero's government. Notwithstanding this temporary withdrawal, however, it was Trajan's policy, partly restored by Marcus Aurelius, and completely carried out by Severus, which henceforward dominated the relations of Rome with the East. For a time, indeed, in the middle of the third century, when the anarchy and disunion of the empire were brought face to face with the restored Persian dynasty of the Sassanidæ, it seemed as if the East was altogether lost, and even Syria and Cappadocia were as much the thoroughfares for Persian armies, as Mæsia and Thrace were for the Goths. The gap, however, was filled brilliantly but briefly by Palmyra, and the Illyrian emperors once more restored the Eastern frontier even more completely and thoroughly than that of the Danube.

To maintain this frontier policy on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, defensive as it generally was, required naturally a large standing army. Augustus had at first, Dr. Mommsen thinks, dreamed of reducing the number of legions to 18; but the Pannonian and German wars rendered fresh levies necessary, and

under Tiberius we know that there were 25, a number which was afterwards, through the conquest of Britain and increasing dangers on the Danube, raised to 30. As the strength of the legions varied between 5000 and 6000 men, the legionary army would amount to something over 150,000. In addition to that, the prætorian and urban cohorts in Rome amounted to about 12,000; while the auxiliaries, though differing at different times, were probably nearly equal in numbers to the legions. Thus the whole military force of the empire hardly exceeded 320,000 men. That this was comparatively a small army for so vast an empire is obvious; and when we remember that the number of citizens of military age was in the time of Augustus four millions, besides the still more numerous class of Peregrini, and that with an army of 300,000 men and 25 years' service, only about 20,000 would need to be recruited annually, there must have been strong reasons, apart from military considerations, for keeping the number so low. That these reasons were mainly financial we have already seen.

The arrangements for the establishment both of the legionaries and auxiliaries have lately had much light thrown upon them by Dr. Mommsen. That the legionaries were necessarily Roman citizens has long been known; but the corollary hitherto drawn from this, that the legions were all recruited mainly from Italy and the Western provinces, where towns possessing the full franchise were most frequent, is now proved to be a mistake. Whilst inscriptions show that the German, Pannonian, and African legions were in the first century recruited from the West, it is now clearly proved that the Egyptian and Oriental legions were enlisted from the Eastern provinces, such as Galatia, Syria, Pontus, and Egypt. Since Roman citizens were extremely few in those regions, it is evident that the legions were here recruited from non-citizens, who, however, in accordance with a custom which had begun under the Republic and had been extensively practised in the civil wars, received the franchise on enlistment. The Roman legions, therefore, in spite of their common name, were composed of very different elements in the East and West, and the fact that the Syrian legions were really Orientals throws much light on the Jewish and Parthian wars,

and explains the continual need in emergencies of reinforcements from the West. After Vespasian, the Italians, whose pride of birth introduced an element of insubordination which culminated in the events of 69 A.D., were excluded from legionary service, a change which naturally threw a greater burden upon the other Western provinces. Hitherto the legions had been recruited from both senatorial and imperial provinces, but Hadrian, partly for the sake of economy, partly to get the levy entirely into his own hands, introduced the principle of local recruiting, each province supplying its own legions, the result of which was obviously to exclude the senatorial provinces, which had no legions, from the levy altogether. In later times the employment of vicarii, a practice commencing with Trajan, considerably deteriorated the character of the Western legions, and in the Gothic, and still more the Frankish, wars to a large extent they consisted of the coloni or serfs whom the large landowners were permitted to send into the army.

The auxiliary cohorts and 'alae' were in a special sense the emperor's own troops. They were recruited exclusively from the imperial provinces and from non-citizens. Our chief information about them is drawn from the numerous diplomata, in which the citizenship is granted to those auxiliaries of a province who have served 25 years. At first these troops were no doubt raised in the districts whose names they bear, and were probably also stationed near their homes. But the possible dangers of this course were shown by such events as the Pannonian rising in 6 A.D., and the Batavian war of 69, and so during the second century the auxiliaries were to a certain extent denationalised, and stationed at a distance from their own homes. The important frontier provinces were garrisoned by legionary troops with a certain number of auxiliaries attached to them, while auxiliaries alone were posted in smaller camps or castella in the provinces of the second class, such as Rætia, Noricum, Thrace and Mauretania. After the introduction of local recruiting by Hadrian, barbarian elements more and more entered into the Roman army. Along the Danube provinces especially, at least ten legions were now posted, and as these were recruited more or less from the spot, the primacy of the Illyrian legions became in time the

primacy of the Illyrian soldiers, who, especially after the exclusion of senators from posts in the army by Gallienus, often rose to high positions, and ultimately produced the series of Illyrian emperors, who, barbarians as they were by birth, once more asserted and maintained the integrity of the Roman empire.

While the Roman armies were thus engaged in guarding the frontiers, generally with success, though not without bloodshed and occasional reverses, the provinces behind were in the enjoyment of an almost uninterrupted peace, and as the imperial administration was on the whole efficient, and the prosperity of the provinces promoted, if not for their own sake, at least for the sake of the empire as a whole and Rome its centre, a great development took place in industry, commerce, literature and civilization generally. On all these matters, Dr. Mommsen gives us more and more connected information than has hitherto been within the reach of the general reader. The question whether the Roman empire was really prosperous has often been discussed. An absolute answer is perhaps impossible. Compared with the state of the provinces under the Republic, the first three centuries of the Empire were marked by immense progress, both material and moral. Compared with the modern government of all the Eastern provinces, their condition under the Empire was their high-water mark of prosperity. On the other hand, the material signs of wealth, luxury and refinement, do not necessarily prove that the mass of the provincials were either prosperous or contented: taxation probably tended to become more and more oppressive, and it is certain that with very few exceptions the provinces were treated as the means and instruments for the enrichment, aggrandisement and gratification of Rome itself. Dr. Mommsen does not directly raise the question in the volume before us, but the picture which he draws of the internal condition of the provinces, and not least of their industrial and commercial activity, has certainly thrown a fresh light upon the question which may well make us pause before accepting the unfavourable judgment expressed by M. Guizot. Out of the extensive range of subjects which the remaining chapters offer for our consideration, perhaps the most striking are the industrial and commercial relations of the empire, its gradual extension and development of

the municipal constitutions, and the literary peculiarities of its several parts.

Of the Western provinces, Gaul perhaps was the most flourishing and prosperous. The fulness of its wealth, says Josephus, streams over the whole earth, and Tacitus testifies to the immense booty which fell into the hands of the victors after the defeat of Vindex. The basis of this prosperity was here mainly agriculture and cattle-breeding. The Menapian flocks were long celebrated, and among the Atrebatæ and Nervii red cloth mantles were produced, which were worn throughout the empire. The Cadurci and Lingones again manufactured a coarse cloth, from which the caracallæ were made, destined to give their name to a Roman emperor. At a later time, however, vine-growing extended far and wide over these provinces, but at first the protective policy of the empire, which feared the effect of Gallic vine-culture on the Italian wine trade, kept this within small limits; and while Lugdunum and Arelate grew rich owing to the import of Italian wines, the rest of the country was deprived of this source of wealth, nor was it till the Italian emperors came to an end that the Moselle valley attained its importance as a vine-growing district. Of Britain we know less from our authorities, though in Diocletian's time its wealth was conspicuous, and we hear that the German legions frequently received their corn from here. Archæological research, however, somewhat supplements this scanty information. Roman merchants settled here in crowds, and the lead mines round the Mendip Hills were worked within a few years of its first conquest. The iron scoriæ found in Herefordshire and Monmouthshire point this district out as a Roman Black Country. The same is true to a less extent in parts of Kent; and there were extensive pottery manufactures along the estuary of the Thames, and at Durobrivæ, in Northamptonshire; while the number of richly decorated villas in the southern part of the island points to both wealth, taste, and tranquility.

In Spain there was a commercial prosperity and civilisation of much longer standing. The system of roads was here intended much more directly for commercial purposes than in Gaul, and the short and easy sea-passage to Italy gave to such ports as Gades, Nova Carthago, and Tarraco ready access to the

Roman market. While agriculturally Spain abounded with vine-yards and olive-yards, and produced both wine for its own consumption and flax to supply considerable linen manufactures, the wool from the Bætis valley supplied extensive industries in this material, while its gold-mines at one time produced an annual sum of nearly a million sterling, and iron manufactures and steel goods formed then as since a special characteristic of its manufacturing activity. Under Augustus, no citizen community outside Italy had so many rich merchant-princes as Gades.

In the more central provinces of the empire, commerce in the first century had either passed its zenith and had already begun to decline, or owing to the insecure state of the frontier had not taken firm root. Greece was becoming more and more the land of memories. No province had suffered so severely in the civil wars. Depopulated and impoverished, with a soil not naturally fertile, and a population sadly degenerated, Greece was more an influence than a tangible factor in the Roman world. The great trade-routes had taken other directions: Peiræus was a mere village, visited only from antiquarian interest, and Corinth alone, at the meeting-point of two seas, had regained something of its former importance, but both here, as well as in the other towns, commercial activity was chiefly in the hands of companies of Roman merchants. The only part of Greece where any sort of industrial activity went on was Achaia, where the manufacture of woollen goods centered round the Augustan colony of Patræ. The marble quarries, indeed, were worked and the marble carved, but the quarries were part of the imperial domain, and the Greek artists worked almost everywhere except in Greece.

On the other hand, the Danube provinces with the exception of the coast towns of Dalmatia, Salonæ, Pola and Iader remained mere military outworks until the frontier was finally secured by Trajan. Then followed a rapid development of civil and commercial life. Dacia had an industrious mining population, and added its gold to that from Spain. Thorda was the centre of extensive salt works, while agricultural products were conveyed to other parts by its excellent water-ways. Noricum had long

since become a prosperous and thriving province, and Pannonia and Moesia from this time began to follow in the same direction. The Greek commercial cities on the Moesian coast of the Euxine in particular benefited by the greater security of the frontier. But with all the Euxine ports from Byzantium as far as Dioscurias there had long been a brisk and active trade with the more Eastern provinces of the empire. These ports formed a narrow fringe of civilisation on the outskirts of the Scythian steppes. Nominally under the protection of Rome, they really owed their safety more to the opportunities for traffic which they furnished to the Scythian tribes; while the client kingdom of the Bosphorus alone stood in a definite relationship to Rome, and had anything like a regular territory and an army with which to defend it. It was not, however, always able to dispense with the assistance of the Moesian legions, and on one of these occasions we learn that Plautius Silvanus for the first time helped to relieve the necessities of Rome by means of corn sent from this distant region. How actively the commerce was carried on in these parts is shown by the fact that at Dioscurias 130 interpreters were required in order to facilitate dealings with the numerous nomad tribes. The exports from this region, in addition to corn, consisted chiefly of furs and slaves, while the imports, which principally attracted the Scythian tribes, were wine, articles of clothing, and other luxuries of civilization.

It was, however, in the Eastern provinces that trade and manufacturing industries reached their highest point, and here what the Roman government did was to develop rather than to originate, to remove corruption from the government, and to secure the blessing of an uninterrupted peace by land and sea. No provinces were a more profitable source of revenue for Rome than those of Asia Minor, and yet their unmistakable prosperity forbids us to suppose that they were taxed beyond their strength. As a rule the export trade of Asia Minor depended upon its own productions. The interior of the country, and especially the table lands of Galatia, was peculiarly suited for grazing land, and accordingly we find in the great cities of Asia the chief seats of the woollen manu-

facture. How large and varied an industrial population these cities contained is strikingly shown by the numerous funeral inscriptions belonging to the Christian population of Korykos, a little coast town of Cilicia. The weavers, wood-carvers, iron-workers, potters, goldsmiths, fruit and market gardeners, who are thus proved to have carried on their trade in so small and remote a town, must of course have been found in still greater numbers in towns like Laodicea or Ephesus or Smyrna. How important the goldsmiths' trade was at Ephesus, we know from the Acts of the Apostles, but every sort of jewellery was produced in these cities and exported to the markets not only of Rome and the western provinces, but even as far to the east as India. Only less important than the industries already mentioned, was the continual export of slaves, conveyed to the West through Galatia from the more distant regions of the East. If the Phrygian merchant who has left it on record that he doubled Cape Malsa no less than seventy-two times, was possibly an exceptional case, at least collegia of merchants took an active part in all the public acts of their cities, whilst the number of Latin words, which have found their way into the Greek of Asia Minor, prove how constant must have been the intercourse with Italy.

Greater still was the commercial and industrial importance of Syria. Probably no province in the empire could be compared with it in wealth and luxury, and it must be added, in all the excesses and immorality which wealth too often involves. Nowhere again more glaringly than here appears the contrast between the prosperity of the past and the misery and squalor of the present. In the Fourth Century, and it was no doubt as true of the Second and Third, Syria is described as flowing with corn and wine and oil. Apameia, now in a desert region, then contained 117,000 free inhabitants. Between it and Antioch, along the east bank of the Orontes, are found almost continuous ruins of stately villas, surrounded with spacious pleasure-gardens, provided with wine and oil presses, where the wealthy Syrian merchants of Antioch and Apameia lived amid every kind of luxury. Antioch itself yielded in splendour and magnificence to no city in the empire. Its houses were provided

with water, its streets were lighted, and colonnades lining all the main thoroughfares were a protection alike against rain and sun. A system of artificial irrigation produced a state of agriculture which to those acquainted with the present state of the country appears almost incredible. It was, however, to its manufactures and to the transit of Oriental articles of luxury though the Syrian ports and the carrying trade thus occasioned that the greatest wealth of the province is due. An extensive linen manufacture was carried on at Berytus, Skytopolis, Byblus and Laodicea. The celebrated Tyrian purple was produced at Tyre, Cæsarea, Sarepta and Lydda, while the glass manufactures at Sidon, and the silk weaving at Tyre and Berytus, were only second in importance to these industries. Of the caravan routes which met in Syria and poured their merchandise into its ports none exceeded in importance that from Mesopotamia and the mouth of the Euphrates, by means of which the products of India found their way to the West. On this route it was that Palmyra grew up, unique perhaps alike in constitution and in its relations to surrounding powers. The importance of these caravans is proved not only by the prominent position in Palmyra occupied by the leaders of the caravans (*συνολαρχοι*) but by the huge stone cisterns, and subterranean aqueducts found along the route between Palmyra and Damascus. In this way the spices and furs of the east, and all the multifarious Indian wares which a passage in the Digest enumerates, were distributed among the western markets. Of hardly less importance was the Arabian route by way of Leuke-Kome, Petra, and Gaza. The staple of this Arabian trade was the incense, but Indian goods also came this way, conveyed on the ships of the Arabian merchants of Adune and Muza. After the annexation of Arabia Petræa by Trajan and the subjugation of the robber chieftains, even this remote province became both civilised and prosperous. In a spot now utterly deserted and silent, ruins of 12 large and 39 smaller towns testify to the benefits of Roman rule; vines and figs flourished on the lava plateau of Haurass, and Bostra became the starting-point of an important trade route to the Persian Gulf. Compared with these great lines of traffic, the

Caspian route, by which the raw silk was conveyed from China, was of secondary importance, though, as the manufactured silk was worth its weight in gold, the trade was far from unimportant to the wealth of Syria. While the Syrian cities thus swarmed with an industrial population, the Mediterranean was traversed in every direction by Syrian ships. Sea-captains were prominent in the local government of the towns, and *collegia* of Syrian merchants are found at Ostia and Puteoli, while Dacia, Dalmatia, Gaul, and Spain, all afford epigraphical evidence of the wide extent of Syrian enterprise.

To none of the Oriental provinces did Augustus and his successors attach greater importance than to Egypt. Narrow comparatively as was the extent of the fertile valley of the Nile, its richness was inexhaustible. Corn returned a hundred-fold, the vine flourished, and date-palms and lentils did more than support the industrious native population. To what an extent the immense population of Rome depended for its corn-supply on Egypt is well known, and its importance in this respect is proved not only by the careful attention paid by the emperors to the system of irrigation and the storage of water—means of averting famine which the feeble *Lagidæ* had allowed to fall into neglect—but also by the anxiety shown by every successive claimant to the empire to secure this means of commanding the Roman market. Of Egyptian manufactures, the linen industry was perhaps the most important, and hardly stood behind that of Syria. Not only were Egyptian linen goods exported to Rome, but the linen dresses worn by the *Axomitæ* of Abyssinia, as well as by many of the natives of India were produced in Egypt. In the finer glass works the Egyptian workshops were unrivalled, and the glass beads bartered then, as now, with the native tribes along the African coast, all came from here. The papyrus trade so important to the Roman book-market was practically an Egyptian monopoly, though whilst the native dresses made of this material were doubtless manufactured in the province, large quantities of it were exported in the raw state to be manufactured in Rome. Lastly, the Egyptian quarries furnished a rich supply of marble, red granite, alabaster and porphyry, all in great demand for the

building operations not only of emperors like Augustus, or Trajan, or Severus, but of many a private individual both in Rome and the provinces.

Under the Imperial Government, however, it was as the main connecting point, as in civilization and literature, so in commerce between East and West that Egypt derived its greatest importance. The two main routes from the far East were by way of the Euphrates, and the caravan-route by Palmyra or Bostra, or from the Red Sea to the Nile and so to the Mediterranean. Under the Lagidæ the former and earlier route was allowed to maintain the leading-place. A canal, indeed, had been begun six hundred years before from Cairo to the Salt Lakes by Ismaila, but though finished by Darius, it was not used till the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and even then till the time of Augustus the trade by this route was comparatively unimportant, and what there was, benefited not Egypt so much as the Arabian merchants of Yemen. Indeed one of the principal seats of commerce both by land and sea lay in the fertile corner of Arabia Felix. Here, from a period long earlier than the Roman occupation of Egypt, a number of Arabian tribes had developed a considerable and lucrative trade with the East. Bringing in their ships from India its spices and other products, they sent back incense, gum, cassia, myrrh and aloes, while all of these they conveyed to the Mediterranean, either by caravan traffic along the coast to Leuke-Kome, and then by way of Petra to Gaza, or by transporting them to the Nile, and then disposing of them to Egyptian merchants. Of these Arabian tribes during the first century B.C., the Homeritæ or Himjaritæ assumed the first place. Their sea-ports Adune (Aden) and Muza swarmed with merchants. Arabian wine was exported to India; the spears and assegais of the native Africans were manufactured here, and though no Hellenic culture penetrated here, a rich and luxurious native civilization was developed. To secure this Oriental trade for Rome, and to oust these competitors, was one of the chief aims of the Egyptian policy of Augustus. To secure this end, he departed from his own backward policy, and in organising the unfortunate expedition

of Aelius Gallus, he no doubt intended by annexing Arabia Felix to bring the Indian trade through Egypt to the Mediterranean. The expedition failed, and the still wider scheme by which C. Cæsar was to have operated against the Homeritæ from the Persian Gulf also hung fire, but still the aim of the imperial government was practically achieved, not indeed by violent means, but by the equally effective method of navigation acts and prohibitive duties by which Arabian ships were virtually excluded from the Egyptian ports. Not only was the canal, afterwards widened by Trajan, in continual use, but important trade routes were developed, provided with regular water reservoirs, between Berenice and Myos Hormos on the coast and Koptos on the Nile. From this time Egypt assumed the first rank among the commercial provinces. Whereas under the Ptolemies not 20 ships a year left the Red Sea ports for the East, under Augustus 120 started from Myos Hormos alone for India. Pliny estimates the sum paid to Arabia and India alone at 100 million sesterces, a portion of which, though only a small one, was covered by such exports as iron, copper, lead, arsenic, wine, coral and balsam. That Roman merchants traded directly with the Indian coast is proved by the gold-coins found at Baryzaga on the Gulf of Cambray and Kananor on the Malabar coast. Ceylon is proved by the same evidence to have been regularly visited, but beyond Cape Comorin probably only individual traders penetrated, and though these went even as far as the mouth of the Yang-tse-tsiang, scientific and geographical knowledge was more benefited than commerce by these distant voyages.

In comparison with Syria and Egypt, a secondary position only was occupied by Africa, although here too the corn trade was of primary importance to the capital, and manufacturing industries and exports made Africa a richer country than it has ever been since. Oil was exported, though not of the first quality, from the district round Carthage, dates, figs and citrus wood, from Mauretania, while cattle and horse breeding were carried on both in this province and in Numidia. The purple manufacture had been introduced at an early period by the Carthaginians, and woollen and leather goods were produced

in Mauretania. The desert trade-routes, too, from the interior centred in the great oasis of Fezzan, whence they passed to the Mediterranean through the Roman province. The introduction of the camel from Arabia gave an immense impetus to this desert trade. Such is briefly the sketch of the state of Roman trade and industry with which Dr. Mommsen has now made us acquainted.

The basis of the provincial administration was throughout the empire the town-community. In some provinces, especially those in the Greek or Phœnician speaking districts, towns existed in large numbers before the Roman occupation; in others, tribal unions, or even mere village communities, still remained undeveloped as yet into a more organized state life. Neither in the one case nor the other did the government allow any desire for unity of administration to hurry them into sweeping or hasty changes. Unity of administration, indeed, was the ultimate aim, but this was consistent with great diversity of detail, and with a slow and gradual development. What a watchful frontier policy effected at the extremities of the empire, this principle of local autonomy was calculated to do in the interior, to secure peace and tranquillity, to relieve the central administration of an otherwise impossible task, and at the same time to put a check on the powers of provincial governors. In Asia, with its 500 towns, and Syria, with its numerous Macedonian and Seleucian creations, the Romans had little or no need to found fresh towns. In the out-of-the-way parts of Phrygia this might be necessary to check the numerous robber bands, but otherwise the government had little more to do than to break up pre-existing confederations, to award such honorary distinctions as the titles of *πρώτη πόλις* or *μητρόπολις*, and while leaving untouched the Hellenic constitutions and magistracies, to modify them in an anti-democratic direction, and carefully to guard in material so combustible against anything like political clubs or associations, or whatever could by any possibility be turned into these. In these provinces, Roman or Latin towns were extremely rare. Berytus was a Latin island amid Hellenic civilization in Syria, and Parium and Alexandria in the Troad were Roman colonies in Asia. Λ

the other provinces of Asia Minor town-communities to a very small extent preceded Roman rule. Pontus, notwithstanding the Hellenic culture of the Mithridatic court, had no Greek towns, and Pompeius divided the country into eleven town-communities each with considerable territory, and organised after the Greek manner. Galatia too with its three Celtic tribes, the Tectosages, Tolistobogii and Trocmi, was most loosely centralised into the three town-communities of Ancyra, Pessinus and Tanion. Cappadocia alone left to its client king till the time of Tiberius, and not garrisoned by legionary troops till the time of Vespasian, was, as a mere frontier province, left during the First Century to the government not of town-communities but of ten Strategi, though even here names like Faustopolis, Claudiopolis and Sebastopolis, show that the usual procedure was not wholly neglected.

In the mother country of Greece a Philhellenic policy had honestly, though not always wisely, been pursued from the first. The Greek cities were left with their own constitutions, modified, it is true, in an anti-democratic direction, but still with their autonomy nominally unimpaired. But Greece, as Dr. Mommsen says, was the country of purposeless ambitions. Without an active commerce, with few manufactures, the activity of municipal life was confined within very narrow limits, and whether the towns were free, or federated or stipendiary, their decrees and public actions were liable to be over-ridden in a moment by a stroke of the pro-consul's pen.

Africa was another example of a province in which the Roman government found towns already existing in great numbers, and here again they followed their usual course in leaving these towns unaltered, and accepting their existing constitutions as the basis of the provincial administration. Civilization in Africa and Numidia was mainly Punic. Not only was the Punic language in general use except in government circles, but the towns were Punic also, their chief magistrates were suffetes, and no doubt the other characteristics of Punic constitutions were retained. But while during the First Century this was the case with the great majority of towns, so that Pliny can only mention six *coloniae* and fifteen *municipia*

out of 516 communities, after the time of Hadrian, the towns gradually became more and more transformed into towns of Italian constitution; *suffetes* gave place to *duoviri*, and the general tendency towards administrative uniformity showed itself here as well as elsewhere.

In both Gaul and Spain town communities, with the exception of a Greek or Phœnician colony here and there, did not exist before the Roman annexation. In their places were the Celtic and Iberian tribal unions, standing in various relations of clientship or independence to one another, and falling into the smaller unions for which perhaps the term 'canton' may be an approximately correct description. These tribal unions the Romans treated differently in the two countries. Spain was annexed when the Republican Government had still fresh in mind the dangers of the Samnite league, the tribes, so far from being recognised in the administration of the province, were rather resolved into their elements, and while the tribe names thus remained as mere geographical expressions, a system of town communities was developed out of the smaller cantonal associations. How numerous these communities were we know from Pliny, who gives for *Tarraconensis* alone 293, of which 179 had towns, while a comparison of these numbers with those of Ptolemy, who gives 248 towns for the province, shows that during the latter half of the First and the beginning of the Second Century this town development was still going on. While thus in Spain the *Astures* were split up into 22 politically independent communities, and the *Vaccaei* and *Cantabri* disappear from history, in Gaul a different course was pursued. Here were Celtic tribal-unions similar to those which Rome had met with in Cisalpine Gaul, but they were treated in a different manner, except in *Narbonensis* where Roman civilisation had already taken firm root, and here accordingly towns of Italian constitution, Roman or Latin colonies, were planted in considerable numbers, and nothing except the survival of certain religious cults remained of the pre-Roman state of things. But when the three northern provinces were organised by Augustus, possibly on the lines laid down by Julius Cæsar, a more generous policy was pursued than that in Spain, which

while virtually introducing the principle of town-communities yet left the tribes still nominally as the units of administration. The three provinces were divided into 64 districts, each having the name of a prominent tribe, and each administered on municipal principles with the ordinary municipal council and magistrates. Each of these districts or cantons had some one central town; e.g., Durocostorum in that of the Remi, Augustodunum in that of the Haedui, Aventicum in that of the Helvetii, but still, as Dr. Mommsen has shewn in *Hermes*, vol. xvi., the *civitas* consisted not in the central town, but in the whole canton. The most striking feature of these urban districts was their size, and since their magistrates had at their disposal a local militia as well as other rights and privileges, their position was *de facto*, if not *de jure*, more important than those of the Spanish communities. Till the time of Claudius, none of these towns were invested with either Roman or Latin rights, but by him Koln and probably Trier were made Latin colonies, a precedent followed by later emperors, especially in the case of many of the great military cities originating in the legionary camps. That the tribes continued to have a real existence, notwithstanding their urban constitution, is shown in the fact that so many of the French towns derive their names from the tribe rather than from the city, as Bourges (Bituriges), Amiens (Ambiani), Rheims (Remi), Trier (Treveri), Nantes (Namnates).

Into one province alone the principle of urban or municipal government was never introduced, but the exception is one which proves the rule. Egypt was from the first treated differently from the other provinces. Destined by Augustus to be both the chief granary of Rome as well as the highway for the Oriental traffic, tranquility and security were the objects aimed at, and these seemed more certain to be secured by the absolute and direct government of a viceroy than by the autonomy of municipal towns. The province remained accordingly divided, as under the Ptolemies, into the country district (*ἡ χώρα*) and the Greek towns Alexandria, Ptolemais, and Naukratis, but neither had the nomes into which, each

with its metropolis, the former was divided, any sort of autonomy, nor had even the Greek cities either the *βουλή* or the collegiate magistracy, so that though *πόλεις* by name, they had not the *πολιτεῖαι* which were the essence of city life. Hadrian's new foundation, Antinoupolis, alone had anything like an autonomous administration. Thus throughout the empire Dr. Mommsen shows us how, amid considerable diversity of local conditions, the Roman government yet carried out in principle the autonomous government of its subjects by municipal communities. Approximations to homogeneity were made by the increasing tendency to extend the Latin or the Roman franchise, a tendency which was completed by the universal citizenship bestowed by Caracalla, and received its logical development in the centralised and uniform government of Diocletian.

Amid many other features of the peaceful development of the provinces, we can only briefly allude to Dr. Mommsen's happy characterisation of their literary activity. Gaul ever since the time of the Druids with their combination of physics, metaphysics and magic, was the 'land of learning and teaching.' From the first the Romans endeavoured to substitute for the national and religious instruction which they put down, a system of Græco-Roman education, and by the time of Tiberius we find that numbers of the Gallic youths were passing through a sort of university course at Augustodunum, the capital of the Hædui. Here was developed what Dr. Mommsen describes as 'the gentleman's training, like that in England at the present day, based primarily on Latin and secondarily on Greek, and consisting of school declamations, bristling with points, and full of ornate phrases.' Nowhere were the professors of rhetoric better paid or held in more honour than in Gaul, and the selection of M. Aper by Tacitus to represent the modern school of orators against the Ciceronian school, was singularly appropriate and suggestive. While Augustodunum remained for centuries an important university, the chief place was ultimately held by Burdigala in Aquitania, which produced among other literary men the poet Ausonius. In addition to panegyric, indeed, poetry and especially occasional verse and *vers de société* grew to be a literary speciality in Gaul, and while the

panegyrics are masterpieces of ingenuity in saying a very little in a great many words, and in expressing infinite loyalty in equally infinite ineptitudes, the poetry was full of scholastic allusions and pedantic tricks of style. It is quite in accordance with this direction of Gallic literature that in the early middle ages Gaul became the land of pious hymns, and is the last home of the Scholastic literature.

In Spain, Latin literature passed through a steady development. While Cicero depreciates the Latin poets of Corduba, Lucan a hundred years later has a distinct historical importance, depending however in some measure on the provincial influence of M. Porcius Latro, and Annæus Seneca, the school rhetoricians. Under Domitian, Canius Rufus, Valerius Licinianus and above all Martial took rank with the best Italian writers, while after the time of Quintillian the development of Spanish literature became thoroughly bound up with that of the mother-country Italy.

In Africa, again, the importance of the Græco-Latin instruction in general culture was fully recognised, and nowhere more than in the two creations of Julius Cæsar, Gaul and Africa, was the School system developed or cared for. But while this made Africa 'nutricula causidicorum,' it did not produce pure literary talent. The archaic purism of Cornelius Fronto, and Sulpicius Apollinaris and the un-Roman frivolity of Appuleius are types of African literature, but till the prevalence of Christianity no Africans play a really important part. 'As the translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek gave to Judaism its world-wide importance, so the translation of the Christian writings into the language of the West brought about the transference of Christianity, from the subservient East to the dominant West. This translation was chiefly the work of Africans, and from this time forward Africa became the land of polemical Church literature, represented by such men as Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius and Augustine.'

The literary importance of Asia Minor was due principally to the activity of its Sophists with their epideictic oratory, of whom Dr. Mommsen gives so life-like a description. These professors of a bizarre eloquence were found indeed through-

out the empire, but they came mainly from Asia, whence they were exported 'all of one pattern like the Roman lamps,' into the Western provinces of Rome. Less pretentious, but of much greater permanent value, was the literary activity of Bithynia, represented by Dio of Prusa, Memnon of Herakleia, Arrianus of Nicomedeia, and Dio Cassius of Nicaea, while in the Fourth Century, Ancyra in Galatia became one of the chief centres of Hellenic culture, and the people of the little Galatian towns, whenever a philosopher's mantle shewed itself, were attracted to it as the needle to the magnet.

Lastly, to complete this hurried survey of the literary activity of the provinces, Syria, as Dr. Mommsen points out, was the land of epigram, feuilleton and romance. More than once the people of Antioch had to pay heavily for the gibes which no warnings could induce them to repress. Of more serious literature Iamblichus is nearly the solitary representative, nor should we expect much interest in literary matters from a people whose whole attention was devoted to operettas, ballets, fencing-matches, and wild beast fights. The colony of Berytus, however, 'the Latin island in the sea of Oriental Hellenism,' was not without its own peculiar importance, first as the seat of a reaction against the modernising tendencies of the Julio-Claudian epoch, and a return to the style and language of the republican times, and then as the Oriental centre for the legal studies necessary for the official career.

In taking leave of Dr. Mommsen's volume, of the value of which no review can give an adequate idea, we must express our regret that comparatively so few references are given. We gladly acknowledge that there is a great improvement in this respect on the former volumes, but still to the student, as distinguished from the general reader, to whom the absence of notes may perhaps be a boon, the value of the book is considerably impaired by the difficulty of verifying Dr. Mommsen's statements in the Inscriptions or authorities on which they are based. This is the more tantalising, as those who are acquainted with his monographs in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and still more with the admirably complete collection of references in the *Staatsrecht*, must feel perfectly assured that no

statements are made at random, and that mere hypotheses do not enter into Dr. Mommsen's conception of history.

ART. V.—STANDING ARMIES AND CONSCRIPTION.

THE Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which closed the age of Grotius, and marks the commencement of the labours of his early disciples, is generally regarded as the historical epoch of what may be termed the *renaissance* of the Law of Nations. The Treaty in which it resulted formally ratified the fundamental rights and duties of the continental Powers who were parties to it, and by implication those of all others; and, though some of its provisions were subsequently more or less affected by special agreements between particular States, it continued in its main stipulations to be recognised for upwards of half a century as the basis of the conventional law of Europe. It was at best, however, only a contract, which, being correct in its spirit, might have secured for a succession of ages the general rights of the nations whom it concerned, if two unexpected events had not arisen—namely, the formation of a new empire in the north of Europe, and the elevation of Prussia to a place among the Powers of the first rank. These in their consequences led to a subversion of all the relations that the Treaty had established; but such consequences are more directly traceable to the system, military as well as political, which the new state introduced and which Prussia copied, than to the numerical increase which each of them afterwards acquired. In its operations it was at first slow and imperceptible; but after the partition of Poland, and again after the peace of 1815, it developed itself in a more practical form. The work which the wars of the French Revolution had left unfinished, was then taken up by it; and, proceeding onwards with augmented rapidity and force, it finally swept away all the landmarks which the Treaty of Westphalia had laid down, and obliterated all trace of the harmony and concord of the balancing interests on which that convention was founded.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century Russia, as every one knows, had no position in Europe. To create a great empire out of a country which was half a desert and without seaboard or outlet—the population of which consisted of savage hordes thinly scattered over boundless plains—was the aim of the extraordinary man who then ruled over her. In this, despite his numerous miscarriages, his various operations, his enterprises, sometimes extravagant and frequently daring but always sagacious, he ultimately succeeded. But to do so he had first to teach his subjects the art of war, and to imbue them with the faith that they were the blind instruments of his will—in other words, to convert them into so many human machines. In this also he was successful; and when his prowess in the field had been sufficiently proved, he thrust his new empire among the Powers of Europe, and compelled them to receive her into their system. Then did his policy assume another shape. He had no sooner acquired the footing which he had so long coveted than he began at once to busy himself in the affairs of his neighbours, and to aggrandise his empire at their expense by a process with which the world is familiar. The same policy, as every one is also aware has been continued by his successors; and the result of it has been not only an enormous increase of territory by the dismemberment of those countries which Russia has despoiled, but the displacement of all those relations which subsisted prior to the phenomenon of her intrusion into Europe; a relaxation of the ties and a dissolution of the principles of every alliance; the entire subversion of the equilibrium of power; a system of aggression which has become traditional; and an utter annihilation of all those rights and safeguards by which nations were formerly supported and held together. In the advent of the new Power aided as it was by the political course of action to which we have just referred, will therefore be found the first cause of the disorganisations which from time to time take place. The second consisted, as has been observed, in the elevation of Prussia into a State of the first rank, a result which was accomplished by similar means. To this, however, we will advert more particularly after we have laid

before our readers a general outline of the military institutions of Europe prior to and at the time of Peter the Great.

The armies of the Middle Ages had their source in the feudal system under which the land in the countries where it prevailed was holden of the Sovereign on condition of military service. The amount of service to be performed was regulated according to the extent or value of the soil which each vassal possessed, and it was his duty to render it on due notice by the supply of a proportionate number of men, who were to be clothed and equipped at his own expense. The fiefs to which these conditions were attached were originally holden for life; but in later years they came to be descendible to the heir of the vassal in a direct line; or, in default of such, to his collateral heir. This hereditary character was first recognised in France under the early kings of the line of Capet; but it was not established in Germany until several centuries later—namely, during the reign of Conrad II., surnamed the Salic, who ascended the imperial throne in 1024. Such, however, were the ordinary means by which sovereigns in those days were enabled to furnish themselves with troops necessary for carrying on their wars. The system continued for a long period; but in progress of time it was gradually abandoned, and sovereigns aimed at acquiring a permanent army under their own control. In this revolution France was the first to set the example during the reign of Charles VII., who, whilst his territory was overrun by English invaders, found no difficulty in blinding the eyes of his subjects to the danger of the innovation. But the effects of it were not slow in showing themselves. The military power of the feudatories fell by degrees into contempt, and their services in the field into general disuse. This state of things continued in France until the reign of Louis XIV., when his minister, Louvois, organized a system based on the principle of voluntary enlistment.

In all that concerns the constitution of civil society, our Saxon ancestors possessed a knowledge and exhibited a wisdom which strangely contrast with the notions in fashion in our days; but in no part of their polity are these qualities more remarkable or conspicuous than in their military establishments.

Every male inhabitant under a certain age was liable to be called out for the defence of the country in case of attack, or for repelling any attempt that might be made to attack it. This obligation was, in fact, the *common fealty and allegiance* which each one owed to the State, and any neglect or refusal to comply with it was visited with the penalties of high treason. They were accordingly called out for actual service as occasion demanded; not, however, let it be observed, at the orders of the Sovereign, but of the Gemote or General Assembly. To this body alone belonged the power of summoning the people to arms; and though instances may have occurred in which, on the score of urgency, their formal authority may not have been given, yet the omission of it was only submitted to in consideration of the necessity of the case, and not as an acquiescence in any right on the part of the Sovereign to dispense with it. In order, moreover, to keep the population in readiness for any service that might be required, they were subjected to a training in arms once a year under the inspection of their earls, or of the sheriffs and vice comites; and when they went to war they were told off in decennaries, so that each man fought in the sight of his relatives or associates. (The same rule holds good in the Turkish military system). Their rule of discipline was also most strict, being in like manner settled not by the Sovereign, but under the orders of the Gemote. This order and simplicity disappeared in England on the introduction of the feudal system at the Conquest, when the lands of the kingdom passed to the Crown or its partisans. But the tenure under which the latter held was at that time only for life; and whilst the system remained in this state it was in as pure, as strict, and as comprehensive a form as it ever attained in any other country. When, however, the hereditary quality came to be introduced in the several grants or holdings, the ancient dependence which had theretofore subsisted between the lord and his tenant, began as a natural consequence to pass away; for the latter, under whatever disadvantages his inferiority of station might place him, was now in a position to meet the other on the common ground of mutual rights and obligations. A

species of superstition or sense of honour, preserved by oaths and ceremonies and the influence of habit and old opinion, did indeed supply for a time the place of what had been lost ; but these were at best only extraneous and uncertain props of the edifice. The hereditary principle had sown in it the seeds of decay ; and to such circumstance is to be attributed in a great measure, the general break-up of the system which afterwards followed.

Nor was this the only cause that aided in producing the same result. The actual military spirit which was fostered by the feudal institutions, and the wars, defensive and aggressive, which they were intended to supply the means of carrying on, led in process of time to the absolute release of the vassal from his original obligation, and to the substitution, in lieu of service, of a pecuniary payment under the name of *escuage*. This change took place in the reign of Henry II., and the effect of it was at once to break the strongest bond which attached the tenant to his lord. From that time, therefore, he was no longer in reality the defender of his lord ; he was no longer what he professed to be in his homage and oath of fealty ; and the impressiveness of those solemnities being thus weakened, they in the end became mere matters of form.

The payment of money in consideration of a release from military duty being so established, the Crown acquired a revenue for its wars, which was expended in the hire of native-born subjects, to serve in its armies in particular places and for definite terms. A covenant for this purpose was accordingly, as occasion required, entered into by the King with various persons, chiefly those of most importance in the country, for service in his expeditions on certain money terms, as also for the supply of a fixed number of followers ; and it was principally by armies so collected that the victories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were gained. There are several of these contracts yet extant in the Exchequer, and any one who is curious to see their nature may do so by the copies which Rymer gives of them in his *Fœdera*, vol. ix., pp. 223, 227-239.

It will be observed, then, that the troops who were levied in this manner, furnished the nearest approach that we have in

the history of those times to a permanent, or as it is technically called, a standing army. The King might form a force of this description ; but his power to do so, it may be unnecessary to add, was limited by his revenue. It was, however, disbanded as soon as the object for which it had been raised was accomplished. Such a thing as a permanent army, even of the smallest dimensions, was in fact entirely unknown in England before the reign of Henry VII. ; unless we except the instance in which Richard II. attempted to establish one, and for which he was dethroned. The King up to that period had not even a body-guard, much less any considerable number of troops accoutred ready for action at his call.

Under Henry VII., however, a guard of this character was instituted, namely, the Yeomen of the Guard, which was then and for many years afterwards, the only permanent force in the country ; for, though several armies were raised in the interval for foreign or domestic purposes, they were regularly disbanded when the occasion for calling them out was past. At the Restoration, as a result of the Civil Wars, there remained a large force under arms, which Charles II. was desirous of keeping up ; but he was dissuaded from doing so by Lord Clarendon, on the ground that, as no reliance could be placed on those who composed it, its continuance would be dangerous to the Monarchy. He accordingly contented himself for the time with causing an Act to be passed in Scotland for raising 20,000 foot, and 5,000 horse ; while in England, he formed the body known as the Royal Guards, which was increased by degrees until its number, a short time before the Second Dutch War, amounted to 5,000 men.

In order to carry on that war—which was made by him in conjunction with France—he received from Parliament a sum of two millions and a half. But instead of applying the money wholly to the object for which it had been granted, he made use of a considerable portion of it in establishing an army of 10,000 men on Blackheath, which, in place of being sent to Holland, was retained about London, where its presence produced so much alarm and confusion that an Act was at length passed compelling him to disband it. In addition to these

troops, he had at that time also 10,000 men in the French service, whom he continued, in violation of his Treaty with the Dutch, to allow Louis XIV. to retain after the war; but a pressure being put upon him by Parliament, he was obliged to recall them, though in so doing he made ample amends for his enforced submission to its authority by supplying their place with fresh recruits, some of whom went out voluntarily, while others were compelled to do so by force.

His establishment in 1673, in consequence of the restrictions with which Parliament was constantly embarrassing him, consisted only of 5,870 privates, besides officers,—a force which fell greatly short of his requirements. He was desirous of increasing it, and, in order to obtain the necessary funds for the purpose, he affected to go to war with France, and received a grant of £1,200,000 to enable him to carry on his operations. With this sum he raised an army of between 20,000 and 30,000 men, a portion of which was sent to Flanders. In 1678, however, owing to the delirium produced in the country by what was called the Popish Plot, an Act was passed for disbanding these troops, and a large sum was awarded for paying them off. The king took the money, but continued the force in his service.

Another Act was accordingly passed soon afterwards, and a further sum granted under it for settlement with the troops; but on this occasion Parliament refused to entrust the king with the amount, and placed it in the hands of Commissioners; while, to mark its sense of what had been done, it recorded a resolution 'That the continuance of standing forces in this nation, other than the militia, was illegal, and a great grievance and vexation to this people.' The troops were then disbanded, and the result in the end was, that at the dissolution in 1679-80, the establishment amounted to no more than 5,650 men, exclusive of officers. This was the first formal interference by Parliament in the executive department.

The king's attempts to obtain a standing army of sufficient strength for his purposes being thus completely thwarted, he called no Parliament at all during the last three years of his reign. He was, however, not long before hitting upon a plan

for the realization of his ends. Tangier was demolished, and its garrison being brought over to England, was distributed in the most considerable seaports of the kingdom. He also increased the Irish establishment to 7,800 men, and this, with the Tangier garrison and the force he had been allowed to retain in 1679-80, gave him an army in round numbers of 17,700 troops, which he continued to possess until the time of his death.

These forces were further increased after Monmouth's rebellion in the reign of his successor, and again a short time before the Revolution. But on the landing of the Prince of Orange, many of the regiments which had been raised to oppose him were broken up; and when the Revolution was effected, the troops under Faversham, although most of them had been permitted to disperse, were ordered to 'repair to their allegiance and colours.' Then came the Convention—a body which, having neither royal nor popular authority, was in no sense a Parliament at all—with its Declaration of Rights in Thirteen Articles, the chief of which was, 'that the raising and keeping up of a standing army in the kingdom in time of peace, *unless it be with the consent of Parliament*, is contrary to law.' But William had no notion of having his hands thus tied. He wanted 20,000 men for the invasion of Ireland.* He insisted on being supplied with them, and his demand was reluctantly granted.

The thin end of the wedge having been thus introduced, he

* The invading force of the Prince of Orange in Ireland is represented by so-called historians as being only 36,000, which of course includes the 20,000 here mentioned; but we learn from better sources, such as documents preserved in the State Paper Office and the British Museum, in which very minute numerical details are given, that it amounted to considerably more. The following summary may be relied on as correct:

Infantry—42 regiments, 4 companies, rank and file, - - -	38,890
Horse, including 5 regiments, rank and file, - - -	12,265

51,155

To this number may be added some hundreds of supernumeraries and crowds of rapacious and destructive irregulars or volunteers, who accompanied his march to the North.

afterwards, for the purpose of going to war with France, obtained a further supply, which increased the force under his control to 86,789; but this was on the implied, if not express, understanding that these troops should be disbanded at the close of the war. The House of Commons, when that event occurred, did in fact pass a resolution that all the forces which had been raised since 1689 should be dispersed, but by a process of parliamentary tactics—particulars of which will be found in Trenchard's *History of Standing Armies*—the resolution was rendered nugatory, and with the exception of the disbandment of a few foreign regiments, the army, as thus constituted, remained un-reduced. Nor is this all. It has been kept up ever since, with more or less alteration in numbers, and forms the basis of the present permanent military force of the country.

Such, then, is a brief outline of the military institutions of Europe down to the end of the Seventeenth Century. We have seen what they were in this country in the time of the ancient Saxons; how these were superseded by the Feudal System which then prevailed on the Continent; how military service came to be commuted for money; and lastly, how standing armies arose. The first result of the substitution of hire for fealty was, that it reduced to insignificance the ancient nobility; but the change was also followed by others. It depopulated the several countries where it took place by the withdrawal from industry of the hands which were necessary for their armies; while it was also the cause of taxation in a double sense: in one, as regards the support of fiscal burdens, and in the other, as regards an impost of a novel character, namely, that of a *blood tax*.

But a standing army, whether obtained under a feudal system or by voluntary enlistment, did not consort with the plans of Peter the Great. He required a method of raising troops more congenial to his ambitious aims, and more fitted to aid him in their accomplishment. He was the first, therefore, to discover and put in practice the press-gang process. In this he was successfully imitated by Prussia, whose elevation to a place among the leading European States we will now, in

the order of time, proceed to consider. This event was, doubtless, more immediately caused by the immense military power she was enabled to wield, as a result of her adopting, or, rather, improving on, the invention of Peter; but other political reasons supervened which, having regard to the rôle she has of recent years played, it may be advisable to notice.

How the successors of a Prince who acted only a subordinate part in the negotiations for the peace of Westphalia, who wrote in terms of abject sycophancy to the Ministers of one of the principal potentates engaged in that Congress—and from whom those Ministers had withheld the title of ‘Highness’—were enabled to maintain the political position which was then conferred on their own country, and to raise her to the pre-eminence which she afterwards reached, is primarily to be sought for in the Treaty itself. This instrument had for its object the reconciling of two contending interests, namely, the Catholic and the Protestant interest. But though these were mainly characterised by differences in religion, they had also their political phases; the aim of the one being to secure its ascendancy, and that of the other to preserve its independence.

As Prussia was essentially Protestant, and the largest German State that was so, she therefore became the head of the Protestant party as a counterpoise to her rival, Austria, in whom the Catholic element chiefly preponderated. France and Sweden, however, were also parties to the Treaty, as guarantees of the rights of the Protestants; but the rapid rise in a few years of the new Power, favoured by the circumstances to which we will presently refer, and seconded by the Protestant portions of the German Confederacy, soon enabled the latter to dispense with their foreign protectors. For several reasons, also, the intervention of France became less sought for in ruptures between the head of the Empire and its members; and the independent States were induced by the same causes which rendered this interference less frequent to rely more for the preservation of their rights and privileges upon the application and improvement of local means of their own. These changes accordingly resulted by degrees in new political dispositions of the Empire, under which Prussia became eventu-

ally all-powerful, if not paramount, in Germany. We have said, however, that her rise was favoured by particular circumstances, and we now proceed to show what these were.

At the commencement of her elevation, and for a considerable period afterwards, she neither did, nor could she, acquire territorial resources proportioned to the ambition of her princes; for to raise herself by conquest for the sake of conquest would have too openly proclaimed her real designs. She therefore adopted another plan—that of constituting herself into a powerful State by means of a large army. But she had the craft to dissemble her purpose under the plausible pretence of improving military tactics and the system of finance; a course which at first excited emulation rather than fear, and was as fatal to other nations by its attraction in the way of example as by its success as a means of power and aggrandisement. From that moment the Princes of Europe embraced the opinion—though the idea, as we have already mentioned, had been practically developed by Russia—that gold circulated in their dominions only to enrich their treasuries, and that Nature produced men only to make them soldiers. The study of finance and the recruiting service then became the compound madness of every Government. In the hands of the Ministers of most States the former was but the chimera of the Danaides; but the recruiting service was a ruinous reality which bowed down every nation of Europe, weakened the springs of government, and rendered intolerable to every people the yoke of authority; which multiplied the pretexts for hostility, and disposed Princes to resort to the sword on every occasion; which furnished the easy means of rendering wars more general, more bloody, and more lasting; and which finally culminated in the political disorganization, of which the wars of the French Revolution afforded a striking example, but which in our day has reached a climax that infinitely transcends all that has ever gone before it.

The improvement of finance was, however, only a blind, as any one will perceive, for carrying into effect the more important part of the scheme which was destined to terminate in these results; and the military system which Prussia afterwards

inaugurated—which is more or less identical with that which now exists—was accordingly the consequence. This was originally instituted by Frederick William, her second King, and was based as we yet see it, on a territorial plan; the country being divided into cantons, which had each to maintain a regiment, and upon the population of which, with the exception of the nobles, military service was compulsory. The passion for having a large army amounted, in fact, to an intellectual disease in this monarch, who practised the most extraordinary parsimony in the administration of his government, and even in his own household, in order to furnish the necessary funds for the accomplishment of his object. He also burdened his people with a heavy weight of taxation quite out of proportion to their wealth and numbers. But the exactions thus imposed on them, the starvation of his family, to whom he barely allowed the common necessaries of life—and those of the coarsest description, the squalid poverty of his envoys abroad, which provoked the ridicule of every foreign Court, and the threadbare economy under which the internal affairs of his government were transacted at home, were in his eyes fully compensated by the possession of a well-disciplined army of 60,000 men, a force which at that day was justly deemed enormous, considering the population and small extent of his kingdom. Nor were the means he resorted to as regards expenditure for keeping up so immense an establishment less singular than those which he adopted for supplying the material for it. His recruiting service was of a character *sui generis*. Its operations took the form of a regularly organised man hunt in every town and village of the kingdom; and so great was the terror inspired everywhere by his crimps, that numbers of his subjects sought refuge in other lands.*

Nor were these operations confined to Prussia alone. They were extended to the territories of foreign States, such as

* A large number fled to Elberfeld, of the industrial wealth of which they were afterwards the founders: though their descendants were destined in course of time, by the arrangements of 1815, to be brought under the sway of Prussia.

Hesse Cassel, Bavaria, and Holland, where notwithstanding the opposition he encountered, the activity of his recruiting agents was not less successful. The foreign element, indeed, largely prevailed in his army; an idea of which may be formed from the fact that between 1713 and 1735 his expenditure for recruiting in other countries amounted to no less than twelve millions of dollars. It is, however, remarkable that though the reign of Frederick William thus became an epoch in the history of Standing Armies, and though his genius for military organisation was so extraordinary, he was himself the most pacific of princes. His aversion to war may probably have been sincere; but he doubtless foresaw that the time was not far distant when his indefatigable exertions in the way of preparing for it would yield ample fruit.

That time arrived with the advent of his son and successor, Frederick the Great; the first important act of whose reign was to avail himself of the means which his father had collected for the perpetration of one of the foulest crimes that history has recorded. He had no sooner succeeded to the throne than he ruthlessly broke the Treaty which his predecessor had made with Austria, for securing to Maria Theresa the dominions of her father, Charles VI. He seized upon Silesia, which formed a part of them, on pretexts the most frivolous. It is not our province to detail the events of the war which ensued; but it may suffice to say that he succeeded in retaining his ill-gotten booty, and that after the sanguinary battle of Choluzitz, in which the Empress-Queen was defeated, it was ceded to him in due form. The peace, however, which followed was only in the nature of a truce. The war was resumed a few years afterwards with redoubled fury, and the old quarrel was again fought out with alternate success. The struggle lasted for seven years, and ended at length in the complete prostration of both parties by the Treaty of Hubertsburg, in 1763. Frederick was left in possession of Silesia; but he had to pay for it dearly. To both combatants the contest had proved disastrous in every respect, but of the two the greater injury had been received by Prussia. Her sufferings, as pictured by Lord Macaulay,

show the position to which she was brought by these wars, and what effects are capable of being produced by Standing Armies on the modern system.

The moral to be deduced is twofold, namely, the sinfulness of an unjust war, and the facilities with which such direful consequences can be brought about by an army that has only the mechanism of brute force to recommend it. Nor were the effects produced in this instance confined to the generation which witnessed them. The seizure of Silesia and the Seven Years' War were only the natural results of the policy which Prussia then began to adopt, and of her enormous military establishment; and the same policy, aided by the same means, has been developing itself ever since. It has continued in full force until our own time, and is simply identical with that which exhibited itself some years ago in the 'annexation' of Schleswig, Hanover, and Hesse, and in the war she fought with France.

The military system, however, which had been inaugurated by his father, was greatly extended by Frederick the Great; and amongst other improvements which he introduced was that of providing each district of the country with a supply of arms and stores sufficient to enable the brigade or division it maintained to take the field at a moment's notice. He also adopted the most stringent measures to provide against desertion, in fact, so great was their severity that desertion became impossible. The only refuge for the unfortunate men who were drafted for the service was suicide, and suicide committed in the face of strong religious impressions, and with the prospect of eternal punishment before their eyes. In the fortress of Potsdam alone there were no less than three hundred instances of it among his troops within ten years. Zimmerman relates that they at length took to murdering little children; as in that case the victims went to heaven, and the murderer had time to repent between his crime and execution.

All this, however, was nothing more than carrying out the policy of his father, in whose reign it was a common occurrence for the young men to leave the country in masses rather than enter the army. No threatening of the gallows, of cutting off ears, or confiscation of their property could stop the fugitives.

More than once the fanatical soldier-zealot, Frederick William the First, was counteracted by the necessity of sparing his kingdom, which threatened to be depopulated. This state of things continued till after the battle of Jena, when Stein and Scharnrost, the Bismarck and Von Moltke of their day, added new and special regulations, the most important of which was that of short enlistments, by which a recruit was compelled to serve six months in the regular army in order to acquire a certain amount of military knowledge before being drafted into the landwehr, or militia of his district. But in 1814, at which period the present organisation commenced, further changes took place, the result of which, with the new regulation of late years, is, that every Prussian subject, except in cases where exemptions are allowed—and these are but few—is enrolled as a soldier on attaining his twentieth year, and that he has then to undergo twelve years' service, divided into three portions of three, four, and five years respectively. The two first are passed under the colours of a regular regiment and in the reserve: and the remaining five in the landwehr, with liability to be called out for annual practice, and to be incorporated in the general army in time of war. He is then, after being twelve years in these corps, drafted into the landsturm, a body which is required for actual service within the frontiers of the country only in case of invasion.

But in order correctly to appreciate the formidable character of such a system, we must regard it in relation to the population of the country, and the numbers it is capable of putting into the field. The population of Prussia is about 30,000,000, and the number of recruits raised annually on this principle is 100,000; that is to say, one to 300 of the inhabitants. A change is then constantly going on from one branch of the service to the other, which, with the new levies, increases the actual force to a number that is positively enormous. But this is not all. The regiments of the regular army in time of peace are doubled at the outbreak of war, by calling out an equal number of troops from the reserve; and each reserve man called out returns, not only to the same battalion, but even to the same company in which he passed the first three years of his military life.

— We now arrive at the constitution of the French army at the

epoch of the Revolution, which, being based on the same principles of compulsory service as that of the Prussian, bears a considerable resemblance to it. As an engine of military despotism, indeed, it is hardly less formidable; while, in the stupendous effects it produced, it exhibits a marvellous monument of the terrific uses to which such an institution may be applied, especially under the guidance and genius of a single man.

The organisation which was established by Louvois continued with no material alteration until 1798. Up to that period enlistment was voluntary; and commissions being purchaseable, the army was officered almost exclusively by nobles. But with the Revolution, which republicanised the nation as well as its soldiers, there came a great change; merit alone was a qualification for a commission, promotion had its source only in the ranks, and every private carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack. This change consisted in the introduction of what is called *Conscription*, and was effected by a law of the Directory—the original idea of it being attributed to General Jourdan—by which every Frenchman was bound to defend the country when in danger, and, irrespective of danger, by which every male between the ages of twenty and twenty-five was liable on all occasions to be called out into active service. The number of troops to be thus raised from time to time was determined by the Legislative body at the request of the Executive, the contingent of each department or district being levied in proportion to its population. Our space will not permit us to enter into particulars as to the methods employed for the enlistment of recruits under this law, let it, however, suffice to say that the process was a most sweeping one. The regulations were enforced with the utmost rigour. Parents were held responsible for their children till they could produce a certificate of their death; and all public functionaries who impeded the operation of the law were visited with the heaviest denunciations. An officer of health, for instance, if convicted of giving a false certificate of infirmity, was subjected to five years' imprisonment in irons; while every conscript absenting himself from his depot for twenty-four hours was punishable as a deserter, the penalty for desertion being imprisonment with hard labour,

the ball,* or death. No substitutes were allowed, and the time of service was ten years. Such were some of the peculiarities incident to this merciless Draconic code. It furnished without doubt an almost unfailing source for the supply of men in a war, just as confiscation would afford the readiest means of raising money for carrying it on. In principle the two are the same. The former in its general effects may indeed be said to be worse than the latter, for it falls with the greatest hardship on the poor and those of slender fortunes; but what adds to its malignity is that it takes young men from their labour at a time when they are beginning to settle down into those habits of industry and enterprise which form the useful and respectable citizen.

This inhuman law, it may be hardly necessary to state, encountered the greatest opposition in the country. The consternation which it spread, and the misery which it inflicted in every French household, is indescribable. In many places it was openly resisted by force; and where resistance was vain, the most singular contrivances were, and are still, resorted to for the purpose of evading it. As an instance of the latter, we may mention the following incident, which we select from a multitude of others. The source of goitre, which has baffled the penetration of the learned, is well known, in some districts at least, to the peasantry. The disease is produced by the use of calcareous water. Near St. Julien, in the Maurienne (Savoy), there is a 'goitre well,' from which the young men who were liable to conscription were in the habit of drinking in order to receive the malady, and so escape military service. When Savoy was annexed to France, measures were taken to cure the children in that neighbourhood who were suffering from it, and out of 5,000 cases 2,000 patients were restored to health, and 2,000 more considerably relieved. But the parents interfered to stop the process; preferring that their children should be afflicted with this horrible disease rather than

* The ball was of iron, eight pounds in weight, and was fastened, during intervals of rest after ten hours of hard labour each day, to the leg of the deserter by a chain seven feet long. The punishment lasted ten years, and in cases of contumacy it was prolonged for ten years more, with the attachment of another ball of the same weight.

that they should be drafted into the ranks of what the Archbishop of Malines calls 'the slavery of a new order.' Let us now see what were its effects on an extended scale. Louis XIV., when in the zenith of his power, and when the whole of the North of Europe was leagued against him possessed an army of no more than 300,000 men. Louis XVI. had only two-thirds of that number. All these were raised by ordinary levies; but when the system of conscription was introduced the results were widely different. It enabled Napoleon to fling down the gauntlet at the feet of coalesced Europe; but at what a cost! Two million four hundred and seventy-six thousand men were raised by him under it, most of whom found their graves in Spain or perished in the snows of Russia. In 1813 he had another army of *one million two hundred and sixty-eight thousand men*, which was almost entirely composed of recruits between eighteen and twenty years of age. Illness and fatigue decimated these; and *in the following year there were only one hundred thousand of them left*, besides the Guard, to defend the soil of France. Again, in 1792, the country possessed, as recently, 86 departments. The conquests of the Republic, by extending the frontier to the Rhine and the Alps, increased their number to 105; and in the next four years Napoleon added to them 27 more by the subjugation of Holland, maritime Germany, and one-half of Italy. In 1814 France was again reduced to her old limits of 1792, besides losing Marienburg, Phillipeville, and Landau. These, then, were the results of those gigantic wars which shook the old world from end to end; of twenty years of history 'writ on the parchment of a drum;' of heroic efforts, of innumerable sacrifices, and of seas of blood shed like water on every battlefield of Europe. A single reverse, that of Waterloo, sufficed to wrest from her the fruits of twenty immortal victories, and to render her smaller in 1815 than she had been in 1790. But there also are other items in the account which are to be taken into consideration. To the four million five hundred thousand men who were destroyed by disease or cut down by balls or bullets—and how many nations are there whose population falls short of that number—we have likewise to add seven hundred millions of francs paid to the allies for indemnity, four hundred and ninety millions for the support

of foreign garrisons, and a multitude of various other charges which swell the sum total to something not very far short of two milliards.

This law remained in force until the Restoration, when Conscription was utterly abolished, and 'Departmental Legions' were substituted in its place. But in 1818 it was again established on the proposition of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, and it has continued—with some modifications as regards its practical operation—from that time to the present. The immediate cause of this sudden change in the abandonment of voluntary enlistment, and the return to the order of things initiated during the Revolution, may be traced to the Holy Alliance, which, under the guise of preserving peace, inaugurated a system of general armed interference by one nation in the affairs of another. The law so re-established did not, however, assume the portentous significance which it formerly possessed under the first Napoleon until the accession of Napoleon III., on whom was conferred the power of making war and concluding treaties irrespective of the sanction of the Chambers. It is true that the right of having a voice in questions of peace and war was restored to them in 1869; but this concession was simply nominal and illusory, for every one must admit that the manner in which they were consulted on the eve of the war with Prussia was little less than a mere mockery.

The following is a *resumé* of the general relations and their results since the alterations which were made in 1868 under the administration of Marshal Niel. The number of troops raised annually is 100,000, which gives about 1 to 370 of the population. The time of service is nine years, five of which are passed under regimental colours, and the remaining four in a general reserve, called the second reserve. The age at which each man is liable to be called out is twenty-one, and those who having attained it are not placed in the annual levy of 100,000, are enrolled in the *Garde Nationale Mobile*. The only military duty required of the latter in ordinary times is fifteen drills in each year, with the proviso that no drill is to take the recruits from their homes for more than one night. This provision was, however, much relaxed previous to the war with Prussia—in fact, it was seldom en-

forced ; and the consequence was, that on the Prussian invasion the Garde Mobile was found totally untrained. It is also to be observed that the regulations of 1868 abolished what were called 'exonerations,' by which drafted men were permitted to commute their service for money ; but every one now is obliged to serve personally or to find an efficient substitute. The Prussian and the French military systems are, therefore, in the lawless principle out of which they arise, and in their general details, greatly similar, but in their results they are especially so ; both being admirably fitted for the invasion of a foreign country, and both, as historical experience has sufficiently proved, being wholly unfitted to answer the main purpose for which armies are, or ought to be, required, namely, the defence of the nation to which they respectively belong. The Saxon and the Feudal systems, wherein really consisted what Burke called 'the cheap defence of nations,' will most favourably contrast with them in the latter respect ; so likewise will the system of voluntary enlistment, though this is also open to the same sort of objection on the score of expense, and the uses to which standing armies are susceptible of being applied. The lot of the British recruit is, however, in one essential point infinitely superior to that of the French conscript. The one enters the ranks of his own free will, but the other is driven into them as a slave.

The destructive element contained in the system of Conscription, as shown in its explosive development in the action of Prussia against France, has been the sole cause of other nations increasing their armaments. The very thought, indeed, of reduction has everywhere vanished since the Franco-Prussian War, and any proposal having that object in view has been received with distrust or scouted with indignation. In 1868 Spain made a Revolution to obtain certain advantages, the chief of which, as put forward in the manifesto, was the 'abolition of the conscription,' that is, that there should be no conscription. Conscription was abolished in Spain in 1872.

In 1869, a French minister is raised to office as the introducer of a new order of common sense and economy. He proposes to reduce the army. He does so. He then advances further to make to foreign powers propositions for a simultaneous reduction.

What happens? Enveloped in a puerile intrigue, he invades Prussia, without so much as the formalities of war, and in 1872 France abolished conscription—in the Spanish fashion. Every step, every incident establishes the great truth enunciated by Peter the Great, that truth in which his scheme was founded, and in which it has succeeded up to the present time. ‘*Europe has never in her second childhood*.’

The system, we may add, has been brought with other results, which more immediately affect the people, whose rulers have brought it to the perfection we have just witnessed. These are to be seen in the demoralisation it is beginning to produce in Germany by engendering in the population an abject and servile submission to military tyranny. A civilian in that country dare not raise his hand against an officer who assaults him; for he knows what the consequences will be of his doing so, and that if maintained for life in an attempt to defend himself, he may plead in vain at the Prussian tribunals for justice. Here, then, do we conclude our brief review of the military institutions of Europe from the period at which we set out. But there is another phase of the subject which we cannot wish to notice: and that is the employment of foreign mercenaries. Troops of this character are frequently to be met with in the Thirty Years' War and in the armies of Louis XIV.; but in England the practice of employing them appears first to have come into vogue during the reign of William III, who was allowed to retain bodies of Dutch and French guards. After the Hanoverian succession it was further extended by the introduction into the kingdom of Hanoverian and Hessian regiments: and at one time a measure was actually in contemplation for receiving a body of Russian mercenaries into the service, but the proposal never took effect, owing to difficulties arising on the question of pay. The same practice has, indeed, been continued up to late years, when German and Italian Legions, composed of the refuse and scum of creation, were formed during the Crimean War. Nay, more than this. Our own laws were suspended in 1834, viz. the Foreign Enlistment Act, to raise troops in this country to fight against Don Carlos in the Civil War in Spain: and we also descended to negotiate and ratify a convention with such government that the

troops so raised should not be shot like other pirates in case of capture.

It was, however, in the petty States of Germany, and notably in those of Saxony and Hesse, that the practice of employing foreign hirelings for service in the armies of Great Britain had its chief field of operation, and that more especially during the war of American Independence. In those countries there were bazaars in which human beings were exposed in batches for sale like bales of goods in an auction room, and all this, let it be remembered, was under the sanction of their rulers, who were to receive £25 a head for every man so enlisted who should *remain* in America: an incredible fact, but of which the following letter, itself more significant than any comment which we could offer, affords a conclusive proof. In these terms did the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel write to the Hessian Commander in the British service after the battle of Trenton.

‘ You cannot imagine the joy I have felt in learning that of one thousand nine hundred and fifty Hessians that were in the battle only three hundred and forty-five have escaped, exactly sixteen hundred and fifty men killed. . . . Therefore, it is six hundred and forty-three thousand florins which the Treasury owes me according to our agreement. The Court of London objects that there was a hundred wounded that ought not to be paid for as dead. But I hope you will remember the instructions I gave you at your departure from Cassel, and that you have not endeavoured to keep alive by inhuman aid the unfortunates whom you can only save by cutting off a leg or arm. This would be making them a sad present, and I am sure that they would rather die with glory than live mutilated and without the power of serving me. Remember, that of the three hundred Lacedemonians who defended the Straits of Thermopylæ not a man returned. How happy should I be if I could say as much of my brave Hessians !’

Let it not, however, be supposed that such an incident is out of place as being of anterior date. The like will recur, and must recur, whilst the cause is suffered to remain. That cause is the confounding in modern times of the judicial and executive functions.

It is to be remarked that the great disturbances of human society have not been the work of governments, but of the people themselves when they have momentarily got power in their hands.

These disturbances of the natural order may in their results be reduced to four—1. Taxes; 2. Debt; 3. Standing armies; 4. Conscription.

ANDREW T. SIBBALD.

ART. VI.—THE ROMANCE ROBERT BRUCE RELATED.

1. *Les Anciens Poetes de la France*. Vol. IV. *Fierabras chanson de geste*. Par MM. A. KROEBER ET G. SERVOIS. Paris, 1860.
2. *The English Charlemagne Romances*. Part I. *Sir Ferumbras*. Edited by SIDNEY J. HERRTAGE, B.A. London, 1879.
3. *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*. Par GASTON PARIS. Paris, 1865.

‘THE king, eftir that he wes gane
 To lowchlomond the way has tane,
 And come thar on the thrid day.
 Bot thar-about na bait fand thai,
 That mycht thaim our the watir ber.
 Than war thai wa on gret manner :
 For It wes fer about to ga ;
 And thai war in-to dout alsua,
 To meyt thar fayis that spred war wyd.
 Tharfor, endlang the louchhis syd,
 Sa besyly thai socht, and fast,
 Tyll Iamys of dowglas, at the last,
 Fand A litill sonkyn bate,
 And to the land It drew, fut hate,
 Bot It sa litill wes, that It
 Mycht our the wattir bot thresum flyt.
 Thai send thar-off word to the king,
 That wes Ioyfull off that fynding ;
 And fyrst in-to the bate is gane,
 With him dowglas ; the thrid wes ane
 That rowyt thaim our deliuerly,
 And set thaim on the land all dry :
 And rowyt sa oft-syss to & fra,
 Fechand ay our twa & twa,

That in A nycht & in A day,
Cummyn owt our the louch ar thai.
For sum off thaim couth swome full weill,
And on his bak ber a fardele.
Swa with swymmyng, and with rowyng,
Thai brocht thaim our, and all thar thing.
The king, the quhilis, meryly
Red to thaim, that war him by,
Romanys off_worthi ferambrace,
That worthily our-cummyn was
Throw the rycht douchty olywer :
And how the duk-peris wer
Assegyt In-till egyptor,
Quhar king lawyne lay thaim befor,
With may thowsandis then I can say.*

So wrote Barbour in *The Bruce*, the one unquestioned work which has come down to us from the pen of the indefatigable and patriotic Archdeacon of Aberdeen. We say 'unquestioned,' because according to the latest German authorities, who in these matters claim, and perhaps not without reason, to know more than we do ourselves, it appears that the Scottish Version of the *Lives* or *Legends of the Saints*, which during recent years has been attributed to Barbour, cannot with anything like certainty, notwithstanding the arguments of the late Mr. Bradshaw and Dr. C. Horstmann, its German Editor, be claimed for him, but must be assigned to another and perhaps later hand. Our purpose, however, is not to enter into any examination respecting the character or genuineness of Barbour's works. For the present we are disposed to congratulate ourselves on the fact, that, as yet at least, no German Editor has arisen to dispute or question the genuineness of the great poem from which the above lines are taken, or to suggest that it was not written by Barbour; and believing that the lines were actually written by him and have something of truth in them, we wish to avail ourselves of the opportunity of directing attention to the incidents they describe, and more particularly to the old Romance, of whose ancient popularity they are an extremely interesting record.

* *The Bruce*, Book III., 405-443. Dr. Skeat's Edition.

At the time they refer to the fortunes of King Robert the Bruce were extremely low. The battle of Dalry, where, notwithstanding the perils of winter the King had performed, his troops had suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Allister Marshall, Lord of Bannock, was over: the Queen had fled to St. Andrew in Bannock, where she was afterwards taken by William, Earl of Ross, and carried a prisoner to Edward: the ladies who with her had accompanied the army from Aberdeen had been sent for safety to the Castle of Kildrummy under the escort of Athole and Neil de Bruce: and the King with a remnant of about two hundred men, after wandering about in the mountains for three nights and three days without food had arrived about midnight on the eastern shores of Loch Lomond. Here a considerable time had been spent in searching for some means of crossing over to the other side of the Loch, in order to continue the march, or retreat, to Kintyre. At last Sir James Douglas had found a half-sunken boat sufficiently large to contain two men besides a rower. The King and Sir James had crossed first, and then the greater part of the rest were brought over two by two. And it was here on the western side of the Loch, as the men came in two by two after making the difficult and hazardous passage in the darkness, and gathered round the watch-fire, that Bruce entertained them by relating the old *‘Romanys off worthi ferambrose.’* The scene which Barbour's lines suggest is full of interest. There is something wild and weird about it: and not a little that is instructive. It shows the straits to which Bruce was reduced, the familiar terms on which he lived with his men, his solicitude for them, and his own fertility of resource. It shows, too, the genuine kingliness of his character, and whence, to some extent at least, it was nourished. His men were wearied, utterly worn out and dejected by reason of their reverses, their long wanderings in the mountains, and their want of food. Bruce alone retained his serenity and confidence, and by the simple expedient of setting before them the examples of chivalrous endurance and instances of victory

* Fordun, *Annals*, c. cxx.

obtained after almost hopeless defeat, by which, amid the severe reverses of his own fortunes, he was himself sustained, he sought to drive away their despondency and to inspire them with his own indomitable hopefulness and courage. The selection of 'worthi ferambrace,' as we shall see, when we come to follow the story, was not without a certain fitness for their forlorn condition.

The Romance of Ferambrace, or to give it its French and original title, *Fierabras*, is, as we need hardly say, one of the many *chansons de geste* which grew up about Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers, and which still remain to celebrate their feats of arms. The origin and history of these Romances has been exhaustively treated in the remarkably learned and entertaining volume whose title we have placed above over the name of M. Gaston Paris. There the reader will find all, or almost all, that can be told about the development of the Charlemagne literature, and told, too, in the most charming way, with many evidences of careful study and acute criticism. It is to be hoped that a work of a similar nature will soon make its appearance among ourselves. The materials for such a work are to hand, and with the completion of the Early English Text Society's issue of the English versions of the Charlemagne Romances it will become a necessity, if for no other purpose than the supplementing and correction of the chapter devoted to them in the latest edition of Warton. Here we must content ourselves with a couple of remarks, and then confine our attention to the Romance before us. The first remark is, that in the opinion of M. Gaston Paris the poetical history of Charlemagne undoubtedly originated during the lifetime of the Emperor.* The second is, that the original literary source of the majority of the legends which afterwards grew up about him, is the work of the anonymous Monk of Saint Gall, entitled *De Gestis Karoli Magni*.† Of the origin of this work M. Gaston Paris gives the following interesting account:—'During a visit which the Emperor Charles le Gros, a very great admirer of his grandfather, made to the monastery of Saint Gall in

* *Histoire Poétique*, pp. 37, 38.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

Switzerland he met with an old monk who greatly interested him by recounting a number of anecdotes more or less curious respecting Charlemagne, of which the greater part were unknown to him. This monk had passed his boyhood with an old soldier of the Empire at Gertrude, one of the many officers of Charlemagne. All of his campaigns Adalbert was fond, as all old soldiers are, of relating them in a more or less amplified form. Very often he would place the child on his knees in order to narrate to him the history of the *grande armée* in which he had served. The young boy would often have preferred to play with his comrades, but obliged to remain with Adalbert, he listened and measured up in his memory all that he heard. Afterwards he became a monk at Saint Gall, and there met with the son of his old friend, Werimbert, who in his turn related to him many curious things in reference to Charlemagne's relation to the Church, his piety, his wisdom, and his knowledge. When Charles le Gros quitted the monastery of Saint Gall, he summoned the monk who had recounted to him the old recollections of his boyhood, to write them down for him, and in obedience to the imperial command he wrote his book *The Acts of Charlemagne*.*

Of all the *chroniques de France* about Charlemagne few attained to so high an enduring a popularity as that of *Fierabrax*. Its author is unknown, but his work, as its editors, MM. Kroeber and Servois remark, and as we shall presently see, has been translated in Provençal and in French, while translations and imitations of it have appeared in almost every language of Europe. A Provençal version of it was printed in 1829 by Immanuel Bekker at Berlin, from a MS. of the Thirteenth Century, formerly belonging to the Abbey Saint Germain des Prés, but which since 1814 has formed part of the library of Prince de Wallerstein. It consists of 5084 lines, and has been regarded by some as the original. In the opinion of M. Fauriel it is extremely difficult to tell whether it or the French is the *Mère*; but in the opinion of MM. Kroeber and Servois—an opinion which they may be said to have demon-

* *Ibid.*

strated—it is a translation from a French original which is now lost.* Of the French version five MSS. are known to exist: two in the Imperial Library at Paris, one in Rome, another in the British Museum, and the fifth, which has but recently been discovered, in the Municipal Library at Hanover. Of the Paris MSS. one belongs to the first half of the Thirteenth Century, and is written in the dialect of Picardy. The text, its editors say, is not very pure, but on the whole it is more complete and correct than that of any of the other three with which, when engaged in editing the poem, they were acquainted. The second of the Parisian MSS. belongs to the Fifteenth Century. The British Museum MS. belongs to the same Century, and forms part of a very magnificent folio volume on vellum, containing a large number of Romances both in prose and verse. The Roman MS. is in the Vatican Library, but unfortunately it is incomplete, about 2000 lines of the Romance being wanting. The Hanoverian MS. contains also an unique copy of a Romance entitled *The Destruction of Rome*, which represents the first part of the Romance of Balan, to which allusion will be made further on. It is immediately followed in the MS. by *Fierabras*, the text of which is said by M. Gaston Paris to differ but slightly from that printed by MM. Kroeber and Servois.

Singularly enough, previous to 1860 no French poetical version of *Fierabras* had been printed. Printed prose versions in French are numerous, and date as far back as the second half of the Fifteenth Century. The first edition was published at Geneva in 1478, with the title *Le Roman de Fier a bras, le geant*. It is in folio, Gothic letters, and consists of 115 leaves, unpagged. Another edition was printed in the same city in 1483, and a third, which is undated, bears the title *Fierabras, Roman par Henry Bolomier*. Copies of these editions are in the British Museum. Other editions were published at Lyons in 1486, 1489, 1496, and 1497. Brunet also mentions an edition in small folio and Gothic letters, which has neither place nor date. The History of *Fierabras* is also found in the

* *Fierabras*, pp. iv.-xiii.

Romance entitled *Conquête que fist le grand roi Charlemagne et des vaillances de Fierabras*, of which Brunet reports no fewer than twelve editions. That of Louvain, which was printed in 1588, has for its title *La conquête des grand roi Charlemagne des Espaines, avec les faits et gestes des douze Pairs de France et des grand Fierabras, et le combat juit par lui contre le Olivier, le quel le vainquist*. Another prose version of *Fierabras* was printed at Lons-le-Saulnier in 1810; and in the catalogue of the 'Librairie nouvelle' figures the *Légende nationale de Fierabras*, edited by M. Mary-Lafon, and illustrated by M. Gustave Doré, showing that the old Romance has not even yet lost its hold on the popular mind of France.

Outside the land of its origin *Fierabras* seems to have been received with the greatest favour in Spain. As early as 1528, it was translated by Nicolas Piamonte into Castillian prose, and published at Seville with the title *Historia del emperador Carlo Magno en la qual se trata de las grandes proezas y Nazañas de los doce Pares de Francia, y de como Fueron vendidos por el traydor Ganalón: y de la cruda batalla, que hubo Oliveros Con Fierabras, Rey de Alexandria*. Reprints of this translation appeared at Cordova in 1649, 1700, and 1777.* *Fierabras*, as readers of *Don Quixote* will remember, is mentioned by Cervantes, and was one of the Romances found in the redoubtable knight's library, and ordered by the priest and barber to be burnt. Calderon made use of it when writing *La Puente de Mantible*, and in the Eighteenth Century it furnished materials to Jose Lopez for a series of six Romances. Italy adopted the Romance earlier than Spain, and even imitated it in verse, a poetical version being published there towards the end of the Fifteenth Century, under the title *El cantare di Fierabbraccia et Olivieri*. In Germany a prose translation appeared in 1533 and was reprinted in 1809.

But it was in England that the first known translation of *Fierabras* was made. This is the poetical version edited by Mr. Sidney J. Herbage, from the Ashmole MS., for the Early English Text

* There are also two Portuguese editions of the work, the one belonging to the present, the other to the Eighteenth Century.

Society in 1879. The MS. of it, which is unique, belongs to the last twenty years of the Fourteenth Century, and is consequently about a century younger than the oldest of the French MSS. Speaking of this version its editor says, it is 'clearly a translation of a MS. of the same type as the *Fierabras*, edited by MM. Krœber and Servois. The author has followed his original closely so far as relates to the course of events, but at the same time he has translated it freely, introducing several slight incidents and modifications, which help to enliven and improve the poem. That he has not translated his original literally is shown by the fact that the French version consists of only 6219 lines, or, allowing for the missing portion of the Ashmole MS., not much more than one-half the number of lines in the latter, and that too, although he has cut down the account of the duel between Oliver and Ferumbras, from 1500 to 800 lines, by leaving out Oliver's attempts at converting the Saracen, Charlemagne's prayer, etc.' (p. xiv.). The MS., which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, is an octavo volume, consisting of 77 leaves of coarse thick paper. Very bad ink has been used, and in many places the writing has so completely faded that it is only possible to decipher it in a very strong sunlight. In his catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS., Mr. Black has given a minute account of the volume, which on several accounts is extremely interesting.

'The book,' he remarks, 'is not more curious than its ancient covers, which are now preserved in a case with it. They are a triple envelope of parchment flapping over the right hand cover, and consist of two sheets. The outer one is a letter executory of a bull of Pope Innocent VI. for the presentation of Thomas de Silton to the vicarage of Columpton, in the diocese of Exeter, then vacant by the death of Peter Moleyns; which bull, being addressed to the Abbots of Schirbourne and Cerne, and to John de Silvis, dean of S. Agricola at Avignon, was executed (by the last named) in the present letter addressed to the Bishop of Exeter. The foot containing the date is cut off; but the bull is dated at Villa-nova, 3 *id Maij*, anno 5, which is 1357.

'The inner cover is a very long and imperfect [latiu] instru-

ment, stating that before mass on the 7th Sunday after Trinity, in 1377, in the chapel of Holne, in the diocese of Exeter, Roger Langeman, rector of Lydelynche (dioc. Schirb.), publicly read and expounded an instrument which cites the proceedings and final sentence in the Court of Rome in consequence of the consecration of a burial-ground adjoining the said chapel, which was prejudicial to the rights of John Brygge, the Vicar of Buckfastleghe, to whose parish church the right of burial belonged, the said chapel being a member thereof. [But] these covers are most remarkable for having preserved a curiosity not equalled in any collection of MSS., and that for antiquity is unique of its kind, namely, a part of the author's original corrected draught of this poem [of "Ferumbras"] written on the back of the documents already described. Thus the lines [in the draught]—

‘ As Charles stod by chance at conseil with his feris
Whiche pat wern of france his oꝝene doꝝepers,’

are read at the foot of fol. 3 [ll. 258-9 of the corrected copy]—

‘ As Charlys was in his greuance stondyng among his feren
And connsailede with pe grete of fraunce and with ys doppeperen.’

‘The inner cover is folded double; and the draught, being written on the inner side, has been kept free from dust, though it is much worn at the edges and folds. The sheet contains four large columns of text, each equal to two-and-a-half pages of the MS.; half of the breadth of the fourth column was cut off to reduce the flap to a convenient width.’*

The draft and the MS. are in the same handwriting, and, in the opinion of Mr. Sweet, the handwriting is of the same character and period as that of the second document described as forming part of the cover, which is of the end of the Fourteenth Century. ‘The draft,’ Mr. Herrtage informs us, ‘is only of the earlier part of the poem, and contains numerous corrections.’ ‘The latter part of the poem itself,’ he continues,

* Quoted in *Sir Ferumbras*, pp. xv., xvi., by Mr. Herrtage, to whom the present writer is also indebted for the other particulars here given respecting the MS.

'is much corrected in the same handwriting, and was possibly written off at once, and not copied from a previous draft' (p. xvi). From the facts above cited Mr. Black infers that the author of the poem was a clergyman living in the diocese of Exeter and probably in the city of Exeter itself, who composed his work shortly after 1377, or early in the reign of Richard II. Mr. Furnival, on the other hand, comes to a different conclusion, and suggests 'that the author was not a man who cared much for bulls or Exeter diocese, and had no hesitation in using up for his poems documents that a Devonshire man would have valued and kept unharmed.' From this conclusion Mr. Herrtage dissents, pointing out, as his reasons for doing so, that it is not likely that the documents used would wander out of the diocese of Exeter, where their most likely place of deposit was the cathedral city, so soon after their date as the time when the draft of the poem was apparently written upon them, and that the documents themselves were not such as were likely to be very carefully preserved.

As already stated *Sir Ferumbas* is a somewhat free translation of a MS. of the same type as the *Fierabras*, edited by MM. Kroeber and Servois. It is written in short alternately rhyming lines, and though not an alliterative poem, there is a large amount of alliteration in it. At line 3411 a change occurs in the form and metre of the poem, which is all the more remarkable as there is nothing corresponding to it in *Fierabras*. The dialect in which it is written is the Southren, probably Devonshire, but with an unusually large admixture of Midland and Northern forms, such as *sche*, *thei*, *thai*, *thair*, *theym*, *aren* and *arn*, the participle in *-ande*, the adverb *algate*, and the preposition *til*.

The *chanson de geste* of *Fierabras*, as M. Gaston Paris has pointed out, is in reality but part of an earlier poem considerably amplified and rehandled. Of this poem, which was known to him at the time of writing only by the short analysis given of it by Philippe Mousket (v. 4666 *et seq*), the following is his summary: 'Puis Rome fut prise par force, et toute la population mise à mort, le pape tué, Château-Miroir pris, et toute la ville brûlée. Le duc

Garin et les siens entrèrent en Château-Croissant; car les Sarrasins, Turcs et Persans, avaient amené trop de monde et de Syrie et d'Espagne. Les chrétiens désespérés envoyèrent demander secours au bon roi Charlemagne, qui tenait sa cour en France. Le roi leur envoya Gui de Bourgogne . . . et Richard de Normandie. Ils reprirent *le Miroir*; le duc Garin, qui tenait Pavie et avait conservé Château-Croissant, prit aussi part à la bataille. Charles arriva lui-même, amenant ses troupes rassemblées de maint pays . . . il se dirigea vers Rome et fit grand mal aux païens. C'est alors qu'Olivier combattit l'orgueilleux Fierabras; il le vainquit, et reconquit les deux barils que celui-ci avait pris à Rome; il les jeta dans le Tibre, afin que personne ne pût plus boire du baume qu'ils contenaient; c'était celui-là même dont Jésus-Christ fut embaumé. Enfin tous les païens furent tués et les chrétiens reprirent Rome; on fit un autre pape, et Charles revint en France, louant Dieu et saint Pierre.* The first part of this, all of which M. Paris sums up under the title *Balan*, corresponds to the contents of the Romance entitled *The Destruction of Rome*, which precedes the text of *Fierabras* in the Hanoverian MS. Nor is *Fierabras* itself without distinct indications that it forms part of a greater whole. Thus, as M. Paris has pointed out, at the very outset we are introduced in *medias res*, in a manner which shows that the author takes it for granted that his readers are already well acquainted with the events he there rapidly describes. The introduction in fact is but a brief *résumé* of the first part of the poem M. Paris has summarized under the name *Balan*. References to past events occur also in the body of the poem, as for instance in the lines:

‘ Dès que je fui à Romme, m’a tout mon cuer emblé;
 Quant l’amirans mes peres fist gaster la cité,
 Lucafer de Baudas abati ens ou pré,
 Et lui et le cheval, d’un fort espiel quarré.
 Se cis n’est mes maris, je n’arai homme[n]é;
 Pour lui voel je croire ou roi de sainte maistés.’—2241-2246.

Similar allusions occur in *Sir Ferumbras*. The first leaf of the

* *Histoire Poétique*, p. 251.

MS. of that poem is unfortunately lost, but there is quite sufficient of the introduction remaining to show that it was cast on the model of that of *Fierabras*, and that in all probability it enumerated the same events. The lines from *Fierabras* just cited are reproduced in the following:—

‘ Wan that my fader sire Balan be-segede Rome Citæe,
 Thar saw y that doghty man to done a dede free :
 Lucafer the Kyng of Bandas, a strong kyng of renoun,
 In a stede y-armed was, and rode to that baroun.
 Lucafer egrelich wyth a spere mette hym in the feld,
 And gy the strokes away gan bere manliche with ys scheld.
 Gyoun thanne adrow is bronde, and gif him a strok with mayn,
 That hors and man a-doun it wend ; and leye ther on the playn
 Right fro that day in-to this ; myn herte hath he y-raft.’—2076-2084.

There is also a reference to a story already told in lines 3193-4, and probably also in line 65.

The author of *Fierabras* has not followed his original with any great degree of closeness. He has modified it to suit the altered tastes of the time, changed the scene of action from Italy to Spain, and for the simple matter of fact ending of the old poem has substituted one much more romantic. These facts, together with the numerous allusions in it to poetic literature, the introduction of magic, and the absence of any reference to it by any author earlier than the Fourteenth Century, have led M. Gaston Paris to regard it as a work which is comparatively recent,* and to believe that it was written wholly in the interest of the monks for the purpose of drawing the attention of the people to the sacred relics preserved in the Abbey of St. Dennis,† a purpose which, as we shall see, is clearly indicated in the introduction and conclusion of the poem.

The English *Sir Ferumbras*, as we have seen, could not have been written before 1377. King Robert Bruce died June 7, 1329, and the incident recorded in the lines cited from Barbour occurred in the August of 1306.‡ Bruce therefore could not

* *Histoire Poétique*, p. 252.

† *Histoire Poétique*, p. 252.

‡ Fordun, *Annalia*, c. cxx. The affair at Dalry was fought August 11, 1306.

have acquired his knowledge of the Romance from *Sir Fierabras*: he must have learned the story from *Fierabras*, and of this in the following pages we propose to give a summary.

The Romance professes to have been found in the Abbey of St. Denis, where it has lain five hundred years unknown. To those who listen it promises to show how Charles recovered the Crown of Thorns, the Nails, the Superscription (*le signe honneré*), and the other relics belonging to our Lord, and how he brought them to St. Denis, and there distributed them at the Fair of Lendit.*

Charles has assembled his barons and advanced with them to Morimond. Oliver, who commanded the advanced guard, was posted in the Valley of Rayer, and was there suddenly attacked by a body of five thousand Saracens. He himself was sorely wounded, and being hard pressed, but for the timely advance of Charles with the old Knights, the French would have been defeated. In the evening, when talking over the events of the day, Charles praised the conduct of the old Knights, saying, they had borne themselves better than the younger. Next morning, immediately after Mass, while Charles and his knights were seated at table and all was mirth and gaiety, there appeared before them Fierabras, King of Alexandria, the most redoubtable of the Saracens, who had recently taken Rome, slain the Pope, put innumerable monks, friars and nuns to death, and seized the Sacred Relics. Seeing the golden eagle, he knows that in the company before him are Charles and his celebrated Twelve Peers. He at once challenges the peers to mortal combat, threatening that unless they accept his challenge before the sun sets, he will attack the King and cut off his head. Having delivered his threat he dismounted, laid aside his arms, and threw himself down upon the grass beneath a tree to await the result. Charles, who has heard his words and is enraged at the insolence of his language, demands of Richard of Normandy whether he knows who the Turk is, and being told that he is Fierabras who has

* According to Cotgrave, Lendit was 'a great faire kept (in a field nere to St. Denis) from the second Wednesday of June untill Midsummer Eve.'

wasted Rome and taken away the Sacred Relics, he swears by St. Denis neither to eat nor drink until the haughty Saracen has been vanquished by one of his Knights, and forthwith commands Roland to accept the challenge. But the saying of the previous night is still rankling in Roland's mind, and he positively refuses, saying, 'Rather would I see thee torn asunder than that thou shouldst see me engaged with this pagan. . . . By the soul of my father, we shall see to-day, which of thy knights serve thee the better, the younger or the older of whom thou boastedst yesternight.' Furious at his reply Charles snatched up one of the gloves lying beside him on the table, and weighted as it was with golden knobs for buttons, hurled it straight into the face of Roland, hitting him upon the nose.* At this Roland drew his sword and threatened to slay the King on the spot, but Ogier the Dane and the Duke of Naimés intervening, the wrath of both was stayed and peace made.

All the while Oliver has been lying in his tent sick and wounded, but hearing that no one can be found to accept the challenge of the Saracen, he binds up his wounds with his own hands, calls for his armour, and in spite of the remonstrances of his squire Garin, arms himself for the field, and having girt Hauteclair upon his thigh, mounts and rides away to Charles, from whom he asks permission to fight with Fierabras. At first the King refuses his request, but Ganelon and Hardré, the traitors, demanding that Oliver should be sent; and the law being that whatever any two of the peers agree in asking it shall be done, Charles has no alternative, and Oliver is accordingly sent, notwithstanding the prayers of his father, Renier de Gênes, that another may be allowed to take his place. Oliver at once rides off, leaving the whole

* 'Karles trait sou gant destre, qu fu à or parés
Fiert le comte Rollant en travers sur le nés.' 167.

This is one of several touches of the comical which occur in the poem, and furnish M. Paris with a reason for regarding it as comparatively modern. Another reason is furnished by the introduction of magic into the poem—an element not found, he avers, in the older Romances. *Hist. Poétique*, pp. 252, note 3.

army overwhelmed with grief at his apparently inevitable fate, and the King commending him to the protection of God.

Arrived at the place where the Saracen reclined beneath the tree, Fierabras scarcely deigned to notice him. 'Who art thou, Saracen?' demanded Oliver. Fierabras tells him his name and boasts of the things he has done at Rome. Oliver defies him, but he refuses to fight, and asks him to describe Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver, and the rest of the King's Knights. Oliver praises the King and Roland, and on being further questioned, pretends to be Garin, the son of a vassal of Perigord, named Ysore, and concludes by saying that he has been sent by Charles to accept his challenge. Fierabras then asks why neither Roland, Oliver, nor any other of the Knights has come out to meet him, and is told it is because they despise him. 'But here am I,' adds the pretended peasant of Perigord; if thou art not afraid, fight with me.' Still desirous of drawing out one of the great Knights of France, Fierabras proposes to the pretended Garin a simulated passage at arms, and promises that when it is finished to yield his horse to him, on condition that he will lead it to Charles and tell him to send out Roland or Oliver, or some other of the great Knights. To this Oliver replies, it is too late, and bids him arm. Fierabras now sees the blood dropping upon the grass beneath Oliver, and asks if he is wounded. Oliver pretends that his horse has been restive, and that he has wounded it with his spurs. 'Thou canst not so deceive me,' exclaims the Saracen, 'the blood is above thy knees; thou art wounded in the body; but here bound to my saddle are two flasks filled with the balm with which Jesus Christ was embalmed on the day he was borne from the Cross to the Sepulchre: drink, and thy wounds will be healed, and thou wilt be better able to fight.*' Oliver refuses the balm, and Fierabras again asks him

* 'Certes, dist Fierabras, Garin vous i mentés,
Car li sans vous a ja les jenous surmontés ;
Tu es el cons ravrés, je le sai de vertés.
Mais voilà .II. barils à ma sele toursés,
Qui tuit sunt plain de basme dont Dius fu enbasnés
Au jour qu'il fu de crois el sepucure portés ;

to describe Roland and his companion Oliver. 'Look at me,' says the pretended Garin, 'Oliver is such an one as I am; Roland is not so tall, but he has a heart strong and courageous, and never fought with King or Emir whom he did not slay or vanquish.' 'Were there four such here,' rejoined Fierabras, 'I should not fear them.' At last provoked by the taunts of Oliver, the Saracen leaps to his feet, displaying his immense height and form. To borrow the words of *Sir Ferumbras* :—

And wan he stod appon the ground, huge was he of lengthe
Fifteuene fet hol and sound, and wonderliche muche of strengthe.
Had he been in Cryst be-leued, and y-vollid on the haly fant,
A bettre Knyght than he was preued, tho was ther non lyuand.*

Fierabras again tries to dissuade the supposed Garin from attempting to fight with him, but finding his arguments useless, resolves, though reluctantly, to meet him on the field. With the assistance of Oliver he arms himself. His swords are Plourance, Baptism, and Garbain which have been forged by three brothers and are of great size and strength. His horse, which is white and of Spanish breed, has been trained to trample the enemies of its master to death. Once more Fierabras attempts to dissuade Oliver from the combat, and astonished at his refusal entreats him to reveal his true name. 'I am Oliver,' replies the Count, 'one of the Twelve Peers.' 'I knew it,' exclaims the Saracen, 'from thy courage. But how can I fight with a dying Knight. Go

Plaie qui en est ointe, c'est fine verités,
Ne puet estre percie ne en drangle mellés :
Maintenant est li hons garis et repassés.
Je le conquis à Romme, ki est vostre cités.
Or va, si pren du basme tout à ta volenté,
Ja seras maintenant garis et repassés,
Puis te combattras mieus encontre moi assés.'—522-534.

* The French is much more concise :—

' Il est salis en pies, plus est fiers d'un sangler
En son estant puet en .XV. piés mesurer ;
Se il vauisist Jhesu croire ni atter,
Nul milleur chevalier ne péust ou trouver.'—574-566.

thy way, the tourney is ended; I will not joust with thee.* Oliver then tries to convert the Saracen. Fierabras again offers him the balm to drink, which he again refuses; and at last the combat begins. The French Knights who witness it are alarmed for their champion's safety, and Charles, covering his head with his mantle, hurries to a chapel to pray for his success. Roland now regrets that he is not in Oliver's place, but Charles restrains him, bidding him be silent and reminding him of his refusal to accept the challenge. Meantime the two adversaries are engaged in a terrific encounter. Each is wounded, and Fierabras seeing Oliver pale from loss of blood proposes that they shall leave off for a time. But Oliver replies: 'The sight of my blood only increases my strength. Look to thyself: I defy thee;' and the combat is renewed. Charles continues his prayers to the Virgin, and declares that if Oliver is vanquished, he will destroy every altar and crucifix, for which words Naines rebukes him. Impatient with the length of the fight Fierabras cries out, 'Mahom vous estes endormis.' Oliver, who is again wounded and begins to grow faint, prays. Fierabras, who has listened to his prayer with feelings of delight, again offers him the balm, bidding him drink and assuring him that it will make him as lively as a

* The full text is:—

' Et respont Olivier : " Tu m'as moult conjuré ;
 Qui tel raison t'aprinst, moult fu bien pourpensés.
 J'ai à nom Olivier, si sui de Gennes nés,
 Si sui compains Rollant et uns des .XII. pers. "
 ' Certes, dist Fierabras, je le savoie assés.
 D'aucun bien te venoit et d'aucune ferté
 Que ne pooies estre de bataille tournés.
 Bien sai de boin parage est tous tes parentés.
 Comment, sire Olivier, dont n'estes vous navrés ?
 Se ore t'ocioie, k'estroit mes pris montés ?
 Certes, ains en seroit laidement avilés,
 C'à un mort chevalier seroie en camp mellés.
 Or t'en reva ariere, li estours est finés ;
 Ne jousteroie à toi pour .M. mars d'or pesés.'—704-717.

swallow in May, and enable him to fight better.* Oliver again refuses it and the combat is renewed. The Saracen is then wounded, but having drunk some of the balm, is quickly restored. With a stroke of his sword, Oliver cuts away the two flasks containing the balm. They fall to the ground, and quickly dismounting he seizes one of them, drinks its contents, recovers his strength, and then throws both of them into the Tiber.† The weight of the gold with which they are set causes them to sink, but on the feast of St. John they rise to the surface. Enraged by the loss of the sacred balm, Fierabras slays Oliver's horse. Oliver advances to him on foot, and by a miracle the horse of Fierabras is prevented from trampling upon him as it has upon others. The French wish to come to the assistance of their countryman, but Charles insists on fairplay to the Saracen. Oliver reproaches Fierabras for slaying his horse. Fierabras offers to lend him his own, and as the offer is refused, dismounts. Charles utters another prayer, when an angel appears to him and tells him that Oliver will conquer, but not without wounds.

After giving and receiving many blows Fierabras succeeds in disarming Oliver, and advises him to renounce Christianity, offering him his sister Floripas in marriage. Oliver rejects the offer, and also refuses to accept his own sword back, but by a sudden spring seizes Fierabras' sword Baptism, with which he continues the fight. At length, after many blows and menaces, Fierabras is seriously wounded and asks for mercy. Illumined by the Holy Spirit, he promises to restore the Relics and desires to be baptized. His pitiable plight moves Oliver to tears, who kneels down upon the ground beside him and binds up his wounds. Fierabras beseeches him

* 'Olivier, car descent les cele fontenele,
Si buvras de cest basme qui ci pent à ma sele
Lors esteras plus sains k'en may n'est arondele,
Puis te combatras mix, quant ta force ert nouvele.'—993-996.

† 'Près fu du far de Rome ses a dedens jetés' (l. 1049). The author forgets that he has shifted the scene to Spain.

to carry him away as he does not wish to die a pagan, and warns him of an ambushade of fifteen thousand Saracens waiting for his return. Oliver lifts him upon his horse and mounts behind him, but the ambush breaks out. At first Oliver wishes Fierabras to dismount, lest he should be undertaken by the Saracens, but moved by his entreaties promises not to abandon him. Of the Saracens Brulant de Montmaire mounted on a dromedary, swifter than a hare, outstrips the rest. Fierabras now desires to be put down, asking only to be placed where he may escape the horses' feet. Oliver places him beneath a tree, and then, lightened of his burden, makes for flight, but the Saracens are around him on every side. He charges and performs prodigies of valour, but in vain. Borne down by the weight of numbers, he is taken captive, bound, and led away to Aigremont.

All too late Charles and his Knights arrive. They attack the Saracens, and drive them back with great slaughter, but rallying they slay Guillaume, Gauthier and Anséa. Bérart de Montdidier, Guilemer l'Escot, Aubri le Bourguignon, and Geoffroy l'Angevin are made prisoners, and, though put to flight, the Saracens carry them away along with Oliver. The French pursue them, Roland swearing he will never return till his companions in arms are rescued; but the sun sets and Charles orders the retreat.

On his way back to the camp, Charles sees Fierabras, and curses him. To his curses Fierabras replies by imploring assistance, and renewing his promises to fight along with the Christians, and to restore the Sacred Relics, saying, 'I have more sorrow for the misfortunes which have befallen Oliver than for my own, though I am wounded near to death.' Touched by his entreaties, Charles causes him to be placed on a shield, and to be borne gently by two knights to his own tent, where Roland and Ogier take off his armour, and the bishops Milon and Turpin baptize him under the name of Florent, though he continued to be called Fierabras, and the physicians being called in, to the great joy of the king, they promise to heal the captive in two months.

The Saracens with their prisoners meanwhile pass the Bridge of

Mantrible and enter the city of Aigremont, where Brulant tells Balan of the defeat and capture of his son Fierabras. Balan swears that Oliver shall be hanged and drawn; but Oliver prudently counsels his companions, whom Balan's oath has greatly alarmed, not to divulge their names, and when interrogated by the Spanish Emir as to his own name, replies, 'I am named Anguiré, I am the son of a vassal of Lorraine, and my companions are of poor and base parentage.' Disappointed Balan orders them to immediate execution; but Brulant advises him to wait till the following day, and in the meantime to put them in prison, urging that Charles may perhaps propose to exchange Fierabras for them. The Emir agrees, and the goaler having bound them strongly, leaves them without meat or drink in a dungeon into which the sea penetrates. Here their sufferings are intense; but during the night their cries reach the ear of Floripas, the Emir's daughter, of whose beauty the author of *Fierabras* gives a long and elaborate, but by no means unpoetical description, and she at once descends, accompanied by her maids, to make inquiries respecting the cries she has heard. Told of her brother's capture and conversion, she weeps for him, but still desires to learn more of the captive Knights, and appeals to Brutamont, whose description of Oliver only increases her desire to see him. Brutamont, however, refuses to allow her access to the prisoners. Whereupon she flies into a temper, and at a sign one of her attendants fetches a staff with which she attempts to break open the prison door. Brutamont runs to stop her, when she knocks his brains out, opens the prison door, and rolls his body into the dungeon, where it disappears in the water. The Knights imagine it is the devil, but Floripas, descending into the dungeon with a lighted torch in her hand, inquires who they are, and having made them swear obedience to her, leads them, with the assistance of her chamberlain, Marmouset de Goré, by an old, disused passage to her own chamber, promising them food and safety.

Floripas' chamber is described as a place of exceeding beauty. On the ceiling the painter has expended all his art, having covered it with representations of the heavens and earth, winter and summer, forests and mountains, birds and beasts and creeping things. The room was built, it is said, by King Methusaleh, who, we are

assured ('ce dist on par verité'), died of grief because King Naaman desired to have it. In the garden there grow all manner of herbs, and among them the Mandrake, which has the property of curing every kind of wound or disease. In the chamber the knights are recognised by Morabonde, Floripas' governess, who wishes to inform the Emir about them; but her young charge has no desire that she should, and calling her aside to where a window is standing open, gives a sign to Marmouset, who throws her out into the sea below. The knights are then fed, and Floripas having obtained some mandrake from the garden heals the wounds of Oliver and the rest. The knights again swear to obey her, and in return she discloses her love for Guy of Burgundy, whom she had seen at Rome, and protests that she will wed no other, avowing her readiness for his sake to believe in the Christian God.

Meanwhile, in the King's camp, Renier de Gênes, Oliver's father, had thrown himself at the feet of Charles, and entreated that he might be permitted to go in search of his son on the following morning. Charles promises that Roland shall go, and that proceeding to Aigremont he shall demand from Balan the release of the Knights and the delivery of the Sacred Relics. Roland urges that if he goes, he will never return. The Duke of Naimés remonstrates with the king, and urges that Roland be not sent; whereupon the king charges them both with the mission. Basin de Genevois, Thiéri, Ogier, and Richard of Normandy try to move the King from his purpose, but failing, they resolve to accompany Roland and Naimés, and are joined by Guy. On their way they are met by fifteen Saracen kings sent by Balan to require Charles to believe in Mahomet, to release Fierabras, and to hold France as a vassal of Spain. In the combat which follows, all the Saracens are slain, except one, who alone escapes to carry the tidings to the Emir. After resting, Naimés proposes to the Knights that they shall return. Roland, on the other hand, proposes that they shall take the heads of the kings, and, going with them to Aigremont, present them to Balan. In spite of the remonstrances of Naimés, Roland's proposal is adopted, and hurrying forward the Knights at length arrive at the terrible Bridge of Mantriblé, which is guarded by a

giant, and crosses an innavigable stream. Bérart wishes to force a passage, but listening to the counsel of Naimés, they hold a parley with the porter, who demands as toll the ransom of seven hundred slaves, a hundred maidens, as many falcons, five hundred steeds, and the same number of palfreys, besides gold and silver and precious stones. Naimés replies that he and his companions have left their escort behind, but that if he will but wait its arrival, all shall be paid. On this understanding they are allowed to pass. As they cross the bridge Roland meets a Saracen, and, much to the dismay of Naimés, throws him over into the water.

Arrived at Aigremont, Naimés imposes silence on Roland, and having found the Emir, tells him that on the other side of the Bridge they had met with fifteen lords who wished to relieve them of their horses, and that rather than allow them they had cut off their heads. But while he is speaking the king who had escaped, recognises and denounces them. Balan, however, bids Richard, Basin and Thiéri say on, when each repeats the same story. Thiéri he asks to give him an account of Charles, and is told that if Charles were present, he would soon give him a blow on the ear with his fist. 'Friend' replies Balan, 'if thou hadst me in thy hall as I have thee in mine, what wouldst thou do to me.' 'By my faith,' responds Thiéri, 'I would hang thee before complines.' 'So will I do to thee,' rejoins the Emir. Roland, Ogier and Guy are in turn interrogated by Balan, who then bids them stand aside. Having taken the advice of his councillors, he resolves to hang the Knights, and then to advance on Morimond, in order to attack Charles.

Floripas who has heard the noise now descends from her chamber, comes to the palace, and asks her father who the Knights are. Balan informs her, when she persuades him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sortibrant, to defer their execution until he has dined, and in the meantime to entrust their safe-keeping to her. She then leads them to her chamber, where to their great surprise and joy they find their companions in arms. Floripas exacts a promise of obedience and help from them, and then inquires the names and qualities of her new captives. On hearing the name of Roland she casts herself at his feet, and

avows her love for Guy of Burgundy. Roland points him out to her. At first Guy protests that the only woman he will wed is she whom he receives from Charles; but the Emir's daughter is no ordinary lover. She threatens to have them all hung before night unless Guy promises to wed her, and he accordingly yields. The two are then betrothed and Floripas points out to the Knights the Sacred Relics.

In the meantime, while Balan was enjoying his noon-day meal surrounded by his chief officers, Lucifer de Baudas had arrived, and having learned what had become of the French Knights, reproached the Emir with having entrusted them to the keeping of his daughter. Balan grants him permission to enter her chamber, and thither he at once proceeds, beats down the door, and entering, seizes Naimes by the beard, takes a brand from the fire and burns his mouth. A scuffle ensues, when, with a blow of his fist, Naimes kills the Saracen, and then throws him upon the fire. Floripas now advises the Knights to put on their armour and kill all the Saracens they can. They attack Balan, who is still sitting at the table, slay all who come in their way, and take possession of the Tower. Balan manages to escape by jumping out of a window into the moat below, where he is nearly suffocated by the mud, but his cries for help being heard, he is rescued. Sortibrant upbraids him for not following his advice, and counsels that they wait till morning before endeavouring to regain the Tower. The Emir agrees, rejoicing in the thought that the French have had no food for four days. During the night, Maubrun, Balan's *maistre larron*, is despatched to obtain the magic girdle from Floripas. With the aid of sorcery he manages to obtain access into the castle and to secure the girdle, but attempting to ravish the princess, she awakes, gives the alarm, and the knights coming to her aid, he is slain and thrown out of a window with the magic girdle which he had fastened round his body into the sea.*

Next morning Balan, who divines the fate of Maubrun from his

* The introduction of magic into the poem, as before noted, is one of the reasons which induce M. Gaston Paris to regard the Romance as a comparatively recent work.

non-arrival, delivers an assault upon the castle, but without success. The Frenchmen, on the other hand, begin to suffer from hunger. Floripas tells them that their God is powerless ; ' Had you believed in ours,' she says, ' you would have had both to eat and drink in abundance.*' She then conducts them by a subterranean passage to the place where her gods are kept. † After admiring the jewels with which they were adorned, the Knights break them in pieces, and Floripas, persuaded of the weakness of her deities, avows her belief in the Christians' God. The pangs of hunger, however, compel the knights to adopt some means in order to procure food, and they resolve on a sally. In the encounter which ensues, Basin is killed, and Guy is made a prisoner, the Tower is nearly lost, and all that the Knights secure is three loaves, three peacocks, and a barrel of wine.

The news of Guy's capture affects Floripas profoundly. Four times she faints, and in the paroxysms of her grief vows that unless he be speedily restored to her she will surrender the Tower. ‡ ' Gods!' she exclaims, ' now have I forgotten the hunger and thirst from which I have suffered these three days!' || Roland, touched with the depth of her grief, promises to restore Guy to her on the following day, and Oliver suggesting that nothing can be gained by lamenting, and that they have not eaten or drunk for three days, the Knights enter the palace and sit down to meat with Floripas and her maidens.

In the camp of Balan plans were being formed for the recovery of the Tower. On the suggestion of Sortibrand twenty thousand

* Seigneur dist Floripas, envers moi entendés :
Moult est petit poissans li Diex à vous créés ;
S'eussies ore tant les nos diex aourés,
A menger eussies et à boir à plenté.'—3145-3148.

† During the Middle Ages it was a prevalent but erroneous and unfounded belief that the Mohammedans worshipped idols.

‡ ' Baron, par cel Signeur, qui fist ciel et rousée,
Se je ne rai Guion, dont doi estre espousée,
Je rendrai ceste tour ains demain l'ajornée ;
Pour tout l'or de cest mont n'en seroie tensée.'—3363-3366.

|| ' Diex ! or ai je le faim et le soif oubliée,
De quoi je ai .iii. jours itel noise menée.'—3373-3374.

men were placed in ambush during the night, in the morning a gibbet was erected in front of the castle, and Guy led out with a rope round his neck for execution. On awakening the inmates of the castle soon understand what is about to be done with their comrade. Floripas entreats them to save her betrothed, and Roland and twenty knights, after kissing the Crown of Thorns, ride out to the rescue, the rest being left behind to guard the castle. Roland and Ogier succeed in rescuing Guy, but are immediately attacked by the troops in ambush. After a bloody fight in which Roland and Guy do wonders, and Basin de Langres is killed, they succeed in making their escape and in capturing sufficient food for three months.

Chagrined by the failure of the stratagem, the inventor of which he upbraids, Balan, after taking the advice of his council, resolves to set about the siege of the Tower in earnest. A hundred engines for casting fire are constructed by Mabon, and being brought up the assault is begun with the whole force of the Saracen army. The besieged fight like lions; Floripas and her maidens arm themselves and join in the defence; but step by step the assailants force their way, the castle is set on fire, and the French are thrown into great consternation. 'Have no fear,' cries Floripas, 'we can die but one death;' and with a mixture made of camels' milk and vinegar she extinguishes the flames. In-furiated by the resistance, and still more by the conduct of his daughter, Balan orders the attack to be made with increased vigour. The battlements are broken down and the Saracens are about to enter, when Floripas strives to encourage the knights and proposes to conduct them to her father's treasury where there is a quantity of bars of gold. 'Let us each carry an armful,' she says, 'and throw them as if they were stones; we have enough to defend ourselves with for fifteen days.' The plan succeeds. As soon as the soldiers discover what is being aimed at them they leave off the assault, and fall to quarrelling among themselves, and Balan, in order to save his treasures, orders the assault to cease. Subsequently Roland looking out of a window sees Balan seated at supper; the knights sally out; Roland unhorses and captures Espaulart of Nubia; and after pursuing the Saracens for some distance, returns without loss to the palace.

Floripas now counsels that a messenger be sent to obtain assistance from Charles, and proposes Richard of Normandy as the envoy. Naimes objects to any one going on so perilous a mission; Thierris insists on the necessity of a message being sent to Charles; Bérart and Guy offer to carry it; but Floripas refuses to hear of Guy going, and Richard of Normandy, approving the necessity and urging that he alone should be sent, the Knights agree to his proposal. Two months later, under cover of a sortie, made while Balan is hawking and the bridge unguarded, Richard accordingly sets out, and after many marvellous escapes, much fighting, and the intervention of supernatural agents, succeeds in escaping from the Saracens who are sent in pursuit of him, and hurries on to the camp at Morimond.

Meanwhile plunged into profound grief by the loss of Roland and the rest of his Knights, Charles had resolved to return to France in order to recruit his forces, and the army was already on its way from Morimond, when looking towards the West Charles saw a knight hurrying towards him, who was soon seen to be Richard of Normandy. The army was immediately halted, and Richard coming up the King demanded of him, 'what news of my nephew Roland and the other barons—are they still living?' Richard briefly recounts to him their history and beseeches him to go to their assistance. From intense grief Charles passes to intense joy. The resolution is at once taken to go to the assistance of the Knights; but not before Richard has acquainted the king with the difficulties of the route and the obstacles to be overcome in forcing the passage of Mantribe, for which, however, he has come prepared with a stratagem.

On the following morning the army is once more in motion, but with its face towards Aigremont. Arrived in the vicinity of Mantribe, Charles hides his army of a hundred thousand men in a dense wood, while Richard of Normandy and Renier accompanied by five hundred Knights go boldly up to Mantribe, attired as merchants with long gowns drawn over their armour, and their swords carefully concealed. Richard and three others precede the rest, each driving a pack-horse before him, and arrive at the bridge, where they are stopped by the hideous Agolaffre, constable of the kingdom of Balan and guardian of the Bridge, who

demands who they are and whence they come? 'I am a merchant,' answers Richard, who speaks Aragonese; 'I am carrying a large quantity of drapery to Mecca, where a great fête of Mahomet is to be held. We are come to Aigremont to sojourn two days, in order to show our wares to the Emir; and if it please him, we shall give some of our goods to him and his barons. As to these others, they are all slaves. Instruct us, good sir, as to what we must pay.' But Agolaffre remembering the events which have recently occurred, and his instruction to let neither squire nor boy, knight nor sergeant pass without examination, tells Richard that he must search them. Richard with his companions, Hoel de Nantes, Raoul d'Amiens and Renier, then rush to the gate. Agolaffre raises the bridge and they are prisoners. The giant gives orders for them to be disarmed, and taking Hoel by the head hurls him to the ground. Raoul, Richard and Renier immediately attack him. At first they are unable to wound him either on the head or in the body on account of his being covered with the skin of a serpent, but Renier seizing a huge bar of iron fells him. Richard lowers the bridge and his five hundred knights pass over it. Immediately after them comes Charles with his army, and at once gives battle to the Saracens, whom the giant's fall has brought upon the scene. Agolaffre recovers and is encountered by the King, who, after trying in vain to wound him in other parts of the body, stabs him between the eyes and casts his corpse into the water. The bridge won, the army marches on the town of Mantrible and besieges it for two days. Here the giant Effraon, after first placing his wife Amiette in a subterranean chamber, where she gives birth to two sons, rushes out clad in iron mail to the battle, and is slain by Charles, who pressing too far is with Richard, Renier, Hoel and Raoul, caught within the gates of the town and surrounded. Almost in despair he is encouraged by Richard, and raises the cry of 'Montjoie!' Ganelon hears the well-known cry and proposes to advance to his assistance, but Alori wishes to leave him to his fate. At this juncture Fierabras arrives, and, learning where Charles is, carries Ganelon and the rest with him, and obtaining an entrance, Charles is rescued and the town taken, but one Saracen escaping

the swords of the French to tell the story to Balan. Amiette, the giantess, however, still remains, and hearing of her husband's death, she seizes a scythe and kills several of the French. A bolt from the King's cross-bow slays her, and her two sons being found they are baptized by the Archbishop Herment, receiving the names of Roland and Oliver, but they survive their baptism only two months.

'It was in the month of May, at the beginning of summer, when the trees blossom and the fields grow green,'* when Charles entrusted the town of Mantribe to the guardianship of Hoel and Raoul at the head of seven hundred knights and leaving behind him the tents and pavillions, set out with his army amply provided with food and munitions of war toward Aigremont.

There, exasperated by the news he had received, Balan had reproached Mahomet and smitten his image with heavy blows. Sortibrant had remonstrated with him, counselling him to send out a spy to obtain news of Charles' army, and to make another attempt on the Tower in which the knights were shut up. Balan listened to the advice and ordered another assault. A breach was soon made and the Knights driven step by step to the utmost storey. All seemed on the point of being lost, when Floripas appeared with the Sacred Relics and having handed them to Naines, they were exposed to the Saracens, who struck with terror were precipitated below. The assault was renewed, but Roland, Oliver and Ogier, hurling the images of the Mahometan gods at the assailants, they withdrew.

Once more Balan curses Mahomet, and once more Sortibrant remonstrates with him, urging that though Mahomet is at present angry, as soon as his anger is appeased he will deliver the French into their hands. The Tower is again stormed, Balan leading on the assault. The Saracens put forth all their strength, and the French are beginning to give up hope, when Naines suddenly descries in the distance Charles and his army advancing to their relief. Balan also learns of their approach, and cries, 'By Mahomet, it is well

* 'Che fu ou mois de mai, à l'entrée d'esté,
Que florissent cil bos et verdissent cil pré.' 5094-5.

devised, they have the wrong and we the right ; the French will be checkmated.' *

The French army passed the night in the open under arms ; and with the dawn both hosts prepared for battle. Charles promises Fierabras that if Balan will receive baptism, his treatment of the messengers shall be overlooked : and Fierabras desires that in the event of his father refusing he may not be cut to pieces. Before the battle begins Ganelon is sent to summon the Emir to abjure Mohammedanism, and to restore the Sacred Relics on condition that he retain his kingdom. Balan orders Ganelon to be seized, who drawing his sword slays one of the Saracen kings, and riding away, makes his escape. Charles now marshals his army, dividing it into ten batallions of ten thousand men each. Among nine of them he distributes his Knights, and placing himself at the head of the tenth, advances to attack the fifty thousand Turks to whom Balan has entrusted the safe keeping of the Valley of Joshua. Brulant, the brother of Balan, acting under the command of Balan, singles out Charles and makes for him. The combat which follows is fierce and bloody, but at last the French force the passage of the Valley, and debouche on the plain of Aigremont. Here they find Balan with thirty kings and a hundred thousand men drawn up in battle array. At the first onset Sortibrant is slain by Renier, and the Saracens are panic-stricken. Enraged at the loss of Sortibrant, Balan charges at Huon of Milan and slays him, but when trying to make a prisoner of Milon, whom he has unhorsed, he is surrounded and almost captured. The knights now sally out from the Tower, and taking the Saracens in the rear spread havoc and dismay. In despair Balan charges into the middle of the fight and meets Charles. Each recognises the other. In the fight both their horses are slain, and the combat is continued on foot. Charles endeavours to convert the Emir, but Richard, Roland, Oliver, and Ogier coming up surround him, and in spite of his desperate defence make him prisoner. Fierabras who is a witness of his father's capture, advises him to submit. Balan curses

* ' Par Mahom, dist Balan, biens l'avons devisé,
Il ont tort et nous droit, François servut maté.' 5404-5.

him, and Fierabras, though inwardly grieving for his sad fate, receives his malediction with a smile. With the capture of their Emir, the resistance of the Saracens ceased, and Charles entered Aigremont in triumph at the head of thirty thousand troops.

On the morrow of the battle great preparations were made in Aigremont for the baptism of Balan. All being ready, the fallen Emir is led out by Fierabras, and is asked by Charles in the presence of his assembled court to abjure his faith; but though tempted by the offer of his kingdom, he declines. For a time neither threats nor entreaties move him; but at last he consents, and to the great joy of all the rite is begun; but on being asked by the Bishop if he will abandon the devil and pray to God ('S'il veut guerpir le diable et proier Diu merci'), he strikes him with his fist on the cheek, and would have plunged him into the water had not Ogier intervened. 'Death alone can avenge the outrage,' Charles says with sorrow to Fierabras. Floripas urges the French to slay her father, but Fierabras once more makes an appeal to the Emir to save his soul; but remaining inflexible, he is slain. Immediately thereafter Floripas is baptised and wedded to Guy, who receives with her the kingdom of Spain.

A month later, when the requisite measures had been taken to hold the conquered country, Charles prepared to return to France. He demanded from Floripas the Relics she had promised to restore. In obedience to his command, she brings out the casket in which they are preserved. The king kneels and presents the Crown of Thorns to the knights. In order to test its genuineness, the Archbishop raises it in the air, and withdrawing his hand, it remains suspended without support. A similar test is applied to the Nails. They also remain suspended in the air, and the Archbishop declares the Relics real. Charles then draws out the Superscription, which he exhibits and lays on a cloth beside the Crown and Nails. Then collecting the fragments which have become detached from the Thorns he places them in his glove, which he silently hands to one of his Knights, but he making no movement to take it, the glove also remains floating in mid air—a miracle which the Archbishop does not fail to point out. Charles and the Knights then go to dinner, and the revelry lasts till nightfall. During the night the King dreamed that a lioness

tried to tear him in pieces—a dream which Naines explains by saying that within four years Charles will have to renew his war with the Infidels.

Next morning, after Mass, the army sets out. Floripas accompanies it a short distance, and having bid the King adieu, returns weeping. Guy and Fierabras conduct Charles to the Bridge of Mantribe, where he remains overnight, and then separates from them. On the eighth day the army arrives at Paris and is dispersed. A great assembly is convoked at Saint Denis, where with great solemnity Charles exhibits the Sacred Relics, and afterwards distributes them: the Crown and one Nail to Saint Denis, and the Superscription to Compiègne, and in honour of them establishes at Saint Denis the fair of Lendit.

Three years later an expedition is made to Spain, where Roland is betrayed by Ganelon and sold to the pagans, by whom he is put to death; but he is soon avenged—Ganelon being torn in pieces and his accomplice Pinabel slain. Traitors have always a bad end.

So concludes the Romance Bruce recounted to his disheartened companions. It is essentially the story of a few brave souls fighting against a huge oppression, and finally obtaining the victory.

ART. VII.—THE UNIVERSITIES BILL.

THERE has been of late so much discussion on the subject of University Reform that it is well-nigh appalling to think that, unless time can be found for the Universities Bill in the autumn session, the whole thing will have to be done over again. This important measure is now in the sixth year of its Parliamentary existence. Though introduced by a Conservative administration, it is admitted on all sides to be a more thoroughgoing, a more comprehensive, a more truly liberal Bill than any of its predecessors. It was accorded a place in the programme of legislation set forth in the Queen's Speech at the opening of the session, and was introduced as soon as possible in the House of

Lords, for the express purpose of relieving the over-burdened Commons of a good deal of the preliminary talk which is the indispensable accompaniment of such a measure. But after all it may not pass. No great crime can be alleged against it: on the contrary petitions have been sent up in its favour by the bodies mainly concerned. The Universities are distinctly for it, on the whole. Courts, Councils, and Senates, have met and discussed the subject from every point of view, and intelligent editors have given every facility to the public for following the course of each debate. Everybody is sick of the University question. Even where little differences have emerged, eager disputants have loyally agreed to sink minor points in order to give no possible pretext for prolonging a state of uncertainty and tension which is in the highest degree harmful to the Universities and to the cause of higher education. But just when we had begun to indulge the hope that an important stage of the Reform controversy was nearly over, we are brought face to face with the fact that unless the Bill can be put through in the coming session it will not in all probability be heard of again for many a long day to come.

It should be clearly understood that this will be the fault of nobody but the Scotch members themselves. The well-founded complaints as to the neglect of Scotch business will naturally make the Government anxious to afford what facilities they can for a measure of such importance; and the Cabinet contains at least three members, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Cross, whose personal connection with our University affairs may be expected to operate in favour of the Bill. But time is precious; and if, after all that has been done, certain Scotch members insist on beginning at the beginning again, and seek to inflict on the House tedious generalities, or to entangle it in the discussion of unreal motions, we shall know what to expect. There are some points, as will appear from the sequel, with which the House of Commons will certainly concern itself; but it is to be hoped that it will be able to discriminate between the views of members who address themselves to the discussion of practical points, by which the Bill may be still further improved, and the empty talk of irresponsible free-lances, whose main wish is to overturn the existing constitution of the Universities in order that an

entirely new departure may be taken on a model approved by themselves.

It will be advisable to set forth the main features of the Bill as it now stands, and from these we may be able to form some forecast of the points which may still afford the subject of legitimate debate in the House of Commons. A good deal of hazy talk has been indulged in by those who have not even mastered the contents of the measure they profess to discuss; and at this critical stage a short *résumé* may be useful to those who, as we hope, will soon be asked to read the Bill a second time. From this it cannot fail to appear that, while minor amendments may be desired on certain points, there is almost no truly desirable reform which is not made possible under the text of the Bill, and which the Commissioners may not be reasonably expected to carry into effect.

The object of the Bill is briefly stated in the preamble to be 'to make provision for the better administration and endowment' of our Universities and 'for improving and regulating the course of study therein.' These points have already supplied the material for copious discussion, which may be briefly recapitulated here.

Administration and Endowment.—Even the Senates themselves have acquiesced in one of the cardinal proposals of the Bill,—the transference of financial and other control from the Professors to a reconstituted University Court. This transference is obviously necessary in view of the growing complexity of ordinary business; and any regret which may have been felt at the acceptance of so radical a change will doubtless soon be lost in the sense of greater freedom it secures for the more thorough discharge of teaching duties, and for the prosecution of original research. The importance of the functions which are now to be entrusted to the Court has attracted special attention to its constitution. Two main objections are made, both of which will probably be heard of again: the first is, that the Court is unduly large, and the second, that sufficient representation has not been given to the 'general public.' As to size, it should be explained that whereas the Courts have hitherto consisted of from six to eight members, the provisions of this year's Bill make it impossible that the members shall in any case number fewer than fifteen,—seven

to be a quorum. It was obvious that some increase would be necessary in order to give representation to the various interests concerned; and few who have any knowledge of the excellent features of such a constitution as that of the Victoria University will have any hesitation in accepting the proposed change. Institutions which are to keep abreast of the times should avoid all possibility of the reproach that they are governed by close corporations. If it is objected that the responsibility, for example, of financial control may sit lightly on a body consisting of not less than fifteen members, attention should be called to the clause which empowers the Courts 'to appoint Committees of their own number consisting of not less than five members, with powers either to transact directly such business as may be entrusted to them by the University Court, or else to report thereon to the University Court' (6: 8). This arrangement, which is a conspicuous feature in the working of every local college, will secure the efficient management of the various departments of administrative business while not relieving the Court of the duty of a general control. As to the exercise of patronage, there are perhaps as many objections to a small elective body as to a large one, though they may differ in kind. It has been proposed to reduce the numbers by giving the Senates only two representatives instead of four, and by consequence making a corresponding reduction in the representatives of the General Council: the two are understood to go together,—like the cat and the mouse. But few Professors are so universal in their sympathies as to be competent to represent all the departments of University work; and if the Council cannot lay its hands on four graduates qualified to do yeoman service, so much the worse for the Council. In regard to the 'general public' element, it is of course impossible to meet the views of those who contend that the main control of the Universities should be vested in Scottish *patres familias*, in virtue of their having families to look after; but it may be pointed out that even at St. Andrews, where municipal representation has fallen between the two stools of St. Andrews and Dundee, public interests will be by no means neglected if the election to the various assessorships is judiciously made. The two Crown assessors, for example, whom Lord Rose-

bery stigmatised as ‘amiable superfluities,’ would most naturally be appointed on public grounds. The Senatus is confirmed by the Bill in its function of superintending and regulating teaching and discipline, and the power to initiate changes in all educational matters will no doubt secure that due weight shall be given to any representations from the Professors on such subjects as degrees, curriculum examinations, fees, etc. The higher status accorded under the Bill to the General Council, and the more definite functions with which it is to be invested, ought to give that body greater coherence than it has hitherto been able to boast of. Its capacity for good work cannot be doubted by any who have studied the Reports issued by the Business Committee of the Glasgow Council, some of which form very important contributions to the literature of University reform; and stated business of importance, such as the annual election of an assessor, and the consideration of the Court’s report on the state of the finances, may be expected to keep graduates fully in touch with the affairs of their Alma Mater.

Over all is the Universities’ Committee of the Privy Council, a body first constituted in the Bill of 1884, and to which definite functions are now entrusted in the matter of the extension of the Universities by the union or affiliation of other Colleges. The University Court and this Committee have between them an amount of authority which we may hope will make it unnecessary to pass an Act of Parliament every twenty years for the better administration of the Universities.

So much for Administration. As to *Endowment*, the amount of the annual grant from the Consolidated Fund is left blank in the Bill, but it is understood that it is to be at least £47,000—an increase of £14,000. The finality clauses have disappeared, as well they might, in view of the ever-growing needs of higher education. Our Universities are not told that to all future time they need not ‘apply again.’ The fact that the present Government has promised a grant of money to the provincial Colleges shows that our rulers are awakening to a sense of the insufficiency of the provision for centres of higher education in this country as compared with the Continent. The sum asked for is £4000

a year to each of the eleven or twelve Colleges which have been established in large centres of population. The movement has obtained the powerful support of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education, which is naturally interested in the scientific work that is being done by these Colleges in our great industrial centres throughout the country. The matter will in all probability be discussed on a motion for a supplementary estimate in the autumn session, and it is to be hoped that grants will be given on a liberal scale. The magnificent instances of private generosity which have delighted the country within recent years have no doubt accomplished great things; but they do not relieve the State altogether of the duty of providing something more than elementary education for the masses of the people in whom political power is now so largely centred. If the application of the local Colleges is successful, it ought not to be difficult to get the Treasury to fix the Scotch Universities grant at £50,000 instead of £47,000, especially when it is remembered that this sum is to a great extent a commuted grant, representing the ancient revenues of the four Universities. This fact is too often forgotten by Englishmen in their arguments that the State owes a special duty to England in this matter of higher education, Scotland being already provided for.

The Improvement and Regulation of the Course of Study.—The main points proposed to be dealt with under this head are the following :—(1) The institution of an entrance examination ; (2) the composition and number of the faculties ; (3) graduation ; (4) extra-mural recognition ; and (5) the length of the session.

1. Entrance Examination. Glasgow is the only University which has as yet instituted anything like an entrance examination in Arts, though the distinction is shared by the University College of Dundee. The Dundee College accepts no day student under fifteen years of age, and requires all under sixteen to pass an examination in ordinary school subjects—the intention being to discourage attendance on the part of any who would be better at school. In Glasgow University the limit of age is seventeen, but the regulations provide that students under that age who do not present themselves for the examination, or who fail to pass it,

' will be permitted to attend any of the classes in the curriculum of Arts for purposes of instruction, but such attendance will not qualify for graduation, nor entitle a student to receive a Public Certificate of Attendance.' The Commissioners will have in the first place to determine whether the examination shall apply to all students, or only to those who intend to graduate (14, 5c.). There ought to be no hesitation as to the expediency of instituting an entrance examination of some sort. No doubt instances can be alleged where youths of promise, who have since risen to high positions, would have been shut out if such an examination had existed in the past; but the opportunities of previous education are greater now, and it is no less necessary to remember that no record has been kept of the number of those whom some wrong-headed ambition has tempted to the University, and who have passed from class to class without let or hindrance, until they have found an insurmountable barrier in the Degree examinations. The vigour with which the Scotch Education Department is pushing the scheme of 'Leaving Certificates' will probably give the Universities less to do in this matter than would otherwise have been the case; but if these certificates continue to be restricted to pupils from secondary schools, there will always be others to whom the test should be applied by the Universities themselves. If some common action could still be taken, and standards as uniform as possible secured in the different local examinations, that would also be a step in the right direction.

2. The composition and number of the faculties. This subject is closely connected with the next, graduation; and the main difficulty that presents itself is that it is much easier to devise a new scheme on paper than to show how the resources of the Universities can be made adequate to the teaching of all the subjects that ought to be included in the curriculum. The Faculty of Arts will probably have to be split up, and divided into a Faculty of Arts and a Faculty of Science, organised groups of subjects being prescribed in connection with each. The most crying needs for the ordinary curriculum are Chairs of History, Modern Languages, Economics, and the Fine Arts; and if the support of the public could be diverted from the foundation of bursaries (of which there are at some of the

Universities enough and to spare), means might be found for instituting lectureships, with small endowments, in all the Faculties. The Bill expressly empowers the Commissioners to 'regulate and alter the constitution, composition, and number of the faculties, and to create new faculties,' as well as 'to found new professorships, lectureships, or teaching fellowships where they are required, and where there are sufficient means for their endowment, either from the funds administered by the Commissioners or otherwise.'

3. Graduation. Here the battle will be waged round the M.A. degree, and the Commissioners will find that several schemes have already been put forward for making that degree more fully available. That some reform is needed is obvious from the fact that at present only about one-third of the Arts students proceed to graduation. The unsuitability of the M.A., except for those who are preparing to be clergymen or teachers, and for such as desire to obtain a guarantee that they have received certain parts of a general education, was recognised by the Commissioners of 1876-78; and in order to make it more suitable and attractive to various classes of students they recommended that there should be allowed 'a tolerably free choice along several distinct lines of study, adapted to various bents of mind and having relation to different professional pursuits.' The options they recommended were literature and philology, philosophy, mathematical science, law and history, and natural science. They approved at the same time of the institution of a science faculty, with the degree of B.Sc., and thus laid themselves open to the criticism that while retaining a special degree in science, they had made it possible at the same time to take the M.A. in purely science subjects. The demand that, if the scheme of options is carried out, an indication shall be given of the particular department in which the degree has been taken would probably lead to some rather awkward manipulation of the lettering; but if radical changes are to be introduced, the Commissioners might do worse than have regard to the arrangements of the Victoria University, which have now been fully developed. There the pass degrees of B.A. and B.Sc. may be taken in any one of five groups, distinguished by the predominance of some

one characteristic subject, but otherwise largely coinciding. The degree of B.A. with Honours is given in any one of four schools—Classics, History, English Language, and Philosophy; the B.Sc. in any one of seven. These degrees lead on to the M.A. and M.Sc.; and there are in addition the degrees of Doctor of Literature (D.Lit.), Doctor of Philosophy (D.Phil.), and Doctor of Science (D.Sc.).

4. Extra-mural recognition. There was lately a considerable flutter in certain quarters owing to the discovery that in the course of the debate in the House of Lords the word 'extra-mural' had been allowed to disappear from the Bill. It was at once determined that the Bill had been 'mutilated,' though no one seemed to make any attempt to find out whether the thing denoted by the word still remained. In view of the prejudice which may have been created at the time in the minds even of some who were otherwise friendly, it is advisable to state distinctly that the Commissioners are empowered 'to make provision, if they think it expedient, for increasing the teaching power of any University' (14:8), while the University Court is authorised to 'grant recognition to the teaching of any college or individual teacher for the purpose of graduation, subject to any conditions laid down by the Commissioners' (6:4). And all this is quite over and above the provision for the Extension of Universities which is made in what have come to be known as the affiliation clauses. To some minds the term 'extra-mural' carries associations like those which the old woman in the story had allowed to gather round 'that blessed word Mesopotamia;' and if it is needed, no doubt it can be restored. But in previous drafts of the Bill, it had found itself in company with another blessed word—'intra-mural,' and a difficulty was evidently felt in differentiating the two, especially now that there seems a prospect, under the affiliation clauses, of getting beyond the stereotyped notion that no University work can be done except in the class-rooms of four different sets of buildings in four different parts of the country. If the construction of the Bill is in any way faulty in regard to this matter, it can easily be remedied in the House of Commons. No one who has watched the progress

of the measure will dream of suspecting the promoters of any wish to hamper and restrict outside teaching.

There are some who hold that the one great requisite—the increase of the teaching staff and the introduction of new subjects into the curriculum—should be secured by unrestricted extramural teaching,—a corollary to which position is that the Universities should be compelled to accept more and more the position of examining Boards. This is the view underlying the latest attack on the Bill, which has been made in the motion of which the member for East Edinburgh has given notice, declaring that ‘no measure will be successful which does not provide for granting degrees to all candidates who can prove themselves possessed of the requisite knowledge, culture, or skill, wherever and however acquired.’ The promoters of the Bill have been actuated by the most liberal ideas on this subject of the extension of University teaching, but they will no doubt decline to go all lengths with the member for East Edinburgh. The whole subject has been so thoroughly discussed already that it is hard to believe the honourable gentleman’s motion is not a veiled attempt to wreck the Bill by taking up more time than can be spared with an unreal debate. The Scottish Universities have hitherto conducted their affairs on the accepted principle that teaching and examining should go together. The divorce of the two would lead to the rise of a system in which the examinations would altogether control the teaching instead of the teaching the examinations; and a tribe of rival crammers would spring up throughout the country, dependent altogether on the fees they could earn, and possessed in many cases of the minimum qualification, who would never in their teaching look beyond the particular examination for which their pupils were preparing. Examinations are a necessary evil, for which it would be hard to find any adequate substitute; but a system under which examinations became the be-all and end-all of teaching would be highly prejudicial to original and independent work. There may be room enough in Great Britain for an institution of the type of London University, which has done most useful service in the educational circumstances of the country; but it would be folly to part with the social and other traditions of academic life by

taking London University as a model for revolutionising the constitutions of the Universities of Scotland. The Bill goes as far as most reformers could wish in its proposals for increasing the teaching staff both within and without the University, and in the 'affiliation clauses,' which will secure some of the benefits of competition without proceeding to such extremities as are denoted by such catch-words as 'free-trade in teaching.'

5. Length of Session. All that need be said on this subject is that the burden of proof will lie with those who contend that nothing should be done in some of the Faculties during the summer session. The long vacation has certainly been a great advantage to some Professors, who, without it, would have been unable to accomplish much of the literary and original research work by which they have distinguished themselves and added fresh lustre to their Universities. But conditions have changed so greatly that it will hardly be maintained that the present arrangements are upheld in the interests of the general body of the students. As against a winter session only, extending over about twenty weeks, the system adopted by the English local colleges—three terms of ten or eleven weeks each—has obviously certain advantages.

Extension of Universities.—The parts of the Bill which relate to this subject came through great tribulation in the House of Lords, and many stages had been passed and left behind before Lord Rosebery formulated definitions so elastic as to cover all possible cases. Some may be inclined to think that all the talk has been out of proportion to the number of colleges that are likely to ask for affiliation; but the promoters of the Bill knew their business, and they seem to have felt strongly the expediency of legislating not for the present only but for the next generation as well. Certainly no very great disturbance of the University constitution is likely to be occasioned at once by the acceptance of these provisions. Colleges do not spring up like mushrooms; and where vague ideas may exist as to the possibility of founding a College, they will need to be quickened into life by the definition given in the Bill, which runs that a College is 'any institution established on a permanent footing for the purpose of teaching the higher branches of education *which shall*

be sufficiently endowed.' In view of the powers referred to above as having been entrusted to the Commissioners, and after them to the Court, for granting recognition to the teaching of any College or individual teacher for purposes of graduation, it must be obvious that the additional provision made under the head of Extension of Universities is meant to apply where there are reasons for a more organic connection between University and College than is implied in the mere recognition of teaching. After many attempts to find a suitable phrase for defining the nature of this connection, the word 'affiliation' was allowed to stand, being made to mean 'such a connection between an existing University and a College as shall be entered into by their mutual consent, under conditions approved by the Commissioners, or, after the determination of their powers, by the Universities Committee.' The fact that the connection is intended to be more or less organic is also indicated by the provision that a fixed number of representatives from the affiliated College may have a seat in the University Court. There they will have an opportunity of discussing such educational regulations as may affect the institutions they represent. A corresponding privilege is offered the University in a clause of the Bill which at the same time repeats, though in a vague form, the privileges of the affiliated College, and which is so elastic that it will cover every possible case. It may be quoted at length. The Commissioners receive power (15:4) 'to make arrangements, where it shall seem requisite, for the due representation of the University Court in the governing body of affiliated Colleges, and of the governing body of affiliated Colleges in the University Court having regard to the circumstances of each particular case, to the relative members in the University and the Colleges of the teaching staffs and of students proceeding to graduation, to the nature of the connection proposed to be established, and to the purposes for which such representation is desirable.' There seems to be some inconsistency between the elasticity of this clause and the definiteness of certain restrictions imposed in previous parts of the Bill. The number of representatives from affiliated colleges may not exceed four, and they are debarred from sitting and voting as members of the Court 'whilst it is

engaged in the administration or management of any University fund or property.' No such restrictions are imposed in any part of the Bill on the University representatives, who may become members of the governing body of the affiliated college.

St. Andrews and Dundee.—No more interesting problem awaits solution at the hands of the Commissioners appointed under the Bill than the nature of the relations which are to subsist between St. Andrews University and the Dundee College, and in no quarter will the feeling of disappointment be more intense in the event of anything happening to delay the expected legislation. From some points of view there may appear to be a certain degree of justification for the feeling, (which sometimes finds utterance in current talk), that the proximity of such a modern centre as Dundee to the quaint old University town is nothing short of a misfortune for the latter ; but in this utilitarian age sentiment can avail little against the greatest good of the greatest number. Fortunately both the contracting parties seem to be fully alive to the advantages that are to be gained from union. The Dundee College will obtain the benefits of a systematic connection with a degree-giving institution, and the University will certainly increase its hold on public sympathy by the extension of its work in a large centre of population. The nature of the connection has already been made the subject of some discussion on both sides of the Tay, and everything seems now ripe for the helpful service of a judicial body such as the Commissioners. In the friendly interchange of opinion, three main points have emerged to which public attention may now be drawn. The first is that it would not be consistent with the obligations imposed on the Trustees and Governing Body of the Dundee College to devolve the whole management on the St. Andrews University Court. For the sake of unity, that Court ought to have ultimate control of the *educational* arrangements of all departments which may become, in terms of the union, departments of the University ; but there are several features in the work of the Dundee College, such as technical education and the administration of evening classes, which should be left in charge of the existing management. The second point is that it will be a misfortune if the proposals of the Commissioners do not carefully guard against the

evils of unnecessary and excessive duplication between the two centres. At present the University admits Dundee students to the examinations for the B.Sc. degree, without any condition of residence at St. Andrews; and if the connection between the two bodies were to stop short at this mere recognition on the part of the University of the teaching given in the College, every inducement would be afforded to the latter to develop on lines of its own choosing, without reference to the work done at St. Andrews. Dundee would in fact be encouraged ultimately to set up a claim to be recognised as a University, over and above St. Andrews; and it may be questioned whether there is room for two Universities in this particular district. In the third place, it has been pointed out, and is in fact recognised in the Bill, that the operation of the affiliation clauses in the case of St. Andrews and Dundee will be of an altogether unique character, as no similar case is at all likely to arise in connection with any of the other three Universities. The other three Universities, established as they are in the midst of large centres of population, are either complete in all the Faculties, or else contain within themselves the essentials for completeness; but St. Andrews could never provide, for instance, for the teaching of applied science, and the want of an Infirmary will always prevent it from realising a complete medical school. This being so, it is an obvious conclusion that some part of the work of the University must be done in Dundee; nor need this be any the less University work for being done outside the walls of the class-rooms at St. Andrews. Such a Chair as that of Engineering at Dundee is even at present a real addition to the University curriculum, and under the definition of the *Senatus* in the last Universities' Act, the holder of such a Chair would at once be qualified for admission into that sacred circle. As to medical teaching, great progress has been made at Dundee by the endowment of Chairs of Anatomy and Botany through the munificence of public-spirited citizens. The existence of the Royal Infirmary is a guarantee that the complete scheme will in due time be realised. In the department of Arts, the Dundee College may rightfully look forward to ministering to local needs by overtaking, perhaps, one or two of the groups of subjects by which the M.A. degree is to be approached—

these being selected with special reference to the circumstances in which Arts work will always be undertaken in Dundee, and embracing such subjects as Modern Languages, History, and Political Economy.

There remain several points which must be briefly alluded to before we discuss the subject of the teaching of Theology in the Scottish Universities. Of these the most important is the proposal to give degrees to women. The Commissioners are authorised 'to enable any University that may find it expedient to admit women to graduation in one or more faculties, and to provide for their instruction.' The latter part of this clause is no less important than the former. The concession of the privilege of graduation will go far to consolidate the various agencies for the higher education of women which are conducted in connection with the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews; but the obligation is laid on the Universities to provide for the instruction of the women they graduate, as there seems no more reason why the Universities should become purely examining boards in regard to women, making no inquiry as to how and where they have been educated, than in regard to men. There are already upwards of 250 students at the Queen Margaret College in Glasgow, and at Dundee many women take advantage of the privilege of attending various College classes. At Edinburgh there are several courses of lectures for women, followed by examinations parallel to those for which degrees are granted to men. It may be prophesied that the centre which is first in a position to establish a hall of residence will have the best chance of rivalling in Scotland the attractions of Girton and Newham.

Among minor matters, which surely will not obstruct the passage of the Bill, we may reckon the recognition given to the Students' Representative Council, as well as the proposal to institute a 'fee-fund,' latent in the power expressly conferred on the Commissioners 'to regulate the amount, manner of payment, and appropriation of fees and other payments made by students.' These two subjects are not so unconnected as they may at first sight appear; for even those who fear that the student business is in danger of being a little overdone must admit that, quite apart from the fact that the matriculated students form in each case an

lement in the 'corporation of the University,' the fees they pay are a very considerable item in the revenue, and give them a material stake in the management of affairs. The students' representative is the Rector; but he is traditionally elected for any reason rather than that he will be able personally to represent the interests of the students. Indirect representation they will secure under the clause which permits, and therefore virtually commands, the Rector to consult the Representative Council before appointing his successor. No one who is alive to the immense gain which the Scottish Universities will undoubtedly derive from the recent movement towards a higher organization of 'student-life' will grudge this important factor in the University constituency the recognition thus accorded to it.—As to the 'fee-fund,' it is a pity that this very desirable reform could not have been introduced long ago. Probably no one is more conscious than the Professors themselves of the unacademic features in the prevailing manner of payment, according to which they personally receive, like the Sophists of old, the guineas of intending students at the commencement of every session. And every true friend of the Scotch Universities must have felt some qualms of conscience in repeating the current statements about the 'poverty' of these institutions, while aware that owing to the prevailing method of appropriating these fees individual Professors are in receipt of incomes which reach an upper limit of £4,500. It is on the basis of a proposal for the establishment of a fee-fund in each of the faculties, into which all fees of students attending the University should be paid, and from which should be derived the salaries of the teachers, that the Glasgow Committee, above referred to, advocated the organization of existing Chairs into Professorships and Lectureships, so as to secure an increase of the teaching staff and the introduction of new subjects into the curriculum of study.

Something will no doubt be said in the House of Commons about the proposals which have been made in every Bill since 1883 with reference to the Edinburgh Botanic Garden. It is not denied that the main, if not the only, motive for the transference is to save trouble at the Treasury, and those who have looked carefully into the matter maintain that many weighty

objections can be offered not only on the part of the University and the city, but by the School of Medicine and teachers of Botany generally. The variations of expense in the upkeep of such a place as a large Botanic Garden make it doubtful whether a grant from the funds of a University which has already so many claims on it is the proper method of maintenance. The city again has an interest in the Garden, as one of the best public parks, and naturally wishes to know why a place which is public property should be handed over to any one corporation. The city is also part owner of the Arboretum adjacent to the Garden; and it is urged that the value and attractiveness of the place would be greatly enhanced by removing the wall that separates the Garden from the Arboretum—a thing which could easily be done if both remain under the present management. Again, it is the duty of the Regius Keeper to maintain the Garden in the interest of education generally, and if a virtual monopoly were to be created in favour of the University, other teachers of botany might be shut out, or might only be allowed to enter on sufferance. The Botanical Society, the Arborescent Society, etc., have an interest in the Garden, and it may be questioned whether the place could or would be properly kept up (in relation to their interests as well as those of the University), much less added to, as the increasing wants of the science may demand.

The question of Theology and tests may prove to be an even more fruitful subject of debate when the Bill comes before the House of Commons; and as a statement is current that certain English members propose to join in the fray on this question, it is highly advisable that some careful statement should be made, in order that these members may know what they are talking about. We cannot boast that everything is as it ought to be in regard to theological teaching in Scotland, and any well-considered scheme of reform will no doubt be welcomed by all parties concerned. The tests at present subscribed by occupants of the non-theological chairs will assuredly have to go; they are nothing but an unmeaning anachronism. But one thing the educated opinion of the country is certainly not prepared for, and that is the proposal to abolish altogether the Faculty of Theology in our

Universities in response to the blatant cry that national institutions ought to have nothing to do with 'creed-teaching.' The argument that the Churches should be left to provide for their own wants is used by many at present as a party cry. It is used by many too who do not believe that theology has any title to be considered a science at all, and who would like to see its endowments utilized for secular and scientific ends. The question might naturally be asked, why such a change should be advocated in Scotland, which is practically united in her Presbyterianism, rather than in England? It would be a saddening proof of the bitterness of our ecclesiastical differences if any support were given to a movement intended to issue in so complete a reversal of the old order as to oust from the University curriculum those studies in which it may be almost said that Universities first originated, and thereby to dissociate the clergy of our churches from the interests and culture of University life.

But it is objected that the Chairs in the Faculties of Theology are at present in the monopoly of the Established Church. Under the scheme of reform to which we wish to give our adhesion (formulated from within the Established Church itself), there is no reason why this should continue to be the case. It may be doubted whether the only possible alternative to this monopoly is the throwing open of the Chairs without any ecclesiastical test whatever. Would such absolute freedom be practically consistent with the position of the Theological Chairs in relation to the training of the ministry in our Scottish churches? Lord Gifford's bequest fills a most useful place in the curriculum of theological studies, but the training of the clergy could hardly be committed altogether to teachers who may be either sceptics or believers—either in touch or out of touch with the churches for whose ministry they are understood to train. It is highly desirable, in fact necessary, that the area from which our Professors of Theology are drawn should be widened; but if the Chairs were to be simply thrown open to members of the Protestant Evangelical Churches, little progress would thereby be made towards remedying the existing confusion, and it may be questioned whether the interests of the other denominational Halls would be advanced by a change which might rob them of their best men.

The provisions of the Bill seem to afford an opportunity for the realisation of a scheme which must have suggested itself independently to many minds, but which is most fully set forth in a paper published by Professor Dickson of Glasgow University.* There are in Scotland, besides the Divinity Halls in the Universities, four fully equipped Presbyterian Colleges, three belonging to the Free Church and one to the United Presbyterian. There are also the Theological Halls of the Congregationalists and the Evangelical Union. It must be obvious that here there is a great waste of teaching power, without any differences fundamental enough to justify it or to render it necessary. The obligation imposed on students to attend each the college of his own particular church involves the repetition, at the maximum of expense, of practically the same teaching at a dozen different centres, while restricting the choice of students to the Professors of the particular denomination for whose ministry he is desirous of being trained. The best available talent of the various Churches is being squandered in the elementary teaching of limited numbers of students, while theological science as a whole is most inadequately represented.

'In each University,' says Professor Taylor, of Edinburgh, 'the faculty of theology is in this respect a duplicate of that in every other, an arrangement against which nothing needed be said, were it not that in each of the four theological faculties the professorial staff is numerically insufficient. It is in reality a skeleton staff, superintending attenuated ranks of students. And unfortunately the evil, instead of being remedied, is only repeated and aggravated beyond the Universities. The programme of theological study is in consequence meagre for the whole country, and it does not mend matters that four or twice four copies of a programme that is itself meagre, should be carefully followed and worked up to at four separate local centres. What is wanted is, not that this programme should be copied, four or any other number of times, but that it should be amplified if only to twice or thrice its present extension and comprehension.'

It would certainly be a great gain to all parties concerned, and to theological science most of all, if all outside teaching could be

* The Universities in relation to the Training of the Ministry in the Scottish Churches—an Address at the Opening of the Divinity Hall in the University of Glasgow, on 10th November, 1884: Maclehoose & Sons. See especially from p. 22 to end.

brought *inside* the Universities. Greater unity would be thereby secured, and there would be opportunities of specialising, both for Professors and students, such as would enable us to hold up our heads, in respect of this department, among the Universities of the Continent. To quote from Professor Dickson's paper :

' Why should not the Churches combine their available resources for the more effective accomplishment of the larger portion of their work that is common to all ? Why should not each Church contribute to, and partake in, theological training on what is, to all intents and purposes, common ground ? Why should not each make its own arrangements for the special inculcation of what is distinctive ? . . . and why should not all, in other respects, sustain a joint relation to a reorganised and enlarged Faculty of Theology ? '

The provisions of the Universities Bill would certainly be found to lend themselves to the suggestion that ' the existing separate schools might be absorbed or affiliated, and their resources, personal or pecuniary, be jointly utilized for the reconstruction and expansion of this department of University work.'

It lies in the power of the Churches themselves to provide by co-operation and joint-action a remedy against existing evils. The opportunity is given them in the clause of the Bill (17), which empowers the Commissioners to take evidence from the various teachers and others both within and without the Universities, and to make a special report on the whole subject. Whether it is wise, in view of possible re-union, to restrict them as to the appropriation of public moneys to the Theological Chair, is another matter.

There remains only the question of the constitution of the Commission. Some outcry has been made as to its size, which has put critics in mind of the objections which have been made to the composition of the University Court. It should be remembered, however, that it will be possible for some members of the Commission to look more closely than others into the details of certain departments, without the whole body losing a general control of the arrangements that are to be made in the name of all. What was most wanted in constituting this Commission was to secure the services of a body of men in touch with University matters, and distinguished above all things for judgment and sound sense.

The necessary admixture of specialists has also been provided. In spite of several refusals to serve, the promoters of the Bill may fairly claim to have got together a good working Commission. If it is not a body that will rouse enthusiasm, it by no means deserves all the hard things that were said of it at the time of its formation. It will succeed to the labours of the Commission which reported in 1878, and fortunately a good deal of the work that was accomplished by that Commission does not require to be done over again.

This completes our analysis of the Bill. Without indulging in any vague talk about University reform, we have endeavoured to set forth in definite fashion the practical points embodied in the measure which is now under the consideration of Parliament. The duty of Scotch members is undoubtedly to see that, after effect has been given to such minor amendments as they may consider necessary in the true interests of University education in Scotland, the Bill shall pass into law substantially in its present form. We have had enough of discussion: the time is now ripe for action. The present state of things should not be unduly prolonged, inasmuch as it cannot but be hurtful to our Universities, which for the last decade have been walking in the shadow projected by a much-expected Executive Commission. A heavy responsibility will rest on any who, on inadequate grounds, may seek to frustrate the objects of the Bill. If the House of Commons should find that any serious work still remains to be done, it might save time by referring the measure in the first instance to a Select Committee. In any case, it deserves to pass into law.

W. PETERSON.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History. By
Dr. O. PFLEIDERER. Vol. III. Translated by ALLAN
MENZIES, B.D. London and Edinburgh: Williams and
Norgate. 1888.

In this volume Dr. Pfeiderer commences the work for which in the two previous volumes he has been preparing the way. Having sketched the history of Religious opinion, and criticised the views which have been advanced during the period to which he has limited himself, he now assumes the rôle of the philosopher and endeavours to build up on the foundation he has laid, or which has been laid for him, a philosophy of religion. As might be expected, he begins with the beginnings or origins of religion and passes on to describe its developments among various races, and then having dealt with these, proceeds to the consideration of the contents of the religious consciousness. In the present volume, however, only three chapters are devoted to the last, the remainder of the discussion being reserved for a future volume. As compared with its predecessors the volume now before us may fairly lay claim to having a somewhat more lively interest. The questions it discusses are amongst those which are now in debate. Particularly interesting and attractive will be found the first and last chapters of the volume. Dr. Pfeiderer neither attributes the origin of religion to a primitive divine revelation, nor attempts to explain it either by the fetichistic or animistic theory, nor by the two theories combined. He still adheres to the explanation he originally put out in 1868, an explanation which has substantially been adopted by such authorities on the subject as Max Müller, Happel, Schmidt, Hartmann, and Dr. Albert Réville. 'The beginning of religion,' he observes, 'is to be sought not in moral, nor yet in immoral motives, but simply in religious motives, i. e., in a mood of the human temperament which, though naïve, yet contains the essence of those feelings which go to make up the piety of a more developed God-consciousness. If the common kernel of religion in all its forms is that reference of man's life to the world-governing power which seeks to grow into a living union with it, this is actually present at the very lowest stage of the primitive mythical consciousness.' The forms in which this essential element of the religious consciousness has manifested itself and its gradual development among the Indo-Germanic and Semitic races are traced by Dr. Pfeiderer in two chapters, with the clearness with which readers of his first and second volumes have become acquainted. A special chapter is devoted to the development of the religious consciousness in Christianity, in which the doctrines of Luther are set above those of Zwingli, and the belief expressed that the antithesis between Catholicism and Protestantism will be overcome by what is called the Johannine Christianity of the future. In the last chapter Dr. Pfeiderer deals with the various theories which have been advanced regarding the creation of the world. To a certain extent he accepts the theory of Evolution and Darwinism. The latter he regards as insufficient, and charges it with the fault of attributing too much to the agency of external conditions. Like the preceding volumes this also abounds in sharp criticisms. As to the translation, we need only say that the volume is wholly from the hand of Mr. Menzies.

*Principles of Christianity, being an Essay towards a more correct
 delineation of Christian doctrine, mainly soteriological.*
 BY JAMES STUART, M.A. London: Williams and Nor-
 gate, 1888.

The principles of Christianity discussed in this volume are, as its sub-title indicates, those that bear more or less directly on what is generally called the Christian 'plan' or 'scheme' of salvation. Mr. Stuart's object is to place this 'plan' or 'scheme' in the light of the New Testament soteriological teaching, and to see whether or not it is in harmony with it, and whether it is justified by it. He starts with the doctrine that lies at the basis of the Protestant orthodox view of the method of salvation—the doctrine of imputation. He examines the threefold phase of that doctrine—the imputation of Adam's sin to all men, the imputation of men's sin to Christ, and the imputation of His righteousness to believers. Determining what imputation means and involves in this connection, he proceeds to a careful examination of all the passages bearing on the redemptive or saving work of Jesus, and very specially in St. Paul's Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and endeavours to show that the so-called plan of salvation was in reality unknown to these writers—has in fact been read, in the course of the doctrinal development of the Church, into the New Testament writings and so is now so constantly read out of them. Mr. Stuart takes care to define very plainly his own position with respect to the question under discussion, but though this is altogether a negative one, his examination of the Pauline and other writings is a patient, minute, and scholarly piece of workmanship, and well merits the attention of all exegetes. He is severely logical and concise, yet lucid and always interesting, if he will not be found, which is hardly likely, always conclusive. What startles us most with regard to this bulky volume is that it should have been written and so much patient scholarship devoted to it by a person holding Mr. Stuart's opinions.

Studies on the Book of Psalms. By JOHN FORBES, D.D., LL.D.,
 etc. Edited by the REV. JAMES FORREST, M.A. Edin-
 burgh: T. & T. Clark, 1888.

Of all the books of the Old Testament, the Book of Psalms has the greatest attractions both for the devout reader and the commentator. The commentaries and books which have been written about it, would, if gathered, form a very considerable library, a large part of which, we are afraid, would be considered in the present somewhat wearisome reading. Dr. Forbes' book is not so much a commentary as a series of studies, the aim of which is to bring out the structural connection running through the various books into which the Psalter was formerly divided, and linking them and each Psalm into an organic whole. They show careful reading, and bring out some curious facts with respect to the arrangement of the Psalm; as for instance, that the entire Psalter, besides its well known division into five books, is divided also into seven parts distinctly marked by the occurrence of the words 'Amen,' Hallelujah,' and 'Amen-Hallelujah;' and, again, that, according to the author's contention, the Psalms in the order in which we now have them, are grouped together in sections and arranged as a whole to bring out and give expression to a central idea. Whether Dr. Forbes is right in the points for which he contends we cannot undertake to say, but this at least we may say, his *Studies* are as interesting and profitable as curious. He gives great prominence to the Messianic idea as taught in the Psalms, and maintains, not without reason,

that some at least, if not all, of the Psalmists were acquainted with the idea of a future life. On several points we are disposed to join issue with him, but on the whole we can commend his studies as extremely interesting, devout, and painstaking.

Philo Judæus, or the Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy in its Development and Completion. By JAMES DRUMMOND, L.L.D. 2 Vols. London: Williams & Norgate, 1888.

Dr. Drummond has here written an extremely able and important work. After an Introduction which gives us all the few facts that are known of Philo's life, and a critical estimate of the man and his historical position as representing for us the Alexandrian school of his day, we have an account of the early Alexandrian Philosophy and of the elements which by their fusion produced it. These are then traced through their course from the speculations of Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics on the one side, and the teachings of the Hebrew seers and representatives of later Jewish thought on the other. The last part of first volume and the whole of the second are devoted to an analysis and exposition of Philo's voluminous writings, not in the way of a commentary on them, but to determine from them what opinions Philo held on certain matters of philosophic interest. The task Dr. Drummond has here attempted is a by no means easy one. Philo's treatment of any subject is always unsystematic. He is for ever breaking away from the matter in hand into episodical, and often wholly irrelevant, digressions, and we never know where to look for, or where not to expect, the subject to again appear and receive fuller, yet still partial, treatment. He writes more frequently as a rhetorician than as a philosopher, and it is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether the terms he uses are used in the popular or in the philosophic sense. Sometimes it is in the one and sometimes in the other. His vicious habit of rhapsodical personification and fanciful allegorizing creates terrible obstacles to getting at his real meaning. Dr. Drummond, however, has not been deterred by these things but has gone patiently and carefully through his numerous treatises and here sets forth what he concludes were Philo's opinions as to the nature and origin of Philosophy itself, as to the universe, and as to man; what he taught regarding the existence and nature of God; what were his ideas as to the divine agency and powers; and what was his precise conception of the Logos. A final chapter on 'the Higher Anthropology,' or Philo's notions on the philosophy of man's creation and his moral and spiritual nature and relations, and three very valuable indexes bring these volumes to a close. By their publication Dr. Drummond has rendered to students of early philosophic thought a most praiseworthy service, and though Philo is made to appear in their pages as a much more consistent and practical thinker than he was, the exposition of his ideas which Dr. Drummond has here given will nevertheless be an excellent guide to all who wish to study him or the philosophical school to which he belonged.

La Philosophie Religieuse en Angleterre depuis Locke jusqu'à nos jours. Par LUDOVIC CARRAU. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1888.

M. Carrau's work is partly historical and partly critical. Of the history of English religious thought prior to Berkeley he says nothing. He has essayed rather to give an account of it from the period when M. Remusat left off in his work on Bacon down to the present day. All the writers who have contributed to the subject during that period he does not attempt

to pass in review. He has skilfully taken what may be called the more important of them, and reviewed some passages in the exposition and critical examination of the opinions of Berkeley, Butler, Leibnizius, Hume, Dr. William Hamilton, Mr. John S. Mill, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and Mr. F. E. A. A. in American words whose works in this country are not little known. Mr. Cairnes's expositions are careful, accurate, and clearly set out, while his criticisms are in the whole characterized by great fairness and unobtrusive sagacity. He himself, as we gather from the opinions scattered throughout the work, but more especially from the concluding chapter, is a Cartesian. Evidently he regards as utterly incapable of expanding the scope of things, and sees in the present movement of thought in Britain a decided revival against it.

A Dictionary of Philosophy, in the Words of Philosophers.
 Edited, with an Introduction, by J. RALPH THOMSON,
 M.A., Professor of Philosophy in New College, London.
 London: R. DICKSON, 1887.

In this work the attempt is made to select under each philosophical term the various views and positions which have been held on that subject by great thinkers ancient and modern. The arrangement is not alphabetical—that, as the editor truly says, would have been impossible; and no table of contents is given to enable the student to see at a glance how the book proceeds from subject to subject. Turning over the pages we find that psychology is first taken up with the problems of sensation and knowledge, then metaphysics; then the various philosophical schools are described, the older ones mostly in the words of historians, and a number of separate problems are placed at the end. There are careful indices of subjects, which refers us to the pages where we may find, e.g., what opinions have been held about the concept, what idealism means, and who were its principal champions, how the brain acts, what socialism is; another of names, where we learn where to look for the view held by a particular philosopher on a particular subject. The idea of the work as an excellent one, and we should willingly place it in the hands of a young man beginning his speculative studies, to use as a reading book, which would give him an idea of the parts and the scope of philosophic study. There is no one indeed who has anything to do with mental science who will not find this book useful, as directing him at once to the leading views of English thinkers especially, on any problem he may be engaged with. We have cited it in various ways, and found it a book we should like always to have beside us. It has its too little, as was to be expected, and also its too much. The student will look in vain for a conspectus of the philosophical views of the nature and existence of God; nor will he find anything as to the philosophical basis of property. Conditional immortality is there, and the nationalisation of land; but fail to compensate for such omissions. We notice that the compilation is made entirely from English books or from foreign books which have been translated, which very much narrows its range. When so much labour was taken, it might surely have been advisable to have the outstanding passages of the great Greek and German thinkers translated specially for this work. We might then have spared passages from Corybeare and Howson, Pusey, and Schaff; even the Poet Laureate would be better away from a work of this description. The book would gain in solidity and usefulness if the number of passages quoted from historians of philosophy were reduced, and the fountains themselves, the great jets, at least, allowed to play more freely. But it is ungracious to criticise a work so undoubtedly useful; and in modern English philosophy a controversy with materialism there is nothing to be desired.

Old Glasgow: The Place and the People from the Roman Occupation to the Eighteenth Century. By ANDREW MAC-GEORGE. 3rd Edition. Glasgow, London, and Edinburgh: Blackie & Son. 1888.

Mr. Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow* is so well known and has received so many commendations on all hands that it is almost superfluous to say anything about it. Though laying no claim to be a complete history of the city of Glasgow, it contains a very large amount of extremely interesting and often curious information, and is sufficiently full to give the reader a clear and intelligent conception not only of the rise and progress of the city itself, but also of the social and domestic habits and customs of its former inhabitants. There are chapters on how they lived, on their houses and language, on their trade and commerce, on their social habits, on their amusements, fairs, education, on the prices they paid for commodities and labour, on their streets and buildings, and on their municipal and ecclesiastical affairs; all of which are written in a very lively manner and studded with illustrative instances which bear evidence of wide and careful research. Mr. Macgeorge, of course, goes back to the time of St. Kentigern, and has much to say of that famous saint. Joscelin's statements about him he receives with caution, and adopts the opinion of Dr. Skene that he was not a disciple of St. Serf, but his predecessor by some centuries, though he scarcely writes with the latter's reserve about St. Ninian; for he assumes, which Dr. Skene does not, that the statements of some Irish Calendars and one Scottish that St. Ninian spent the later years of his life in Ireland and was buried there are historical facts. On the other hand, he has evidence on his side in his contention against Professor Innes that the rights and privileges of a bishop's burgh were not identical with those of a royal burgh. One chapter, that on the armorial insignia and seals of the city, deserves special mention, as it deals with a subject which Mr. Macgeorge has made his own, and on which he has thrown considerable light. But it is neither possible nor necessary here to follow along the many interesting lines of historical interest he has opened up in his pages. The book is one of the most delightful pieces of local history it has been our fortune to become acquainted with, and the fact that it has reached a third edition is a proof of its popularity. It is supplied with numerous illustrations, a fairly copious index, and abundant references.

Old Greenock: Embracing Sketches of its Ecclesiastical, Educational, and Literary History, from the Earliest Times to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century. Second Series. Illustrated. By GEORGE WILLIAMSON, F.R.S.E., etc. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1888.

With this, his second series of sketches, Mr. Williamson completes his history of the town of Greenock. A great history Greenock cannot be said to have. It has had no part in those great events which have shaped the history of the country, and the best that can be said of its history is that it is purely local. Still it was worth writing. From such an history one often learns more about the inner life of a nation than from what may perhaps be called in contradistinction, its national history. Great events show us the life of a nation in its greatest moments, in its times of fervour and depth of feeling; but in its local histories we have often, and in fact usually, more of its ordinary life, and see more of its current mind. That Mr. Williamson has taken great pains with his history every page bears

witness, though in order to be full he is apt to be prolix. One of his theories is strangely contradicted by his facts. It is quite true that many towns and villages have grown up in consequence of a monastery or church having been built. Mr. Williamson seems to maintain that such was the case with Greenock. But according to the charter he cites the Kirk of Greenock was built because of the village already existing and the town of Greenock grew out of the village and owed its origin, not to the planting of a church, as was the case with many other towns, but to the proximity of the Clyde and the abundance of its fish. As already remarked, the history of Greenock is distinguished by no great or striking event. Still Mr. Williamson has much to relate which is of interest. Perhaps to the majority of outside readers, i. e., of readers who have no personal connection with the town, the most attractive portion of what he has to narrate is connected with the ecclesiastical affairs of the burgh. These date no further back than the year 1589, when Johnne Schaw of Grenok, having obtained the royal permission to build a parish kirk there, so that the 'puir pepill' dwelling upon his lands, who were all fishers, might have ease in the winter season and better commodity to assemble to God's service on the Sabbath day, proceeded to build what became the original parish church, and succeeded in getting the parish disjoined from the parish of Inverkip. Of the various ministers who have exercised their calling there, whether belonging to the Church of Scotland or to other churches, Mr. Williamson gives some very interesting and occasionally entertaining particulars. The educational institutions of the town are treated in a similar fulness. For the 'literary history' of the town Mr. Williamson has given an account of its libraries and newspapers, and recorded the titles of a few unimportant books which have been published in Greenock. Those who care to read either this or Mr. Williamson's previous volume will find much in it to interest and entertain them; they will learn not a little of Church law, and a good deal respecting the social, educational, and ecclesiastical life of his townsmen, and thus obtain no small insight into what has transpired in the private life of many of the towns in Scotland.

Roman Literature in Relation to Roman Art. By the Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., LL.D. Illustrated. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

In this admirably illustrated and carefully written volume, Mr. Burn handles, and handles very successfully, a very interesting and instructive topic. His aim is to show the relation between Roman art and the Roman character, and to account for the peculiarities and fortunes of the former by the peculiar features of the latter. Assuming that a nation's literature and art are the expressions of its emotions and ideas, he points out, in the first place, the ideas and emotions which predominated in the Roman mind, and then shows the influence which time had in determining the character and fortunes of Roman literature and Roman art. *Severitas* or austerity, national and military and imperial pride, and an unimaginative realism, are taken by Mr. Burn as the main features of the Roman mind, and their effect upon art he states as follows: 'First their innate severitas and realism produced satire in poetry, biographic tendencies in history, caricature, technical finish and excessive exactitude in art; while secondly, their world-wide empire and wealth enlarged and confused both poetry and art, giving rise to a composite style in both and a preference of quantity to quality, and of crowds to groups.' This is the text on which Mr. Burn hangs a series of

illustrative chapters, dealing with Roman portrait sculpture, historical and military art among the Romans, composite and colossal art, technical finish, luxurious art, and Roman architecture. The absence of anything like Greek idealism among the Romans is particularly dwelt upon as well as their fondness for unnecessary display, and complicated design. Mr. Burn illustrates his subject by numerous quotations from the literature of the time, and shows how the tendencies which brought on the degradation of Roman art are at present discernible in British art, and puts in a warning against them. The numerous illustrations scattered throughout the volume are well chosen, and while throwing much light upon the text, give considerable emphasis to it.

English Writers. By HENRY MORLEY. Vol. 3. From the Conquest to Chaucer. London : Cassell & Co. 1888.

The period with which Professor Morley here deals is one of the most important in the annals of English literature. With the Conquest, England entered upon larger political and larger intellectual relations. The middle wall of partition which had previously isolated the country to a very large extent from the rest of the civilized world, was broken down, and light broke in from the south, and with the mingling of races a new literary as well as political era set in. Mr. Morley's present volume shares in the larger and richer interest of the period, and in several ways we are disposed to regard it as superior to either of the two which have gone before it. There are excellent chapters dealing with the widening of the intellectual horizon of the country, and on the influence exercised by the Arabian, French, and Italian literatures. Notice is taken, too, of the literary developments in Germany. Considerable space is, of course, devoted to the Chroniclers and Historians ; but the Poets and Romance Writers are also treated in detail. Walter Map comes in for a large share of attention as well as Layamon, *Havelok* and the *Gesta Romanorum*. The history of the beginning of the Mystery, Miracle, and Passion plays is clearly given ; there is a good chapter on Songs and Ballads, and an interesting section on the Bards of Wales. Altogether the volume may be said to have a much more varied interest than either of its predecessors. The Bibliography, we should add, is excellent, though from the list of printed editions of Sir Bevis of Hamtoun, we notice the omission of Dr. Kölbing's, which was issued by the Early English Text Society in 1886.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by HENRY IRVING and FRANK A. MARSHALL. Illustrated by GORDON BROWNE. Vol. 4. London and Glasgow : Blackie & Son. 1888.

King Henry V., *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *As You Like It*, and *Twelfth Night*, are the plays included in this volume. Mr. Irving still marks off the passages which may be omitted in reading or acting without marring the development of the action, and Mr. Frank A. Marshall still directs the literary work connected with the edition. Along with Mr. Adams, Mr. Marshall is responsible for the notes and introduction to Henry V., and with Mr. Daniel for those to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Those to *Much Ado About Nothing* are wholly from the general editor's hand. Mr. Wilson Verity, who appears on the work for the first time, has prepared the editorial matter for *As You Like It*, and Mr. Arthur Symons, who is also new to the work, that for *Twelfth Night*. Notwithstanding the variety of editors, the same principles and plan are adopted by all, and much the same level of execution is attained.

So again under the word *burden* he will find the Scotch *buirdin*; under *bully*, an excellent note on the Scotch *billie*; under *burgh* a large amount of information respecting burghs, and under *buxom* all that can be said in the way of explanation and etymology about *bowsom*. *Carl* and *carline* again receive excellent treatment, the articles under them adding much to Jamieson. But to return to the English words, those under B have as a whole proved much more troublesome in the etymological department than any previously treated, the etymology of many presenting insurmountable difficulties. On the other hand the articles under *Brazil*, *bride*, *Broad Church*, *brogue*, *broker*, *cake*, *camel*, *candle*, and many others are interesting because of the variety of information which is brought to bear on the meaning and history of the words. The announcement that the issue of the work will now proceed at a more rapid rate is one that can only be received with pleasure. So far as it has gone the work promises to be a library in itself, supplying the key to almost every species of knowledge.

Heartsease and Rue. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

Prince Lucifer. By ALFRED AUSTIN. Same Publishers. 1887.

Poems. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE. Same Publishers. 1888.

Thoughts and Fancies for Sunday Evenings. By WALTER C. SMITH. Glasgow: Maclehose & Son. 1887.

Glen Dessaray and Other Poems, Lyrical and Elegiac. By JOHN CAMPBELL SHAIRP, LL.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

A Marriage of Shadows and Other Poems. By MARGARET VELEY. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1888.

The only reason we can give for putting the above six volumes together is that they are all volumes of verse. One of them is indeed a dramatic poem, but with this exception, they are all collections of verses written on various occasions, and beyond the fact that there is something good in each, it would be difficult to point out any other feature common to them all. Mr. Russell Lowell's poems seem to stretch over a considerable number of years. There is much in them that is tender, pathetic and beautiful. The poems—they are divided into five sections—to which we feel most drawn are those under the heading 'Friendship,' in which the author pours out the joys and regrets of his private affections in numbers sweet and musical. 'Agassiz' is a beautiful poem, full of thought and imagination, in which the character and services of Agassiz and the poet's affection for him are set forth in 'words that strike a solid root in the ears of men.' The poems of 'Sentiment' and 'Fancy' are of a somewhat lighter cast. Among them is a very fine sonnet with the title 'Scottish Border.' In the section headed 'Humour and Satire,' Mr. Russell Lowell is most at his ease. Here he wears his singing robes lightly. His words are often barbed, but there is a genial and kindly humour in these verses which reminds one of the author's previous works.—*Prince Lucifer* though called a dramatic poem is dramatic only in form. There is abundance of thought about it, and passages of great beauty are by no means rare in its pages, but it is deficient in action, and would, we should say, if placed upon the stage, fail. As a poem, however, which is merely to be read,—and such we suspect is what it is intended to be—there is much in it that is deserving of very high commendation. In the matter of versification, Mr. Austin has few rivals,

and open the poem where one may, one is almost sure to come across passages in which thoughts of great beauty are wedded to not less beautiful words.—Mr. Stopford A. Brooke has done so much good work in other branches of literature, more especially as a critic, that it is not 'without a considerable amount of curiosity that most readers will turn to his volume of poems. Whatever fears or misgivings they may chance to open it with will speedily be dispelled. For our own part, we leave the volume with something like a glad surprise, and are disposed to place Mr. Brooke's work as a poet higher even than his work as a critic and essayist. It bears unmistakable evidence of genuine power. The five poems entitled 'The Crofter's Wife,' 'The Sempstress,' 'Amy's Tale,' 'The Noble Lay of Aillinn,' 'The Huldra Woman,' and the three with the titles 'Together,' 'Apart,' 'When She Had Spoken,' are remarkable for their rare combination of strength and pathos. Any one of the first three is sufficient to keep the volume alive and to prevent it from being forgotten. It is impossible to read them without being profoundly moved, and if to stir the imagination and the emotions, and to awaken sympathy and admiration for what is good and noble be one of the functions of the poet, Mr. Brooke can fairly claim to be one. Quotation is here impossible, but one or two phrases or lines may here be given, as for instance: 'The sorrow that alays the soul, is the sorrow that sobs apart.' 'Love looks with the heart.' 'I lie in my life like a grave.' The following is full of life:—

' See the boat
Comes in like a living thing, afloat, with the foam on its throat ;
There, round the point, eager for home—who's that by the sheet
Waves his cap? Your father! The boy in the bows has leapt to his feet,
And the boat rides low, full of fish. We are saved; it is food and light,
The rent, and the land, and a roof, and warmth in the winter night!'

Or here again is a couple of fine lines from the same poem—'The Crofter's Wife':

' The sun is soaring up with a great archangel's eyes,
And his hair, like ruddy flame, is blown across the skies.'

But we only spoil them by taking them away from their setting. The poems require to be read, in order that even their finest lines may be thoroughly enjoyed.—To Scottish readers and to many English readers the poems of the late Principal Shairp require no commendation. *Glen Desseray and Other Poems* is a selection from his published and unpublished pieces which have been edited by Mr. F. T. Palgrave, who in a brief but informing preface dwells upon the chief features of Principal Shairp's poetry. The principal poem—that which gives the volume its title—is a little epic of the Highlands, and has already appeared in *The Celtic Magazine*. The scene is laid in the two great glens which open towards Loch Arkaig on the north. Its principal theme is the romantic wanderings of Prince Charles Edward, 'contrasted,' as Mr. Palgrave observes, 'with the scene of a Chief's return from exile; followed by a second gathering of clansmen for foreign service, and finally by a glance at that "clearing of the glens," which, during the last hundred years, has so changed even the very landscape of the Highlands—whilst incidental pictures of Gaelic life, manners, and character, add animation to the long and varied tapestry which the poet has embroidered for us.' The poem is pervaded by an intense fervour of interest in the land of the Gael and its romantic natives. Here and there are exquisite descriptions of scenery, while, as in the Weaving and Dyeing of the Plaid, the narrative is often characterized by a singular simplicity and directness, or as Mr. Palgrave puts it 'a truly Greek

abstinence from decoration for decoration's sake.' Of the minor pieces in the volume, one of the most notable is the very fine 'Balliol Scholars,' in which with rare skill the portraits of Cardinal Newman, Dr. Arnold, and his son Matthew, Arthur Clough, and others, are sketched; another is the 'Highland Students.' One of the most pathetic is 'Lost on Schehallion,' and among a number of beautiful Lowland lyrics may be mentioned 'Devorguilla' and 'The Hairst Rig.'—Dr. W. C. Smith's *Thoughts and Fancies* have been written in reply to the request for a volume of sermons. They are all religious pieces. Each is written in illustration of a text of Scripture, and aims at giving the truth illustrated in a beautiful setting. Dr. Smith's skill as a versifier is well known, and he has not failed to bring out the power and beauty of the truths he illustrates, and to cast them into such forms that they appeal to the imagination and memory as well as to the religious sentiments.—Miss Veley's verses, which have been edited by Mr. Leslie Stephen, are of a somewhat sober and sombre hue. They contain many vigorous lines, and exhibit much careful thought and workmanship. Miss Veley's mind seems to have been possessed by a feeling of noble discontent, and to have ever been haunted by the shadow of death, and to this feeling and experience she has given expression in her verses. To those who regard life with the same seriousness, her poems will not be unacceptable, but these, we are afraid, are but few.

A Dictionary of Lowland Scotch. By C. MACKAY, LL.D.
London: Whittaker & Co. 1888.

This is not a dictionary of Lowland Scotch in the sense that it contains all the words used in the Scottish Lowlands. As a matter of fact it contains but a small portion of them. In dealing with those he has selected for treatment, the author has drawn largely from *Jamieson* and largely also from his own imagination. According to Dr. Mackay *Sacon* means a robber, 'the true origin of the word *Angles* is the Keltic or Gaelic *an*, the definite article, and *gaidheil* (in which the *dh* is not sounded) which signifies the "Gael" or the *Celts*, whence *An-gael* and not *Angle*;' *barm-kin* is a corruption of *barbican*, and comes from *bar*, a pinnacle, and *beachan*, a place of watching; and so on. Dr. Mackay, in fact, has a sort of passion for finding the origin of Scottish and English words in Gaelic. Strange to say, however, he has given up *creel*, and instead of taking it from the Celtic *criol*, as he might have done, refers it to the French *creulle*.

Culmshire Folk, by the Author of *John Orlebar*, etc. Third Edition. London: Cassell & Co.

We cordially congratulate the author of *Culmshire Folk* on having reached the honour of a third edition, and are quite ready to allow that our natural obtuseness may be in fault, but we are forced to admit that in spite of the book showing evidence of considerable ability we find it somewhat tedious. To write a chronicle of everyday life in a country district, is necessarily to write a somewhat desultory account of the doings of very commonplace people, which has a tendency, unless very well managed, to grow very dull at times. Ignotus does not appear to have the power of keeping up the interest of a story without more plot and incident than such a chronicle provides; and the insertion of Irish adventures, and the legend of a saint, which have nothing to do with the story itself, only render it straggling and disconnected. Most exasperating too is the constant recurrence of pieces of most prosaic commonplace moralizing. There is certainly ability

in the book, and bits of it are very good, but as a whole it is dull. Moreover, we would venture to suggest that in the days when people travelled by mail coach from London to watering places, apparently not much more than a hundred miles distant, they did not think of 'how lovers used to talk on the works of Disraeli and Bulwer'—they did not read *The Grass Thoughts of a Country Parson*, and they did not—with the broadest margin allowed for the time covered by the book—speak of sending telegrams.

Signor I. By SALVATORE FARINA. Translated by the BARONESS LANGENAU. Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1888.

It would be vain to attempt to depict in words the charm of this exquisite Italian story. We once heard a gifted preacher remark that religion frequently perished under the scalpel of theology; so would the beauty of Signor Farina's work disappear under the pen of the critic. A botanist might as well try to dissect the perfume of a rose. With all the skill of a genuine artist Signor Farina has produced a wonderfully beautiful result with the slenderest materials; a result which can be disappointing only to incurable stupidity, or utterly depraved artistic taste. A certain quaintness in the translation, due we imagine to the English being that of a foreigner, gives, we think, an additional charm to this attractive volume. It is greatly to be hoped that the British public will show itself sufficiently appreciative to lead to the publication of further translations of the stories of this highly gifted Italian novelist.

The Meditation of Ralph Hardelot. By WILLIAM MINTO. 3 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

Mr. Minto has chosen for his subject the rising of the English Commons under Wat Tyler, and out of the materials furnished by the ancient chronicles has constructed a very powerful novel. Every page bears witness of patient and careful study. The plot is simple and unfolds naturally and continuously. There is no undue haste in its development, and there is no lagging. The scene shifts with sufficient rapidity to sustain the attention of the reader up to the end of the third volume. Ralph Hardelot is a remarkable character and is powerfully drawn. There is an air of genuine nobility about him, and his generous enthusiasm for the oppressed Commons makes him worthy of a better fate than to fall by the hand of Sir Richard Rainham, the villain of the plot. The character of Clara, the heroine, is hinted at rather than fully drawn. Next to these, those of Reginald, Ralph's brother, and the Chancellor-Archbishop are the characters with which Mr. Minto has been most successful, though perhaps along with them we should mention Simon d'Ypres and Richard II. One feature of the volume is the absence of small talk and what may be termed padding. Mr. Minto has an excellent style of writing and has made good use of it. The work he has here done is thoroughly conscientious. An historical novel is not always a success, but it will be strange if *Ralph Hardelot* does not win a very large amount of popularity.

The Reverberator. By HENRY JAMES. London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

We are inclined to call *The Reverberator* a sketch after the manner of Mr. James. There is in it much less of that elaborate careful workmanship which gives to many of his novels almost the character of miniature painting than usual, and if, in consequence, Francis Dosson has not quite the charm of Daisy Miller, the story throughout we think gains interest, through an absence of elaborate detail which must almost always grow a

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With the Immortals. By F. MARION CRAWFORD, Author of *Mr. Isaacs, etc.* London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

'Lady Brenda, in the secrecy of her own heart, knew that the combination of names (those of her married daughter), "Gwendoline Chard," made her think of a race-horse charging into a brick wall.' The man whose lively fancy invented that delightful simile had no business to write *the Immortals*, for the book is—well one of those in reading of which the duty of the conscientious critic does not invariably go hand in hand with inclination, for though many gems are to be found, there is much wandering through waste places in search of them. The attempt to breathe the breath of life into the illustrious dead is always a doubtful experiment, and when this is done in order that they may be the mouth-pieces of the sentiments and opinions of a Nineteenth Century writer, of even Mr. Marion Crawford's ability, the results must, we think, be failure. Mr. Crawford is a brilliant novel writer, and would, we imagine, shine as an essayist, but he cannot manage the impossible, and as one reads *With the Immortals* a mirth provoking vision will keep intruding itself of the looks and language of the subjects of the experiment, could they hear the opinions and sentiments for which they are made responsible. One cannot moreover help feeling the thing might have been so much better done. If, say, Jezebel, Cleopatra, Vittoria Colonna, and Mrs. Fry had been invited to these social gatherings, how lively the proceedings would have become! and we are sure Francis I. would have gladly welcomed a chance of making acquaintance with his world renowned and hapless daughter-in-law of Scotland. From the dedication it would seem as if Mr. Crawford had attempted to fix the fleeting charm of flights of refined and graceful fancy, amidst some of the loveliest scenery on earth, and he has failed as every man must fail who attempts the impossible. None the less, he has written a book containing many valuable thoughts and suggestions, and many opinions on current topics of the day well worth careful attention. There are also admirable touches of light satire; notably in Augustus Chard's clear cut and decidedly expressed opinions, in connection with his firm belief 'that nobody knew anything, and that consequently no one had

a right to deny anything'—or to affirm, one would have thought. A mental reservation in favour of the assertor of this theory will probably have struck most people who have heard it dogmatically laid down, but it is not often that its presence is so naively shown as Mr. Crawford satirically depicts it in Augustus Chard.

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little wearisome. The characters are all admirably drawn. The family of exceedingly vague Americans—the vulgar American newspaper correspondent, whose moral fibre is so coarse that the possibility of there being any moral right to resent our most private affairs and painful family episodes being dragged into light for the momentary amusement of the lowest and vulgarest classes of American society, seems quite beyond his comprehension—the American family 'which French society had irrecoverably absorbed'—are each and all delightful in their way. The collisions between the different elements are very cleverly sketched, and the volcanic convulsion which results when the Proberts discover that *The Reverberator* has shed, as George Elliot expressed it, its 'magnificent illumination' on all the cupboards containing their domestic skeletons, is an enchanting mingling of the tragic and the comic. Francie Dossou would be very charming were she not so nebulous, but then that is the family characteristic. The Dossous appear to us to have been nature's first, and only partially successful attempt to shape definite form out of chaos. They are a most interesting study, and the whole book is delightful reading.

Bledisloe, or Aunt Pen's American Nieces. An International Story, by ADA M. TROTTER. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1888.

Miss Trotter's power of description and easy flow of language would lead one to the impression that if she would be content to write stories about her own country she would be a charmingly graceful writer. As it is, her book only adds another to the many caricatures of English life and habits constantly presented to their country by American writers. When will our American cousins learn that superficial acquaintance is not ultimate knowledge? and that the very fact of the close relationship between the two nations is about the most dangerous pitfall that awaits an author, of either country, in describing the life and customs of the other? Whether Miss Trotter's American girls are good portraits we cannot venture to judge. Our own experience of Americans would lead us to accept Gladys, but we are thankful to say it has, as yet, spared us the vulgar smartness and brainless impertinence of Silvie. Such Americans as we have encountered have been, in general, remarkable for much geniality, and quiet courtesy of demeanour. The English characters in the book are all more or less caricatures, and the writer's ignorance of English society is patent throughout. We have a Mr. Russel Somers, brother of the Duke of Belfort—an old county house, with only one servant kept in it; and an old gamekeeper, who dines at county houses, and mingles freely in county society. There is also an objectionable old person who first appears as Sir Ralph Farnsworth, and then becomes Sir Ralph Merrill. As he fails, in a tragic manner, of getting married, this little uncertainty about his name is not of much consequence. The story is brightly written, therefore amusing enough, but it is impossible to say more for it, except that as an exposition of that frantic love of hereditary rank and titles which is such a curious product of Republican institutions, it has considerable interest for British readers.

Fraternity: A Romance. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, & Co. 1888.

Whoever the author of these two volumes may be, he has chosen the form of a novel to urge his doctrine of fraternity. The scene is cast in the Welsh mountains, and there is considerable ingenuity about the plot. There are admirable descriptions of scenery, many interesting situations, and a good

deal of philosophical dialogue in the volumes ; but we must own that not a few of their pages have seemed to us extremely tedious. The author appears to have been carried away by his enthusiasm for a idea, and will fail, we are afraid, to carry the majority of those who take his book in hand along with him as he endeavours to develop and expatiate on his theory. Harold is no doubt a noble character, very unselfish, very devoted ; but a man who sacrifices a large fortune, marries on two hundred a year, when entitled to more and could have it for the asking and without doing anyone wrong or harm, and proposes to retain his wife in a good position in society and to preach and practice 'fraternity,' with no other source of income, does not commend himself to one as having much of a practical turn of mind or as being specially considerate of his wife, nor as altogether consistent. But apart from this, there are some very powerful passages in the volumes, besides a certain freshness of thought and generosity of sentiment which are not without their attractions.

Tales of Birds. By W. WARDE FOWLER. With Illustrations by BRYAN HOOK. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1888.

This is a delightful book both as to manner and matter. Mr. Fowler has studied some of the birds of England until he has acquired an almost wonderful familiarity with their habits and even with their thoughts, and is able to discourse about their joys and sorrows and varying fortunes of good and evil, as if he had lived in their society all his days in the capacity of a bosom friend. The form he has chosen in which to relate what he has to tell about them gives an additional attraction to the volume. Nothing can be more delightful as chapters in natural history than 'A Winter's Tale,' 'Out of Tune,' 'A Jubilee Sparrow,' or 'A Debate in an Orchard.' 'The Falcon's Nest,' and 'A Tragedy in Rook Life,' are of a different cast, but are admirable of their kind. Mr. Fowler's style is excellent. In fact, we do not know which to admire most, his way of telling his stories or his intimate knowledge of bird-life. A more charming, healthful, or wholesome book of the kind cannot be put into hands of either young or old.

Irish Pictures. Drawn with Pen and Pencil. By RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. London : Religious Tract Society. 1888.

Mr. Lovett has already published a goodly number of 'Pen and Pencil Sketches,' but we doubt whether any of them will become so great a favourite as the one now before us. The volume is in every way most attractive. The illustrations are good : the letter-press is good. There is also an amount of information of divers kinds in the volume which can scarcely fail to win for itself a large number of interested readers. Mr. Lovett has not only endeavoured to illustrate modern Ireland, he has gone back to the history of the country in its palmiest days, and has much to tell respecting both its architectural and literary monuments. To these a good proportion of the illustrations are devoted. The physical scenery of the country naturally comes in for a large share of attention ; so also do the manners and customs of the people ; but of still greater interest are Mr. Lovett's historical, antiquarian and literary notes. To many they will open up a new chapter in the book of knowledge and afford both instruction and entertainment.

Dr. Brooke F. Westcott's *The Victory of the Cross* (Macmillan) contains a series of six sermons preached during Holy Week in the present year, in Hereford Cathedral, on the Atonement. The sermons are short, and, as might be expected, represent only an outline of the author's views on the subject. Several works which a Protestant theologian would have naturally turned to first when engaged in studying this great subject, Dr. Westcott refrained from reading, he tells us, until his own thoughts were fixed, and the plan of his sermons settled. The views which he has here expressed are those which have been suggested to him mainly by the study of the Scriptures and the Fathers. They are neither hasty nor crude, but have been slowly germinating in his mind during the last thirty years. Need we say that the sermons are pervaded by a profound devotional feeling, or that they are remarkably suggestive? The solidarity of the human race, and the invincible power of Christ's sacrifice are the two great thoughts of the volume.

The Epistle to the Hebrews (Hodder & Stoughton), is a series of expository lectures in which its author, the Rev. T. C. Edwards, D.D., Principal of the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth, seeks to trace and unfold the central idea running through what he properly designates 'one of the greatest and most difficult books of the New Testament.' The question of its authorship he has purposely left aside, for the simple reason, he informs us, that he has no new light to throw on 'this standing enigma of the Church.' His own opinion is, however, that St. Paul was 'neither the actual author nor the originator of the treatise,' though singularly enough, he everywhere speaks of the author of the Epistle as 'the Apostle.' The lectures are in all sixteen, and are in the main practical. This may be gathered from the following passage, which will serve also to illustrate the style as well as another feature of the work: 'Theology is essentially a practical, not a merely theoretical, science. Its purpose is to create righteous men; that is, to produce a certain character. When produced this lofty character is sustained by the truths of the Gospel as by a spiritual 'food,' milk or strong meat. Christianity is the art of holy living, and the art is mastered only as every other art is learned: by practice or experience. But experience will suggest rules, and rules will lead to principles. The art itself creates a faculty to transform it into a science. Religion will produce a theology. The doctrine will be understood only by the possessor of that goodness to which it has itself given birth' (pp. 88-89).

Dr. Herbert W. Morris' *Natural Laws and Gospel Teachings* (Religious Tract Society), is an attempt, popularly put, to vindicate Christianity, and especially its doctrines of Providence and Prayer, the Hope of Resurrection, and the miracles of our Lord against the attacks of modern science. The author endeavours to meet his opponents on their own ground, and to show that the teachings of Christianity are not contradicted by their own discoveries, and that in many cases the things they believe require to be proved.

The Religious Tract Society's *Handbook of Foreign Missions* contains a large amount of information contributed by various writers respecting the origin, organisations, income and work of the principal Protestant Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland. Information is also given respecting the different Protestant Missionary Societies which have their home on the Continent of Europe and in the United States of America. An appendix is devoted to Roman Catholic Missions, taken chiefly from Dr. Alzog's *Manual of Universal Church History*. The complaint is made that among Protestants little is known about them, but a high tribute is paid to the

enterprise, zeal, and self-sacrifice of the missionaries who are sent out from Rome.

Present Day Tracts on the Higher Criticism (Religious Tract Society), contains a series of six tracts or pamphlets all bearing upon the authorship, authenticity and credibility of the principal books of the Old and New Testaments, which have been assailed by the so-called Higher Criticism. The Dean of Canterbury deals with the Mosaic authorship and credibility of the Pentateuch, Professor Bruce with Baur's theory respecting the origin of Christianity and the New Testament writings, Dr. Wace with the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, Dr. Godet with that of the four principal Epistles of St. Paul, and the late Dean Howson with the evidential conclusions from the same Epistles.

The Biblical Illustrator by the Rev. J. S. Exell, M.A., (Nisbet) is apparently the first of a series of volumes on the books of the New Testament designed for the use of preachers. This volume is devoted wholly to the Gospel of St. Mark, and contains nearly eight hundred pages of small print, consisting of anecdotes, similes, illustrations, expository notes, and a vast amount of other matter, for the most part in the shape of extracts, gathered from a very great variety of sources. Mr. Exell's industry has been great, and many preachers, we should say, will find his compilation suggestive and useful in many ways. He has taken up almost every phrase of the Gospel and has something more or less apposite and instructive to tell about each.

Samuel and Saul by the Rev. W. J. Deane, M.A., is the latest volume we have to hand of Messrs. Nisbet's 'Men of the Bible' Series. Mr. Deane has, of course, found the material for his Lives of the last Judge and first King of Israel in the historical books of the Old Testament, while for the interpretation of these documents he has taken for his principal guides the commentaries and notes upon them of such writers as Ewald, Bishop Ellicott, Dr. Payne Smith, Klostermann, and Dean Stanley. He has succeeded in giving a graphic account of the great transition period in the history of Israel, and also of the Prophet and King whose lives he has undertaken to write. The book is interestingly written, and contains a good deal matter illustrative of the period.

Father Rickaby's *Moral Philosophy or Ethics and Natural Law* (Longmans) is the first of a series of 'Manuals of Catholic Philosophy.' The author is a member of the Society of Jesus, and his work embodies the substance of a course of lectures delivered for eight years in succession to the scholastics of that society, at St. Mary's, Stonyhurst. The arrangement is methodical, and the style clear and condensed. Many of the sections are supplied with lists of passages for reading, selected from such authors as Plato, Aristotle, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Paley and Mr. Ruskin. The work is a new and important departure, and deserves to be read by others than those for whom it is primarily intended.

At the present moment when the attention of the public is so largely turned to Canada, the publication of Dr. Bourinot's *Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada* (Dawson, Montreal) is extremely opportune. It is based upon the author's larger work which we had the pleasure of noticing in the pages of this *Review* some time ago, and contains in a condensed and handy form a very large amount of information respecting the relations in which the Dominion stands to the British Crown, and the relation in which the different provinces of the Colony stand to each other and the Central Government in Ottawa. A short history of Constitutional Government in Canada is followed by a description of the General Govern-

ment and the constitution of the Provincial Governments. A chapter is then devoted to the distribution of legislative powers, which is followed by a series of others dealing with judicial decisions on questions of legislative jurisdiction. Dr. Bourinot, we need hardly say, is the chief authority on the subject with which he here deals, and by those who wish to be informed about it the volume before us will be found of the greatest use.

In *Among the Old Scotch Minstrels*, (Douglas) Mr. M'Dowal has taken some sixty of the old Scottish ballads, and dividing them into historical and warlike, Border and warlike, tragical, amatory and tragical, melo-dramatic and mythological, has made them the subject of careful and reverent study, for the purpose of bringing out their beauties and characteristics and with a view of commending them, if that be needed, to the attention of the reader. His treatment of the various ballads he has selected, is descriptive rather than historical or critical. History, however, is not neglected, sufficient being given where obtainable to bring out the sense of the ballads, and to make their perusal all the more enjoyable. Mr. M'Dowal has done his work with taste and judgment, and few will lay down his dainty little volume after perusing it without a sense of refreshment and pleasure.

Mr. Macbean's *Songs and Hymns of the Scottish Highlands* (Maclachlan & Stewart) ought to meet with a wide circulation. The songs are divided into sacred and secular. The music is given in the two notations, and along with the Gaelic words we have immediately under or parallel with them an English translation. In most cases only the melody is given, but in the case of five of the sacred songs the music has been harmonised. Mr. Macbean has written an interesting introduction to the volume and has appended notes bearing upon the origin of the songs. Some of the translations we observe are from his own hand.

Selections from Tennyson and *The Tragedy of King Richard III.* (Macmillan) are both edited by Professors in Indian Colleges, and are both primarily intended for the use of students in the Indian Universities. Professors Rowe and Webb are responsible for *Selections from Tennyson*, and Professor Tawny for the Shakesperian drama. The notes and introduction to both works are very carefully done. In neither case are they pitched too high. In fact, as text books for pupils and students, they come much nearer to our ideal than many others we have seen. The editors are not above explaining small matters, and assume that those who will use their books are only learners and require to be informed on many points on which it is often but wrongly taken for granted that they are well posted up.

In *The Clyde from its Source to the Sea* (Blackie) Mr. Millar, C.E., has endeavoured to give what he terms 'an outline of the principal features of the River Clyde and of the commercial and industrial operations which have rendered it so well known as a navigable river.' The fact that 'an outline' is all that Mr. Millar has attempted requires to be borne in mind, otherwise the reader may be somewhat disappointed. For the most, or at the least to a considerable extent, the work is a compilation, and like many compilations is somewhat sketchy. The first three chapters which are entitled 'Descriptive,' 'Topographical,' 'Geological,' might have been fuller and are on the whole disappointing. The historical chapter which follows is somewhat better, but still leaves much to be desired. In the remaining chapters which deal chiefly with Glasgow and its industries, Mr. Millar seems to be more at home, and has much to say which will be interesting to most readers.

A Season in Sutherland by John E. Edwards-Moss (Macmillan) is a pleasantly written sporting diary, and contains, small as it is, an abundance of information respecting the ways of the birds, beasts, and fishes of that northern county, and many interesting incidents which occurred to the author as he tried to while away his time in it during the months from May to October of last year. Mr. Edwards-Moss has an observant eye and a facile pen. Here and there in his pages are excellent descriptive pieces. Besides his sporting adventures and disappointments, he has somewhat to say about the crofters and the Land Question. Altogether he has written a very enjoyable little volume.

Among other books which have reached us are : Keil's *Manual of Biblical Archaeology*, translated by the Rev. P. Christie, Vol. I. (Clark); *A Gauntlet to the Theologian and Scientist*, by Th. Clarke, M.D., (F. Norgate); *Natural Causation*, by C. E. Plumtre (Unwin); *The Standard of Value*, 5th Edition, by W. L. Jordan (Longmans); *Memorials of the Scottish House of Gourlay*, by the Rev. C. Rogers, D.D., LL.D., (Privately Printed, Edinburgh); *A Companion to 'In Memoriam,'* by E. R. Chapman (Macmillan); *Early Prose and Poetical Works of John Taylor* (Morison); *Prosperity or Pauperism*, by the Earl of Meath (Longmans); *The Logic of Chance*, by Dr. Venn, 3rd Edition (Macmillan); *Constable's Guide to Glasgow* (Maclehose); *A Dictionary of Lowland Scotch*, by C. Mackay, LL.D., (Whittaker); *How the Peasant Owner Lives*, by Lady Verner (Macmillan); *King of Folly Island and Other People*, by Miss Jewitt (Houghton & Mifflin).

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

THEOLOGISCHE TIJDSCHRIFT.—(July).—The Bishop of London's Bampton Lectures on 'Christianity and Natural Science' has been translated into Dutch, as has also Professor Drummond's 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World.' Dr. Slotemaker writes on these two works under the title 'Modern Orthodoxy,' and finds that orthodoxy is taking up positions supposed to reconcile religion and science, to which neither religion nor science can reconcile herself. The weaknesses of the latter and more famous book, in which we all know how science is made to speak the language of revivalism, are pointed out with a firm and yet kindly hand, and the conclusion is reached that the spiritual world and the spiritual man, taken for granted by Professor Drummond, require to be proved, and are unnatural monstrosities owned neither by science nor religion. The frank acceptance of scientific doctrine by religious writers is, however, regarded as a hopeful sign.—(September).—Professor Kuenen opens with a paper under the title 'Three ways, one end.' The one end is the understanding of the origin and development of the religion of Israel; the three ways are those followed by as many recent writers on the subject, Renan, Kittel, Baethgen. Renan, it is said, seeks to reach the end by the way of intuition, Kittel by that of dissection, Baethgen by the comparative method. The work of the last of the three is left for a future number of the *Tijdschrift*. With regard to the work of Renan the Leiden professor begins by remarking on the want in it of a clear statement of the author's view of the sources. Renan's confession of a general adhesion to recent critics is not enough, as these critics though agreeing in certain great principles of treatment, differ widely in detail; and he therefore sets out to sea without having provided his reader with a chart. In his treatment of the narratives he does not proceed on critical results previously attained, but is led by intuition, which frequently causes him to accept passages as authentic which

criticism has shown to be the late fruits of a religious tendency. He treats the different strata of the tradition of Samuel, for example, just as they serve in his eyes to make up a likely story, and builds in fact most on the latest and most unnatural of them all. The representation of the religion of the wilderness as a pure monotheism to which the prophets afterwards painfully led Israel back again, the Elohimism of the wilderness being succeeded by the Jahvism of Canaan, is scouted by Kuenen as entirely unhistorical and impossible; and this is the main idea of M. Renan's book. The second writer, E. Kittel, begins his book with a careful discussion of the sources, and follows the newer critical method, though with a more conservative tendency than the great pioneers on this field, making the priestly literature begin under Solomon, and Deuteronomy a work of the reign of Manasseh, which was really found in the temple under Josiah. Abraham and Joseph he maintains to be not only the eponymous heroes of tribes but also historical persons, and the stories of the crossing of the Jordan, of the taking of Jericho, and of the trick of the Gibeonites are accepted as true. His dissection of the sources, Professor Kuenen says, is good: the history he constructs out of them is bad.—Dr. Rovers writes on two French discussions of the Apocalypse. Eberhard Vischer brought forward two years ago the novel theory, which, however, has since recommended itself to some of the kings of New Testament criticism, that the main body of the Apocalypse is a Jewish work to which a Christian writer added an introduction and a conclusion, with several interpolations in the middle part. Professor Sabatier of Paris, and Mr. Henri Schoen, who is one of his pupils, have now advanced a modification of this theory to the effect that the framework of the Apocalypse is Christian but that a number of Jewish fragments 'were incorporated in it,' that for example in which the birth of the Messiah is foretold as a future event, and the thronody on Rome, which contains nothing distinctively Christian. Dr. Rovers does not regard these attempts as any improvement on Vischer's theory, which he is inclined to accept.

DE GIPS (June, July).—These numbers contain a discursive but very interesting criticism of Matthew Arnold, his life and writings, by Bijvanck, under three divisions. (1) The youthful poet with the milk of Rugby and Oxford on his lips, and the lessons of his father, of Newman and of Wordsworth in his ears, but himself independent and too inclined to take the part of a spectator not sharing in the emotions of others. He was no ladies' poet. Proud yet humble, ambitious yet weighed down by a sense of impotency and gloom, his poems are all wrought on this background. (2) His life is made a sort of campaign against Philistinism on which his watchword is *culture*, but the same background of melancholy remains. His poems of this period only fail of having the stamp of immortality. His is the perfection of style, but style attained too laboriously. What is wanting it is hard to tell but Bijvanck endeavours to define it by contrasting Arnold's 'Dover Beach' with a sonnet of Baudelaire's 'Sois sage o ma douleur,' in which while the sentiment is the same the French poet blends the personal and general in such a way as to charm us, while Arnold in equally beautiful lines leaves us chilled. His career as professor of poetry, which to a foreigner sounds the oddest of titles, is rather underestimated. (3) His character has grown more massive and fixed; the practical outweighs the ideal, and despairing of the middle classes he now turns to the masses whose heritage is morality not art. His watchword now is *conduct*, and he devotes himself to theology. The artist is lost in the preacher, a preacher always half-conscious that it is all of no use. His methods are not scientific. They are those of the schoolmaster, and his view of the history of humanity is accordingly that of promotion from a lower to a higher form till the climax of culture shall be reached. Ceaseless repetition of the lessons is of course necessary. As a personality, Arnold is best described in the words of Crabb Robertson, 'the young man with whom I should never dare to be familiar.' There was something in him that kept people at a distance. They did not understand him well, and he did not care to be understood—an unforgivable sin. His was a strange life, so very different in its three stages, yet the impression it leaves is always the same. All through the same characteristics were there; the unrest, the craving

for harmony, the eagerness to be working, each was in turn dominant in his life none of them was ever absent from it.—'Two Systems of Colonisation,' (June), by J. de Kock, is a summary of the result of the systems pursued respectively by the British in India, and the Dutch in Java. The conclusion reached is, that the Dutch do not need to go to school in British India in order to learn how to govern a colony. The British Government in India is declared to be ineffective for many reasons, viz., there is not as in Java a native hierarchy of officials forming a connecting link between the people and their masters. The unbending exclusiveness of the English, and especially ladies, towards natives, and their odious treatment of half-castes, the want of interest in Indian affairs shown by the English Government, the enormous burden of the national debt, and lastly, the centralisation which has robbed the native local *dessas* of their influence, which is carefully guarded in Java. He adduces the more prosperous condition of the natives there as contrasted with India, but forgets the greater problems which the vastness of India compels the British to face.—A. G. von Hanel contributes an elaborate paper, Molière's 'Don Juan,' in which the early literary history of that character is traced very far back, and Molière's characterisation of him, pronounced by far the most artistic, is contrasted with that of the Spanish dramatist, Sirso de Molina. Reference is also made to Mozart's opera.—(July).—'A Mediæval Village Pastorate' is an extremely interesting and detailed description of the public and private life of a village priest of that period. It is drawn from Gonnet's 'Four (Dutch) Parishes in the Middle Ages,' a work of great research and accuracy, so that the pictures given here are all true to life. We see the parsonage with its rude furniture and primitive utensils, its chests of valuables hid in the wall, its guests and their entertainment, and the priest is shown from the time of his aspiring to his office till his old age and death; also his relations with the villagers and with his superiors, ecclesiastical and feudal. In short, we have his whole life and surroundings—a life in its day more useful and indispensable than that of the modern pastor, the writer thinks.—The long paper devoted to the life and writings of the lately deceased Donwes Dekker, who, under the *nom de plume* Multatuli, was well known in Holland, is rightly entitled a pathological study, and the subject scarcely merits so minute an analysis. Of humble birth, Dekker made his way as an official in Dutch India, but his capriciousness, his absurd vanity, his want of self-command, and still more, his power of satire, caused him to be continually moved from post to post. At last he lost his office through his conduct in the affair which gives a title to his book, Max Havelaar, and he was obliged to make his living as an author, he having returned to Holland. He was always in debt, in straits, in misery, never able to keep his money a day if his purse chanced to be full. His writings, especially a work entitled 'Ideas,' are never without touches of genius and a certain brilliancy, but he could not refrain from taking up the wildest and most impracticable schemes of reform, social and political, and his best friends found it impossible to help him as he could not be depended on for a day. His was a wretched life, best accounted for as that of a genius, so nervous and fanciful as to be really mentally diseased, still it must be added he is regarded as a misjudged and persecuted man by many, who reverently call him their great master.—(August).—Dr. Ten Kate, Jr., who lately visited Surinam in carrying out his scientific work, gives a gossip account of the deplorable state of that colony. The Dutch there appear to succumb to the enervating influence of the climate, sleeping half the day, drinking to excess, and allowing everything to go to ruin. No attempt is made to develop the resources of the country, not even to kill the abundant game and fish. There is no telegraphic communication with neighbouring colonies, no tramways, no service of river steamers. Cattle breeding has been recommended, but the country is not suitable. The Inverness Cattle Company's station is a rotten shed on a sandy island surrounded by miles of swamps. There are too many negroes, but the difficulties in the way of promoting European colonisation are great, though not unsurmountable. What the colony wants is, like our own West Indies, more interest to be taken in it by the home Government: a new and more profitable system of plantations of sugar, tobacco, indigo, etc., influential Europeans with capital to watch over these industries, a better

supply of work-people, the civilisation of the negroes, and abolition of high export duties.—'Shakspeare and the Meiningers' is a criticism of four of Shakspeare's plays as acted by the Meiningen Company in Rotterdam.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July, August, September).—Under the title 'An American Statesman,' a paper contributed by Herr Anton Schönbach, gives a sketch of the career of Henry Clay. It contains nothing particularly new or of vital interest and seems to have been written mainly to call attention to the fact that Clay's biography lately published in the 'American Statesman' series is the work of a German.—In a well-written and attractive paper Herr Georg Brandes deals with the Danish play-wright Ludwig Holberg. The details of his adventurous life are perhaps rather too slightly dwelt upon, but the estimate given of his literary work shows an intimate acquaintance with the productions of a man whose undoubted talent ought to have prevented his name from falling into the comparative oblivion which has long enshrouded it.—Both the July and August numbers contain instalments of an admirable historical essay in which Herr Otto Hartwig relates the events which led to the massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers as well as the struggle to which it was a prelude.—In the paper headed 'Rousseau and Kant,' the reader will find a careful examination of the philosophical relationship between two writers, between whom it is not usual to find much connection, though, as here indicated, the influence exercised by the author of 'Emile' and the 'Curé Savoyard' upon the German philosopher was by no means a 'quantité négligeable.'—The epoch extending from the end of the religious wars in France to the beginning of the Revolution is dealt with in a paper of considerable length which, apart from its high literary excellence, and the interest which attaches to the subject, is further noticeable as being extracted from an unfinished work on the history of civilisation in France, with which the late Ferdinand Lotheissen was occupied at the time of his death.—Another extract, for the appearance of which there is less excuse, is Lady Blennerhassett's 'Frau von Staël in Italy.' It is simply a chapter from the forthcoming third volume of her work on the French authoress.—For English readers the most interesting article in the third month's number will probably be that in which Herr Philipp Strauch gives an account of one of the best of the many imitations of Robinson Crusoe. It is the 'Insel Felsenburg,' a work of which the name is scarcely known now-a-days, but which might possibly have become famous if the great original had not beforehand doomed all similar works to be quickly forgotten.—Another contribution which will be found well worth reading is that in which Herr du Bois-Reymond considers Adalbert von Chamisso not as a poet, but as a naturalist.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (July 16) Commences with an article by R. De Cesare on the condemnation of forty propositions in the Works of Antonio Rosmini by the Sacred Office.—F. d'Ovidio commences an article on Petrarch's 'Madonna Laura.'—P. Fabbri discusses the 'Courts of Honour,' more interesting to those countries where duelling is still practised than to us, who have abolished that brutal and stupid manner of settling differences.—A. Mosso claims to have discovered that the blood of eels and congers is poisonous. He examined the blood of these and of other fish at the Zoological Station of Naples, where he had a great variety at his disposal, and he discovered that the blood of fish in general, and that of the eel-family, differed considerably, and that the latter was poisonous. On injecting one third of a gramme of the serous blood of a murenoid into the eye of a rabbit, the latter died in two minutes and a half in strong convulsions. He repeated the experiment on rats, guinea-pigs, and pigeons, with the serous of eels and murenoids, with the same result, and a dog, the jugular vein of which was injected with half a gramme of the serum of an eel, died in less than four minutes. The writer then made experiments with *boiled* blood or serous blood, and found that it had completely lost its poisonous quality.—P. G. Molmento writes on the artist family of Bellini, the most famous of whom was John Bellini.—The review of foreign literature criticises the Spanish novelists, ranking A. P. Valdés with the good-natured satirists, such as Thackeray and Dickens.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (August 1st).—In this number F. d'Ovidio concludes his paper on 'Madonna Laura,' contradicting the doubts entertained of the sincerity of the De Sade documents, which the writer thinks merit complete credence.—Concluding his 'Face to Face with the Abyssinians,' Colonel Baratieri describes the tactics of the Italians, and gives due praise to the quality of the Italian soldier who, thanks to a practical intelligence and a certain natural alertness and flexibility, can adapt himself to any circumstances. His natural habits of temperance enables him to bear extremes of climate, and his native good humour to put up with all sorts of hardships.—L. Luzzatti contributes a learned article on the Hebrew martyrs of the Middle Ages.—R. Bonghi describes, in an excellent article, Harrow School, which all who have the matter at heart, will do well to read.—Professor de Gubernatis, writes on 'Cavour and Woman,' and comes to the conclusion that, regarded as a lover, Cavour was much inferior to the women he loved.—G. Boglietti discusses the meeting of the Emperors at Peterhof.—The review of foreign literature is devoted to French books.—(August 16).—E. Panzacchi contributes an affectionate paper on the late painter, Luigi Serra.—R. Bonghi concludes his excellent article on 'Secondary Instruction in England—Harrow School.'—'The Professor's Case,' by F. de Renzis, is continued.—M. Panizza has an interesting article on Sanitary Reform in Italy, which gives a fearful picture of the bad drainage, want of drinking-water, and over-crowded houses, in most towns of Italy. The mortality of infants in the realm is appalling, being 106·6 per 1000 in Sicily, 105·7 in the province of Naples, the same in Lazio, and only decreases considerably in Piedmonte, where it is 80·5 per 1000. In the provincial capitals there die yearly on an average 85,000 inhabitants from infectious maladies. From 1880 to 1884 there were 10,245 cases of typhus in 900 hospitals of the realm, and 1,642 cases of diphtheria. The average number of deaths from tubercular diseases in Italy is 17,383 annually. The decided decrease of cholera in other European countries, while in Italy it decreased in a much less degree, shows the bad hygienical condition of the Italian cities. The terrible *palagra* and malaria demand many victims. In all Italy there are more than 100,000 persons affected with *palagra*, and three-fifths of the realm is infested with malaria. In 1884, 36,638 cases were in the hospitals. The writer goes on to point out the reason why the existing sanitary laws are not carried out, the chief reason being that the prefects and sub-prefects have no technical officials to whom to intrust inspection, and of whom to ask advice. The prefects receive what information they get from incompetent persons, and dare not resort to strict measures without the consent of the respective town-councils, where self-interest is often prominent, and where delays are met with.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (September 1st).—The first article, by G. Livi, on 'Madame Letitia Bonaparte at Siena,' founded on inedited documents, is not of much general interest.—A. Borgognoni discourses in no novel way on 'The New in Art.'—'Redeemed Romagna' is the title of a paper by 'A Senator of the Realm,' apropos of King Humbert's visit. The writer declares that the Romagna is the hearth, not of subversive ideas, but of an intelligent activity which has need of expansion. Until a mode of redemption and expansion is discovered, the Romagna will possess a discontented and restless population, and it is to be hoped that the King's journey will be the inauguration of a series of measures which will enable us soon to salute Romagna as 'redeemed.'—A. Bruialti writes an interesting and exhaustive paper on Australia and its future, which the writer believes will be a brilliant one as a Federal State.—O. Marucchi describes the new discoveries in the Catacombs of Priscilla.—(September 16).—Jac. Moleschott contributes an interesting paper on F. Cornelius Donders, the Dutch Professor of Anatomy, describing his chemical and physiological researches. Noting the simplicity of the Professor's apparatus, the writer mentions that a red ribbon was the only means by which, in 1845, Donders pursued his inquiries into the rotation of the eye, hanging up the ribbon on a wall, and noting the movements of the eye in connection with those of the head. Donders was the intimate friend of von Graefe and von Jäger, the celebrated oculists. He founded the Ophthalmic Hospital in Utrecht, and acted as director for a quarter

of a century. Many accepted scientific facts owe their discovery to Donders, without being baptised by his name, and few are the biological questions which he has not ventilated.—L. Palma discusses the question of the principle of nationality and literature.—An Ex-Marine Officer discusses the points in Mesturius' book, 'Save the Navy!'—Enrico Nencione reviews Madame Augustus Craven's 'Recit d'une Soeur.'—G. Bustelli writes 'Critical Studies on the last Napoleonic War.'—Paolo Liroy, in an article entitled 'The Small Miseries of Great Men,' sums up a number of these, and attributes most of them to 'sick nerves,' for the most part admiring the great poets, writers, and artists who did such glorious work in spite of the malady. The writer mentions with reverence the impression produced on him by the placidity and active industry, both as a scientific author and as the mother of a family, of Mary Somerville in her old age, and closes his article by quoting, with entire approbation, Mr. Smiles' opinion, 'Except one extraordinary man, I have never known a healthy and happy artist, man of science, or poet, who had not some regular occupation or profession which did not depend on the caprice of inspiration.'

THE ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANA.—(Issue 3rd for 1888), contains an inedited diploma of King Berengario and Adalbert; the conclusion of the 'Memoirs of the Duke de Broglie,' by Luigi Zino; and an account of the examination and recognition of the remains of the Princes of Medici in 1857, by G. L. Picenardi.

THE ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLETANE.—(Year XIII. fascicule II.), is entirely occupied by the memoirs of the Duke di Gallo, minister in the end of the 18th and beginning of this century at the Court of Naples, edited by B. Maresca, who, in a prefatory notice, says that Duke Marcello furnished him with the original memoirs of his illustrious father, and the editor hopes that this fact will have a salutary effect on Italian histories of recent times, and encourage Duke Marcello to publish other important documents which are preserved in the family archives, at the same time exciting other descendants of illustrious men to give to the world the memoirs and documents generally so jealously withheld.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (August 1st).—We have here a short paper by A. Tagliaferri on Christianity and Rationalism regarded in the light of facts.—C. de Georgi contributes an historical article on the Santa Maria di Cerrate, in the hope that it will induce lovers of art and mediæval history to visit a monument which, though neglected by government, and suffered to decay, will never cease to be one of the most splendid edifices of the locality.—A. Conti writes in a poetical strain on 'The Army.'—Signor Grollanelli concludes his chapters on 'A Queen of Poland in Rome,' which contain many interesting historical notices.—G. Marcotti gives his readers very interesting 'Notes of Travel' in Switzerland.—F. Tarducci writes on nicknames more in a historical than humorous vein.—'Crito' discusses 'The Jacobin Law.'—(August 16th).—G. B. Ghirandi gives, in an article on the Italian Statute, a sketch of the peaceful change in the absolute dynasty of Piedmonte into a constitutional one, and attributes the benefit ultimately resulting from this change to Italy to the loyalty of the Kings of the house of Savoy.—G. B. Cipani describes in detail the co-operative institutions formed in Schio by the Senator Rossi, and the result, which is the institution of no less than twenty-one various societies, clubs, classes, etc., in Schio itself, and thirty-nine various societies in four neighbouring towns.—R. Comiani continues his descriptions of his late travels in Spain.—J. P. Contuzzi discusses the neutralization of the Suez Canal, pointing out on what basis the study of the question of the protection of the canal ought to be carried out.—G. Bernardi writes a monograph on Frederic Hebbel.—R. Mazzei, in an article called 'A Fatal Mania,' complains that in Italy there is no true Conservative political party; that the Moderate party is invaded by the mania of yielding in every question, and approving every reform even though it be unnecessary, and that this makes the Radical party the rulers of the situation, and may lead to disastrous consequences. The only party which has still some vitality is the Extreme Left. The writer goes on to blame the Radical party for making war against the Church.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (September 1st.)—Here are published several inedited letters from Massimo d'Azeglio to Giovanni Durando, relating to political events and matters from 1848 to 1862.—Francesco Contuzzi concludes his discussion on the neutralization of the Suez Canal, pointing out the favourable disposition of European diplomacy, the collective action of the Powers interested, the last phases of the negotiations, and the English and French convention.—R. Bonfadini, in an article on the marvellous in the history and the mind of man, fights for the rights of the imagination, believing that the love of the marvellous will never be extinguished in man, and that a breath of ideality always existed even during the darkest ages of scepticism.—G. Marcotti concludes his notes of travel in Switzerland.

RIVISTA CONTEMPORANEA.—(August)—The first article is a short sketch 'So Cold,' of an Alpine tour.—Follow some letters describing the sad state in which Giacomo Leopardi lived in Florence, and the anxiety of his family.—E. Tega contributes a translation of a poem addressed to Darwin by a Spaniard, Gaspare Numez de Arce.—Next we have a comedy in rhyme 'What says the poet?' and other verses. The letters concerning Goethe and Mazzini, are concluded, as also is the 'Races and Languages of Oceania,' by R. Cust.—V. Malamani continues his notes from the archives of the Austrian censorship on Daniel Manin Tommaso and Baron Avesani.—The review of English literature notices at length Max Müller's 'The Science of Thought' describing the author's theories. The critic points out a contradiction in the work, saying that at page 51 the author admits that thought can exist without words, while at page 56 he declares thought to be impossible without words.—E. Sutherland Edward's 'The Prima Donna' is praised as a delightful book, while John Reeves' 'The Rothschilds' is not only highly praised, but large quotations are given. The fact that it is wholly without a trace of adulation towards the powerful Banking House is noted with satisfaction, but the critic does not believe in the story that Baron Alphonse's hair became white in a single night during the misrule of the Commune in Paris.

RIVISTA CONTEMPORANEA (September).—We have here an article on Bertrand Spaventa by V. Julia, noticing that philosopher and critic's work on Tommaso Campanella, the Calabrian philosopher.—G. Cecioni describes the legend of the 'eaten heart,' and gives three old versions in *ottava rima* of one of Boccaccio's tales.—E. T. contributes a translation of part of Coleridge's 'Christabel.'—An Italian translation of a Polish drama, entitled 'The Ancestors,' is begun by A. Ungberini.—G. Branca commences a series of papers on contemporaneous Italian poets, taking G. Carducci first.—The notes from the Austrian censorship on Daniel Manin Tommaso, and Baron Avesani, are concluded.—The review of English literature, by G. Strafforello, speaking of romancers and novelists in general, says that English novelists are increasing in number, but that novels are losing their old good qualities without gaining new ones. They are no longer a school of morality, but have become a mere means of amusement without instruction. In England it is not possible openly to offend against manners and morals, but certain offensive things are displayed with a veil of *cant* and decency thrown over them. Some English novelists still preserve the old purity, but the greater part begin to imitate the French, at least in what is extravagant and spectacular. Rider Haggard is quoted as an example. The critic then gives a short account of several English modern novelists. He speaks of Henry James' 'Princess Casamassima' as a careful and subtle picture of English life; says that Black's 'Sabina Zembra' is too full of description and is rather irritating in its mannerism; while the 'Strange Adventures of a Houseboat' illustrates the peril of faithfully reproducing in fiction what is pleasant in real life but not in art; the names chosen, too, for the characters he entirely blames as both extremely affected, and seeming to laugh at the reader.—Miss Braddon's 'The Fatal Three' is described as equal to the best English romances of the day. The plot of Crawford's 'With the Immortals' is described, but the book is blamed as extravagant, and the critic declares that the author must be very brave thus to draw on himself the animosity of numbers of professors.

REVUE UNIVERSELLE ILLUSTRÉE (July, August, September).—If report is to be trusted the success of this new literary venture has been such that a second edition of the first number was called for within the first fortnight after its appearance. This is as it should be, and it would not have been to the credit of the reading public if the reception accorded to the *Revue Universelle* had not been a hearty one. The care bestowed upon it with a view to making it worthy of its name has not been thrown away, and M. Rouam's magazine is really one which appeals to all classes, to those who wish to be instructed as well as to those who ask to be amused; and, more important, perhaps, than this, it is one which may without hesitation be put into the hands of young and old. To begin our survey of its contents with that for which there is probably the greatest demand amongst general readers, we find light literature represented in the first number by a charming little story, 'La Tante Sourde,' which M. de Sacher-Masoch has founded on an episode in the life of the famous Dutch painter Gerard Ter Borch. The second part opens with a capital sketch, 'La Venta del Rey Moro,' in which M. A. Mels relates the adventures, or rather misadventures of an energetic young officer who had rashly undertaken to put an end to smuggling on the Spanish frontier. In the September number both comedy and tragedy come in for a share, the former in the shape of a humorous skit 'Un des quarante,' contributed by M. Jean Sigant, the latter of a weird story translated from Tourgueneff and entitled 'Le Songe.'—As might be expected art has not been forgotten. The well-known name of M. E. Müntz appears in the table of contents for both July and August. One of his articles is devoted to Leonardo da Vinci and records the Italian sculptor's labours in connection with the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, a work which never reached completion, although sixteen years were spent over it, and of which the clay model was wantonly destroyed by the troops of Louis XII., who are said to have made a target of it. In his second contribution, M. Müntz gives us the history of one of Michael Angelo's master-pieces, the tomb of the Medici. Another art critic, M. E. del Monto figures in the September part with an excellent study in which he compares and contrasts the Italian with the French Renaissance.—Amongst the varied contents of the first number we have to notice three interesting biographical sketches. The first of them bears a signature well-known in musical circles, that of M. A. Jullien, and is devoted to Boieldieu, the composer of 'Jean de Paris' and 'La Dame Blanche.' The next, which is from the pen of a writer whose name is scarcely less familiar to our readers, M. P. Leroi, traces the artistic career of Edouard Detaille, 'the painter of the French army.' Finally, M. Molinier, of the Louvre Museum, writes appreciatively of Charles Sauvageot, whose collection of 16th century works of art is one of the most valuable in existence. The same writer also contributes to the August number a short biography of Léonard Limosin, a portraitist whose specialty was enamel and to whom we are indebted for miniatures of most of the celebrities of his age, amongst other, of Catherine de Médicis, of Diane de Poitiers, and of Henry d'Albret.—For the numerous class of readers who delight in descriptions of scenery and sketches of manners and customs in foreign parts, two well-written and interesting articles have been provided. With M. L. Leroy as their guide they may travel with safety and profit through Bulgaria, and on their way back may stay for a while in the more civilised 'pays de Caux,' about which M. A. Valabrégue will give them ample information.—History may be thought to have been a little neglected, for the only paper which it can claim is one in which M. Lefebvre Saint-Ogan calls up the grim figures of the Italian tyrants of the Renaissance period and shows that the 'Prince' as sketched by Machiavelli was an only too real individuality in those unscrupulous times. Perhaps, too, we should class under history the paper which traces the rise and progress of the famous manufactory of Sevres. But, to whichever branch it may more strictly belong, it will be found exceeding interesting reading, and is supplemented, in the August number by M. P. Leroi's sketch of the career of M. Deck, the present director of the national porcelain factory.—To the poetical and musical contributions to each of the numbers we can only make passing reference, neither can we more than merely mention the articles and essays respectively entitled, 'Régnier, de la Comédie-Française,' 'Pierre Joigneaut,' 'L'Œuvre de M. Eugène

English novels, of which 'She' is the most notable, or at least the most popular. It is refreshing to find that another critic is not afraid to protest against the success which has attended such a tissue of incongruities, and to denounce the novel as '*un pur galimatias, qui a le tort suprême d'être prétentieux autant qu'il est vide.*'—Another contribution well worthy of notice is that which M. Pierre de Nolhac devotes to Erasmus, and for which the writer has availed himself of a certain number of inedited letters which he lately had the good fortune to discover in the Vatican Library.—The number bearing date of the 15th of July also contains several notable productions. Foremost amongst these is M. Renan's '*Le Règne de David.*' Space will not allow of an exhaustive summary of the whole essay, but its concluding sentences will suffice to give an idea of the spirit in which it is written. 'The servant of Jahve is in all things a privileged being. Oh! how wise a thing it is to be a faithful servant of Jahve! It is particularly in this sense that the reign of David possessed extreme religious importance. David was the first who owed his success to the name and the influence of Jahve. David's triumph, confirmed by the fact that his descendants succeeded him on the throne, was a palpable proof of the power of Jahve. The success of the servants of Jahve is the success of Jahve himself; but the strong god is he who is successful. This is a principle which differs but little from that of Islamism. . . . Islamism is true because God has given it the victory.—M. Henry Cocheu's essay on Boccaccio will also be found well worthy of perusal, in spite of the opening sentence in which the writer states that, if it be really true that the author of the Decameron was born in Paris, he for one does not feel flattered by the fact, and which suggests a want of appreciation rather startling to the reader.—The first of the August numbers brings another of M. Renan's '*studia.*' Its subject is the reign of Solomon, the Biblical account of which is set aside as consisting chiefly of myths. The historical reality hidden beneath these '*marvellous narratives*' the author considers to be somewhat as follows. 'About a thousand years before Jesus Christ, there reigned, in a small acropolis of Syria, a petty sovereign, intelligent, free from national prejudices, having no understanding of the true vocation of his race, wise according to the ideas of the time, although it cannot be said that he was superior in morality to the average of Oriental monarchs of all ages. The intelligence, which was evidently his characteristic, soon won for him a reputation for science and philosophy. Each age understood this science and this philosophy according to the prevailing fashion of the time, and thus Solomon became, in turn, a parabolist, a naturalist, a sceptic, a magician, an astrologer, an alchemist, a cabbalist.' Further, M. Renan is of opinion that the only portion of extant Hebrew literature which may be attributed to Solomon is that part of the Book of Proverbs, extending from the first verse of the tenth chapter to the sixteenth of the twentieth chapter. But, even if this passage really goes as far back at the time of Solomon, it is not to be considered, we are told, as his own production. The most that can be admitted is that Solomon caused the compilation or collection of these proverbs to be made. M. Renan, indeed, asserts that 'not only we have no writing of Solomon, but that it is probable that he did not write.' The study which, whatever may be thought of its value as a critical work, is undoubtedly remarkable from the merely literary point of view, closes with a passage which allows us to foresee the spirit in which the history of the people of Israel will be continued. 'Hitherto the history of Israel has not been essentially different from that of the other nations of the same race and of the same religion. But now, this history is about to enter into a new path, for which there is no analogy in any other nation. The Moabites, the Edomites, the Ammonites, the Arameans of Damascus have had Davids and Solomons; none of these nations has had prophets, at least like those of Israel. The Hebrew people is about to develop in a manner altogether peculiar to itself. Jahve will soon cease to be a local and national god; the prophets will proclaim him a universal, a just, an only God. The genius of Israel will thus found a worship pure in spirit and in truth, and the world will experience an invincible attraction towards these strange oracles. Weared with its old religious chimeras humanity will, after a thousand years have elapsed, consider it its best course to adopt the principles obstinately proclaimed by the

signs of Israel, from Elias to Jesus.—The only other contribution which calls for special mention is M. Cassin's essay on Epicurus.—The next number, in which the political element predominates somewhat unduly, has nothing more attractive for the general reader than an article on Comaille.—Both the September parts are exceedingly readable. The first of them contains one article at least which English readers will wish to read with some curiosity. It is that which M. Fauré delivers to Lord Randolph Churchill. As regards mere facts, there is, of course, nothing but what is familiar enough to most people on this side of the Channel. But it is not without interest to learn the opinion of a writer who, though he has made no reputation as a politician or a political critic, may at least be taken to represent the 'intelligent foreigner.' That opinion finds expression in the judgment that Lord Randolph promises to be a great, popular, and Christian leader of the Conservative party.—England supplies materials for another paper, a second instalment of M. C. de Varigny's 'Grandes Fortunes et Arrière-pensées.' It is pleasing enough reading, though in the main only a summary of what has already been published in works such as 'Fortunes made in Business.'—There is a good deal of summarizing, too, in the long article in which M. Jules Hermandt discusses on Microbes. This, however, need hardly be looked upon as a blemish, for it brings together what it would be difficult for the ordinary reader to get at for himself, and enables the writer to give a broad outline of the extension of the new science which Pasteur has so materially helped to create.—The last of the quarter's numbers opens with the conclusion of a novel which M. Edouard entitles *l'Épouse*, and which, though it contains certain passages which scarcely square with English ideas of good taste, has some very striking situations, and a considerable share of originality in its conception.—Most people know Count Tolstoi as a novelist; a good number are also aware that he professes peculiar views on religion, and that he is, in some kind of way, a reformer, or, if the term be too presumptuous, a revivalist. M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, has, however, gone more deeply into the matter, and in a thoughtful and well-weighted article, he shows us what position the Russian writer and evangelist really occupies in his own country.—The only other article which calls for mention, and that chiefly on account of a little episode of which certain delegates to the Glasgow Exhibition were the very unheroic heroes, is M. Victor de Bell's paper on the 'Municipal Government of Paris.'

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1888).—M. G. Maspero's 'Bulletin critique de la religion égyptienne' has the first place in this number. It is based upon Professor E. Lefebure's great work, '*Les hypogées royales de Thèbes*,' the first part of which was published about two years ago. The second volume has just been issued, but too late to be noticed here. It contains a complete copy of all the wall decorations and inscriptions of the tomb of Seti I. at Thebes. M. Maspero gives a short summary of the contents of vol. i., and a critical estimate and forecast of the value, which he considers very great, of the work. After discussing the twofold character of Osiris as god of the dead and of the living, he selects the text of the Book of Hades (*Donnout*), which is found in Seti's tomb, and gives an analysis of it, translating portions of it as he proceeds. The conclusion is not reached here, but will form the subject of another article.—Professor Isidore Loeb furnishes the first part of an interesting study on '*La controverse religieuse entre les chrétiens et les Juifs au moyen âge en France et en Espagne*.'—M. J. Halevy reviews two recent works on Assyrian religion and Assyrian grammar—the works, viz., of A. Jeremias and Paul Haupt. He notes with satisfaction that both writers show signs of coming over to his own views as to the non-existence of an Accado-Sumerian race and civilization prior to the Semitic. Other shorter reviews, with the usual chroniques, summaries, and bibliography, follow.—(No. 4, 1888).—M. G. Maspero continues here his '*Bulletin critique de la religion égyptienne*,' and completes his analysis of the text of the '*Book of the other World*,' or '*Book of Hades*,' found on the walls of Seti I.'s tomb in Thebes. His '*Bulletin*' is dated March 1st, and consequently no note is here taken of M. Lefebure's second volume, which completes the texts found in that tomb. At the close of his article Professor Maspero calls in question the commonly accepted ideas as to the sentiments

with which the ancient Egyptians contemplated death, and adduces very good proofs that death was as much dreaded by them as by other races. M. Georges Lafaye in his 'Bulletin archéologique de la Religion Romaine, année 1887,' puts us *en rapport* with the numerous discoveries made last year in the course of city improvement, as well as of purely archaeological, excavations, in Rome and elsewhere in Italy, in so far as these tend to illustrate the religious life of the Romans during the Republic and the Empire. These discoveries have shed much new light on that religious life, and have furnished the means of correcting certain conclusions of earlier scholars as to the sites of temples, etc., which have hitherto been generally accepted. M. Lafaye carefully points all these out.—Professor A. Barth pays an affectionate tribute to the memory of that accomplished Vedic scholar, M. Abel Bergaigne, who died lately from an accident.—M. E. Amélineau reviews Mr. Andrew Lang's recent volume, 'Herodotus: Euterpe,' praising it highly, but pointing out that the *totemistic* theory as to early Egyptian religion, which he advocates, is unsupported by the data furnished by that religion, rightly interpreted.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (April—June, 1888).—Professor H. Graetz 'Les monnaies de Simon,' calls in question the opinion generally accepted by numismatists as to the Jewish coins that bear the name of Simon. It has been commonly accepted, since at least M. de Saulcy adduced his reasons for upholding this idea, that they were struck by Barcokeba, and were current during the period of the revolt led by him. Professor Graetz gives weighty arguments against that opinion, and endeavours to show how much more probable it is that they date from the reign of Adrian, and that the Simon whose name they bear was the Jewish name of one of the two brothers to whom Adrian entrusted the work of rebuilding the temple. Some of the coins bear the name 'Schemaya,' which has greatly perplexed those scholars who have interested themselves in this problem. He establishes the fact that this was the Hebrew name of one of the brothers, and infers that Simon was the name of the other. His argument is ingenious, if not transparently convincing, and is at any rate worth the serious attention of all interested in this matter, or in Jewish history.—M. P. Vidal continues his account of the condition of the Jewish communities in Arragon under James I. and his successors. Here he treats of the state of learning, education, and science, in them, and carries down their political and social history to the year 1493 A.D.—M. Theodore Reinach, 'Mithradate et les Juifs,' discusses the questions raised by a remark of Strabo, preserved in Josephus, to the effect that Mithridates took the treasures of Cleopatra stored in the Island of Coos, and 800 talents belonging to the Jews. M. Reinach disputes Josephus' opinion that this money was temple tribute, and endeavours to account for Mithridates appropriating, contrary to his usual policy, the Jewish treasures there.—Professor Loeb continues his learned papers on Joseph Haccohen and the Jewish chroniclers. The other articles in this number are 'L'Affaire des Juifs d'Endingen,' by J. Kracauer; 'Les Juifs des Etats de l'Eglise au xviii^e siècle,' by P. L. Bruzzone; 'Le Maqre Dardequé;' 'Une inscription de Riva;' 'Une inscription hébraïque de Calatayud;' 'Note sur l'inscription phénicienne du Pirée;' 'Encore un mot sur *Micra* et *Pasouq*;' 'La prononciation de l'O dans le judéo-allemand et le mot *Taule*;' 'Inscription tumulaire d'Orléans;' 'Les quadre sedarim du Talnaud;' 'Les signes mnémoniques des lettres radicales et serviles.' Under 'Actes et Conférences' is a paper read before the Society by M. Dieulafoy on the Book of Esther in the light of recent discoveries in Susa.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (July, August, September).—One of the most important of the contributions in the numbers before us, is that which M. Ch. Gerard sends into the market as a substitute for sugar. To this new coal-sugar, the sweetening properties of which are said to be two hundred and eighty times greater than those of cane-sugar, various objections have been raised, and are here considered by the writer, who comes to the conclusion that, though harmless enough in a healthy constitution, saccharine may prove hurtful to persons subject to renal disorders. His main objection to its being used as a substitute for

sugar, seems to be that it possesses no nutritive qualities. Although the paper is eminently interesting and instructive, it leaves the outsider under the impression that the opponents of saccharine are not wholly uninfluenced by the fact of its German origin.—In the same number, that for July 7th, M. A. Gervais gives an account of the Trans-Caspian Railway, and considers its probable political influence.—In a paper accompanied by numerous tables and diagrams, M. Dupouchel elaborates a theory to account for periodical variations of temperature.—M. H.-M. d'Estrey has an interesting little article in which he shows that, contrary to general belief, the wearing of the veil by Mussulman women is in no way a religious ordinance.—The number dated July 21st opens with a grim but not purposeless paper on death by decapitation. In it M. G. Laye's object is to prove that psychic life absolutely ceases as soon as the head is severed from the body, and that there is no good reason for substituting fulguration for the guillotine on the score of humanity; whilst, from the point of view of the criminalist the infliction of death by beheading has the undoubted advantage that it altogether excludes the possibility of deception, which fulguration would not.—M. Verneau takes up a subject which has been handled in a variety of ways by numberless readers, and endeavours to discover what truth underlies Plato's description of Atlantis. The conclusion at which he arrives is that the whole thing is a mere myth.—Chinese immigration into the United States is considered in its various bearings by M. Daniel Bellet, who condemns the protective measures which have been adopted, as being both dangerous and illogical.—The interesting question of the possibility of calculating approximately the age of the earth is discussed by M. Ad. d'Assier. The method which he proposes is in so far original, that it divides the whole existence of our globe into three distinct stages. The first of these began at the moment when the terrestrial was separated from the solar nebula, and ended with the formation of the earth-crust. Basing his calculation on the data furnished by thermodynamics, he estimates this first phase to have extended over half a million of years. The second period is that through which the globe is now going, and which, according to M. d'Assier, will end with the extinction of the sun some millions of years hence, when the organic cycle will have lasted about twenty-five millions of years. The last period of the earth's existence, during which it will be 'a frozen tomb revolving noiselessly about another noiseless tomb, the extinguished sun,' and which will be terminated by a fearful collision between the two globes, is set down at about one hundred millions of years.—The most important contribution to No. 5 is a report of the addresses delivered by Drs. Chavaux, Verneuil, and Petit, at the first Congress for Tuberculosis, held in Paris last July. The first paper treats of the infectious nature of tuberculosis, the second explains the origin of the Congress, whilst the last sets forth its organisation and financial position.—An interesting article, 'La Végétation au Groënland'—the Flora of Greenland—is also to be found in this number.—Running through the two next numbers there is a report of a most instructive lecture, in which M. de Lacaze-Duthiers gives a sketch of 'The World of the Sea and its Laboratories,' and which closes with an account of the work carried on at the various marine stations established of late years along the French coast.—Under the heading, 'Foreign Wines,' M. E. Ratoin brings forward statistics to show the rapid increase in the cultivation of the vine in countries where its introduction is comparatively recent, and indicates to what extent French trade has been affected by it.—'La Marine Anglaise' contains facts and figures which will doubtless interest French readers, but which are, of course, familiar enough to most people in this country.—In the number published on the 25th August, there is a communication from M. Gamaleia, the Russian doctor whose researches have been directed to the application of vaccination as a preventative against cholera. It is followed by a short note from M. Pasteur, who, without committing himself by the expression of any opinion, puts his laboratory at M. Gamaleia's disposal for the prosecution of his experiments.—The papers most worthy of notice in the remaining numbers are those in which M. Turquam and M. Banaré give, the one statistics as to the number of centenarians in France, the other a brief description of an apparatus for the prevention of collisions at sea.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July, August, September).—The most important contribution, from a literary point of view, is M. Paul Stapfer's exhaustive article, 'Rabelais, sa vie et son œuvre,' which runs through three numbers; but every one knows a little, at least, about the Brobdingnagian mirth-maker, and in any case both his life and works are accessible.—Not so with the interesting phase of modern politico-literary life which M. Louis Léger describes under the title 'Jean Kollar et la poésie panslaviste au xix^e siècle.' Here we tread on new ground, and find ourselves introduced to an intellectual activity and earnestness which it is difficult to thoroughly appreciate in an age of dilettante literature and politics.—M. G. van Muyden tells the attractive story of the house of Krupp, dealing more especially with the labours and achievements of Alfred, the most distinguished of the family.—'Les grandes régates anglo-américaines,' by the same writer, is a trifle after date in this country, but it may be welcomed as putting in convenient form the chief facts and figures of international yacht-racing.—Besides a variety of other articles, these numbers contain a plentiful supply of excellent fiction. We may make special note in passing of M. Glardon's 'Les parias d'Adjimire,' and an admirable contribution to geography in a journey by M. Chapuis, 'Dans les montagnes de la Norvège.—As usual, the various 'chroniques' are brimful of attractive gossip.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (July, August, September).—Thanks to the use which poets and novelists have made of it, the Veme calls up to the imagination of most people the mystic ceremonies of a secret brotherhood, meeting at midnight, in the recesses of the forests, or the depths of subterranean caverns, arrogating to itself the attributes of an avenging fate, and passing sentence of death on absent culprits, ignorant alike of their crime, of their accusers, of their judges, and of their doom. Those who have made a serious study of the subject will know that the dramatic horrors with which the Vemic courts have been invested are more imaginary than real, but they will also know that though modern research has thrown much light over the interesting and singular phenomenon, there was still much that was obscure as regards both the origin and the organization of the holy Veme. This consideration has moved Herr Lindiner to devote a thick volume to recording the result of further investigation into the Vemic archives. This work has, in the usual way, been made the excuse for a most attractive and instructive paper in which Herr Conrad Bornhak not only indicates the lines of the larger work, but also corrects certain errors, as he considers them, and fills up certain omissions which he has noted in it. Altogether he has produced an eminently readable paper which, in spite of his strictures, makes one curious to read Herr Lindner's book.—The next best thing in the same number is the sketch which Dr. Neumann gives of Anselm Feuerbach, a painter who achieved a wide reputation in his day. A few details about his career would have helped to lighten the paper.—Following this, there is an able sketch, though anything but a lively one, of a corner of East Prussia.—The place of honour in the August number is very properly occupied by Professor Delbrück's 'Personal Reminiscences of the Emperor Frederick and his Family.' There is nothing startling in the paper; very little at all about politics. In spite of this, or perhaps, indeed, because of this, it is delightful reading. Dr. Delbrück lived for some five years in the household of the then Crown Prince, as tutor to his son Prince Waldemar, who died at an early age. He consequently had many opportunities of seeing both the heir to the throne and his consort, and his impressions might be relied on, even though they did not bear intrinsic proof, so to speak, of authenticity. About the young Prince, too, he relates several anecdotes which reveal a bright disposition and cause a feeling of regret that he was carried away so soon. One answer of his to a mild scolding from his mother will well bear quoting. Prince Waldemar, it appears was being called to task for the way in which he had behaved towards his sisters, and to emphasize her words the Princess contrasted his conduct with that of one of his play-fellows, 'See,' she said, 'what a well brought up child So-and-so is.' 'Well,' was the ready retort, 'is it my fault if I have not been better brought up?'—A paper of some importance though scarcely of the light kind is that in which Herr Schmölder refutes the arguments which are sometimes brought to bear

against the imposition of fines as a penalty.—The last article in the third of this quarter's numbers is interesting so far as the title goes, and we turn with curiosity to see what Herr Mähly, writing from Bâle, has to say about 'The Origin of the Tell Legend.' On closer examination, however, it is discovered that the paper is nothing better than a weak attempt to poke fun at the mythological interpretation of the story. However far-fetched and ridiculous it may seem to the writer, it is undoubtedly far more tenable than his own suggested theory, that the whole legend, apple and all, has formed, we are not told how, about the word *Tell*, which occurs in a number of place-names.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (July, August, September).—As we have frequently pointed out to our readers narratives of travels and descriptions of foreign manners and foreign scenery always claim a large share of space in the *Hefte*. But never, we think, has there been such an abundance of this special branch of literature as in the three numbers for this quarter. Herr Ludwig Pietsch leads off with the concluding instalment of his sketch of Lübeck. From the old Hans-town Herr Moriz Band carries us off to the sunny shores of the Adriatic and spreads before us the varied beauties of Abbazia. Being in that quarter of the globe it is no trouble to accompany Herr Woldemar Raden to *Etna* and *Vesuvius*, and even the futher excursion to the Nile which Herr Theodor Harten proposes, can only be looked upon as a suitable finish to the whole trip, which, it must be allowed in fairness to the various guides, is most interesting throughout. On our way back we naturally take a look at the *St. Gothard*, and we find Herr van Muyden just on the spot to tell us all about it, inside and out, so to speak, peak and tunnel. For those who care to go further a-field in another direction Herr Diercks has an express waiting to branch off towards Portugal, whilst they who wish to get home again have Herr Paul Lindenberg to take them to the *Spree*wald.—Even some of the literature runs on similar lines, for Herr Gosrau's sketch 'Evangeli,' is a reminiscence of a journey in the East, and Herr Capuana's 'Mastro Rocco' is a Sicilian story.—Literary sketches and portraits are also well to the fore. The first of them is that of Karl Frenzel, contributed by Herr Alberti. It is accompanied by Herr Ping's study, 'Baron Holbach.' In the next number Schopenhauer is introduced by Herr Brasch, and in the September part Ranke and Theodor Storm are led forward by Herr Salomon and Herr Adolf Stern respectively.—The more miscellaneous contributions are a psychological study of suicide, and an historical sketch of the Jews in India.—Throughout the three parts the illustrations are fully up to the high standard of this excellent magazine.



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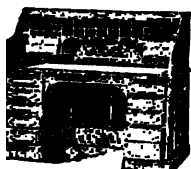
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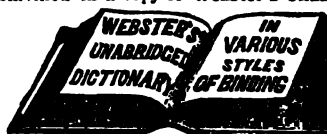
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