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SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JULY, 1891.

ART. I.—THE ORIENTAL JEWS.

THE question now agitating the Jewish world has not as yet attracted the general attention which it perhaps deserves and is destined to excite; but it is not the less worthy of serious thought, such as it has received during the past year from those who are vitally interested in its solution. A sudden outbreak of persecution in Russia causes the expulsion of the Jewish population of Moscow and of St. Petersburg, through the enactment of unjust and tyrannous laws, which not only are ruinous to Jewish trade and industry, but which also aim at the forced conversion of the Jews to the Greek orthodox faith, and at the suppression of their religious observances, and the secularisation of their Sabbath. It is doubted by some who may be in a position to judge whether this persecution has not been concealed from the Czar; and its chief instruments certainly belong to the official class from whom Russia continually suffers more and more. But whoever be the agents, and whatever be the real motive of the revival of a persecution of which we have heard little during the last ten years, there appears to be no immediate prospect of the reversal of this cruel policy, the results of which may be important and widely spread.

The accounts published in the leading Jewish newspapers, represent a condition of affairs which carries us back to the

Middle Ages. The Jews are driven within the 'pale,' where it is foreseen that they must starve and crowd one another out. Even those whose position is best secured have begun to realise their property and to leave the country. The police have reaped a harvest, it is said, by selling immunities to the rich, and have vented their fury on the poor, who are unable to pay. Many have been cast into prisons and condemned to bread and water, for no reason, save their having disregarded laws as to residence, which have long been in abeyance, and which are now suddenly revived. Jewish women have been obliged to inscribe themselves as prostitutes as a condition of being allowed to remain in their homes. Some have been hounded to suicide, some have been forced to abjure their faith. Synagogues have been sold, and the ships from Hamburg and Odessa are daily carrying away penniless fugitives to America and Palestine. A general panic exists in Russia. At Odessa, a census is ordered, to determine how many out of 120,000 Jews, are now living within the 'pale,' and to the rest, six months is to be given in which to dispose of their property. The population thus about to be displaced is variously reckoned at from one to three millions, and no country in Europe seems willing to receive the refugees. The anti-Semitic party has acquired strength, both in Austria and in Germany, and the hatred of the Jews in France finds expression in many violent publications. At one meeting alone of the anti-Semites of Leipzig, 150 congratulatory telegrams are said to have been received, some however of which were manufactured by the conveners of the meeting. In England, the necessity of legislation to check the immigration of such pauper families has been urged, and mediæval calumnies have been revived in Corfu. Thus hounded out of Europe, and thrown on their own resources, the Russian Jews have found friends only among their brethren, and the Jews of the West have set themselves seriously to consider how to provide for the outcasts of their faith in the East.

This persecution somewhat recalls that of the Huguenot population of France towards the close of the seventeenth century. The wise toleration of Richelieu was reversed by the

fanaticism of le Tellier. The 'temples' of the Reformed Faith were closed, the ministers were exiled or brought to the rack. Half a million at least of peaceful traders were driven from the country, and the cruelty of the dragonnades was perhaps more barbarous than that of the Russian police. The result was hurtful only to France, and beneficial to all those countries into which the Huguenots fled. In North Germany, as Voltaire records, whole towns were peopled by them, and the trade in stuffs, in stockings, in hats and laces,—articles formerly brought from France—was transferred to their new country. In London they established a new silk industry, at the Cape of Good Hope they introduced the vine, and in their native land the prosperity which was so largely due to their industry, at a time when they formed a sixth of the whole population, declined steadily after their expulsion. So has it been in a less degree in England in consequence of Jewish immigration. However bitterly the British workman may complain of their competition, it is to the Jews who have been expelled from other lands that he owes the fact that he can now buy clothing, and furniture for his house, at less than half the price which he was once forced to pay.

Various schemes find favour with the leaders of Jewish society under this sudden emergency. Colonies in the United States and in South America have been advocated, and money freely spent on these objects. But there is no doubt that the scheme which has appealed most strongly to the hearts and to the imaginations of the Jews is that of a restoration to their own land. It has obtained influential support among sober and experienced men of affairs, and the organisation created for the purpose—the Society of the *Chovevie Zion*, or 'Friends of Sion'—has suddenly grown to an association, with thousands of members, when but a year ago it reckoned only a few hundreds. The object of the society is expressed in the Hebrew Memorial, which was read to a great meeting in the Assembly Hall, off the Mile-End Road, on the 23rd May, and which Lord Rothschild consented to lay before Lord Salisbury. The thought and wording of this document, which at once obtained two thousand signatures, is very characteristic of

Middle Ages. The Jews are driven within the 'pale,' where it is foreseen that they must starve and crowd one another out. Even those whose position is best secured have begun to realise their property and to leave the country. The police have reaped a harvest, it is said, by selling immunities to the rich, and have vented their fury on the poor, who are unable to pay. Many have been cast into prisons and condemned to bread and water, for no reason, save their having disregarded laws as to residence, which have long been in abeyance, and which are now suddenly revived. Jewish women have been obliged to inscribe themselves as prostitutes as a condition of being allowed to remain in their homes. Some have been hounded to suicide, some have been forced to abjure their faith. Synagogues have been sold, and the ships from Hamburg and Odessa are daily carrying away penniless fugitives to America and Palestine. A general panic exists in Russia. At Odessa, a census is ordered, to determine how many out of 120,000 Jews, are now living within the 'pale,' and to the rest, six months is to be given in which to dispose of their property. The population thus about to be displaced is variously reckoned at from one to three millions, and no country in Europe seems willing to receive the refugees. The anti-Semitic party has acquired strength, both in Austria and in Germany, and the hatred of the Jews in France finds expression in many violent publications. At one meeting alone of the anti-Semites of Leipzig, 150 congratulatory telegrams are said to have been received, some however of which were manufactured by the conveners of the meeting. In England, the necessity of legislation to check the immigration of such pauper families has been urged, and mediæval calumnies have been revived in Corfu. Thus hounded out of Europe, and thrown on their own resources, the Russian Jews have found friends only among their brethren, and the Jews of the West have set themselves seriously to consider how to provide for the outcasts of their faith in the East.

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that a 'Palestine-hunger' has taken hold on the Jews of the East, who have no doubt discovered that the first venturers, who fled thither in 1881, have prospered more than they were thought likely to do. The old objection so often raised that the Jew will not engage in agriculture, is not only answered by the words of their memorial, but has also been disproved by the success of Jewish agriculturists in America. The advantages of a similar language, and of somewhat similar manners in Palestine, to those natural to their race, are also felt, as compared with the strangeness of speech and custom in the distant new world, which alone seems open to those about to be expelled, unless permitted a shelter in the dominions of the Sultan or in Persia. The movement, at the very least, appears certain to add greatly to the Jewish population of Syria, and if as successful as its promoters expect, may in time make Palestine once more a Jewish country.

In face of such a movement it may be interesting to give some account of the Oriental Jews, who differ in many respects from their brethren who have become European, and of the history of their dispersion in Western Asia and in Russia, where, with varying fortunes, they have so long maintained all their characteristics of faith and custom. The dispersion was not originally due to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., though many of the foreign colonies were then no doubt increased by fugitives. It was first caused by the Assyrian policy of transplanting the rebellious populations to other parts of the Empire, and though, through the clemency of Darius and Artaxerxes, a free return to Jerusalem was granted, there is no doubt that a great number of the Jews remained in the land of exile, where, as we learn from the cuneiform tablets, they were already prospering in trade.

The Greek persecutions in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors drove many of the Jews to Egypt and to Persia. Hillel, the famous Rabbi, came from Babylon, and a large colony existed in Alexandria in the fourth century B.C., and perhaps had never been wanting since Jeremiah's exodus to Egypt. About the Christian era the Jews were established throughout Asia Minor and in Greece and Italy. They were

Jewish character, and preserves a truly Oriental tone, such as is natural to its authors. 'With grateful hearts,' it says, 'we own that we have found a resting-place for the sole of our foot in this island of the sea, and breathe the breath of freedom among a people that loveth justice.' 'But happily placed as we are, how can we endure to see the evil that hath come upon our people, who are left forsaken in the hands of their enemies, and how can we endure to see the destruction of our kindred?' 'Many who are outcasts from the North Country yearn to return to the Holy Land; they love the very stones, and favour the dust thereof. They would deem themselves blessed indeed were they permitted to till the sacred soil. If at this moment the ground is barren in parts, and refuses to yield its increase, we know that it is the hand of man that has wrought the evil. The hand of man shall remedy it. We beseech the governors of this land to help our afflicted and down-trodden brethren: to help them not with the sword, but with the friendly service it is in their power to render.' 'Let them be their advocates with the Government of Russia, so that it may make their departure easy, and with the Government of Turkey, that it may enable them to dwell in safety, and gain possession at a just price of parcels of land, for cultivation and for the raising of cattle, in Palestine and the districts round it.' 'For in all ages, when their yoke was heaviest, Israelites have been mindful of the wise man's exhortation, "My son, fear thou the law and the King," and have honoured and obeyed the teaching of their Rabbis, "The law of the land is law for us."'

For more than ten years this movement has been growing. Colonies at Jerusalem, Artuf, Sammarin, Latakia, and in the Jordan Valley, have been initiated, which have in some cases prospered, though contending against all the difficulties which want of capital and of recognition have brought. The number of Jews in Palestine has, during that period, increased from about 8000 to more than 100,000 souls, and already, without waiting for aid, other families are setting out for Jerusalem from Moscow and Odessa. The *Jewish Chronicle*, which represents the most cautious and moderate Jewish views, admits

which closed the passes of the Caucasus in Daghestan. North of the Caucasus their power extended into the Crimea, and the Sea of Azov was called the Sea of the Khozars; but in the tenth century their power had been much diminished by the Russians. The Jews fled to this centre when persecuted by the Byzantine Emperors. Ibn Haukal (in 931 A.D.) says that there were six thousand Moslems among them, but the power of the Khalifs never penetrated into this region, for Rabiath el Bahli, who was sent to conquer them in 661 A.D., was defeated, though their army was a small one, in Ibn Haukal's time. The King of the Khozars was then a Jew, and another Jewish king ruled in Asmid. Masudi gives an account of their customs, which included suttee and the happy despatch, and it appears that the Jewish Khakhan (a Turkic title) ruled over a mixed population of Aryans and Turks, among whom many were heathens and others Christians or Moslems. Down to the present time it is said that the Karaites of Southern Russia still speak a Turkic dialect like that of the Khozars, and that many of them have Turkic and Persian names. The last independent Khozar prince, Georgius Tzulos, is said to have been captured by a Byzantine General named Mongus Adronicus in 1016 A.D., but the Mongols still found them a distinct people.

This curious Jewish State gave rise by its existence to the mediæval legends of the 'Ten Tribes,' living in the land of Gog and Magog, and held in by a wall in the Caucasus. In 1175 A.D., Petachia of Ratisbon, a well-known Jewish pilgrim, went forth to search for the lost tribes, and states that after passing through Persia and Media he reached the 'tribe of Issachar' in the mountains beyond. About the same time Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela set forth from Saragossa, and found the Jews to be very prosperous under their 'Prince of the Captivity' in Chaldea, and Arabia, and Persia. In his time there were said to be 23,000 Jews in Ceylon, and a large Jewish population in Egypt. He, too, speaks of the independent Jews who had spread eastwards into Turkestan, no less than 50,000 being established in Samarkand. The Jews near the Kizil Ozein were ruled by their own prince, Joseph Amarkhela Halevi, and their territory extended twenty days journey

north of Persia. Four tribes, Dan, Zebulun, Naphtali and apparently Issachar, were believed to be represented by this population, and the Jews regarded the Tartars, among whom they lived, as the descendants of the Canaanites expelled by Joshua. They were, nevertheless, allied to these fierce tribes, who lived on raw meat like the Hunns, and adored the wind. Many of these Asiatic Jews were good scholars, and others were agriculturists and even soldiers. This Jewish population still exists, though no longer powerful as in earlier times. In costume they resemble the Jews of other Eastern countries, and wear the distinctive side locks of the Polish and Russian Ashkenazim. In Samarkand the Jewish quarter retains its schools and synagogue; but the Hebrews, who looked forward to the Russian advance to save them from the tyranny of the native Khans, have perhaps ere now found out their mistake.

In early times the Oriental Jews extended their migrations yet further. In China they were known as the 'people who pull out the sinew' (Gen. xxxii. 32), but in 1866, when the Rev. W. A. P. Martin visited the synagogue at Kai-fung, he found very few who had any knowledge of Hebrew. This ancient colony numbered about 300 to 400 souls, and the synagogue bore the date 1153 A.D., but was already falling into ruins. The postscript to their Pentateuch is said by Dr. Neubauer to show that they came from Persia, no doubt through Turkestan. From the same centre came the Beni Israil of India, who have now lost their literature and forgotten the Hebrew language. In Abyssinia a yet more ancient Jewish colony is still to be found in the Falashas, of whom there are about 200,000 souls, but who, according to some writers, have inter-married with the native race. They probably came from Arabia, where, in the days preceding Islam, the Jews were numerous and powerful, and whence one of the oldest and most valuable manuscripts of the Scriptures has lately been recovered. They were numerous in Abyssinia in the fourth century A.D., and it is remarkable that the feasts of Purim and Hanukah are not observed among them, which has given rise to the opinion that they may have belonged to the Alexandrian colony, which separated so early from the Palestinian Jews,

and had a distinct ritual not affected by the later Rabbinic enactments. In other respects they are very strict adherents to the Levitical law, but they have no exact expectation of a Messiah, although awaiting a return to Jerusalem. Monks and nuns are to be found among them as among the Jews of the Christian era. These various peculiarities seem to point to a very early colonization of Abyssinia by the Jews.

A great proportion of the Jews of Persia, Arabia and Russia, are Karaites, and thus of a very distinct stock from the large majority of Rabbinical Jews (Askenazim and Sephardim) who are found in the West. The Karaites have but one small synagogue in Jerusalem. They are often described as modern Sadducees, but they hold tenets which were distinctive of the ancient Pharisee as distinguished from the Sadducees. They appear to have been a reformed sect, which arose in the eighth century A.D., discarding the authority of Rabbinical tradition. In the twelfth century their centre was in Palestine itself, and they were found yet earlier in Constantinople and in the Crimea, and even in Poland. Their observance of the law is in some respects stricter than that of other Jews, but they do not wear the phylacteries of the Pharisee. In Russia they are said to be more favoured than the Rabbinical Jews, from whom, however, they differ only in minor points of ritual and custom: for they also look forward to the advent of the Messiah, and to the resurrection of the just, which the Sadducees denied.

In Palestine itself, the Karaites are said to number only about 40 souls, though their little cellar-like synagogue may perhaps be the same that existed in the twelfth century in Jerusalem, at which time, however, the *Juiverie* or Ghetto was the north-east quarter of the city, whereas in our own time it is found on the south. The Jerusalem Jews are mainly Rabbinical, and all the chief sects are represented. The finest in figure and face are the Sephardim, or descendants of the exiles from Spain, many of whom have red and auburn hair, and delicate aquiline features, with dark eyes. They still speak Spanish, and retain the black turban, their dress being truly oriental. Their chief Rabbi, recognised by the Turks as a member of the town council, is known by the Turkish title of

north of Persia. Four tribes, Dan, Zebulun, Naphtali and apparently Issachar, were believed to be represented by this population, and the Jews regarded the Tartars, among whom they lived, as the descendants of the Canaanites expelled by Joshua. They were, nevertheless, allied to these fierce tribes, who lived on raw meat like the Hunns, and adored the wind. Many of these Asiatic Jews were good scholars, and others were agriculturists and even soldiers. This Jewish population still exists, though no longer powerful as in earlier times. In costume they resemble the Jews of other Eastern countries, and wear the distinctive side locks of the Polish and Russian Ashkenazim. In Samarkand the Jewish quarter retains its schools and synagogue; but the Hebrews, who looked forward to the Russian advance to save them from the tyranny of the native Khans, have perhaps ere now found out their mistake.

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Khakhan Bashi, the name adopted by the Jewish ruler of the Khozara. The Mughrabee Jews from Morocco, who belong to the same sect, have a chief Rabbi of their own.

The large majority of the immigraut Jews are, however, Ashkenazim, taking their name from Ashkenaz (Gen. x. 3,) a population of Armenia. These European Jews have come mainly from Russia, Poland, Austria and Germany, and present a considerable contrast, both in costume and in person, to the Spanish Jews, from whom many of the great families of Italy and England are descended. The Polish Jews have a less aquiline profile, their hair is often light, their complexion fair, and their eyes blue. In height and in physique they are inferior to the Sephardim, and their manners lack the dignity and repose of their Spanish brethren. They are divided into four sects, called Parushim, Varshi, Chasidim and Chabad, which are however distinguished only in minor details of liturgy and ritual.

Any account of the manners of the modern Jews in Russia and the Levant will therefore be mainly applicable to the growing Ashkenazim population; for neither the Karaites nor the Sephardim form very important elements in the question now agitating the Jewish world. It is unfortunate that this should be the case, because the element thus to be controlled is the least educated and least venerable of those which constitute Jewish nationality. Centuries of oppression, and isolation in northern climes, have told on the physical type and on the mind of the Ashkenazim; and although a marked improvement, in health, bearing and character, is said to be remarkable in cases where freedom and property have been obtained, generations must probably elapse before the North European Jews attain the level reached by those who have had the better fortune to live in countries where oppression was unknown.

The personal appearance and dress of the Ashkenazim is neither picturesque nor prepossessing. They are usually lean and narrow chested, with a drooping figure, which scarcely leads the observer to expect the energy and industry which they possess as a rule. The great difference of type and complexion between the Spanish and Polish Jews casts doubt on

the purity of blood in these two great divisions. Yet the Jews as a rule marry only those of their own faith and race, and the influences of climate during the many centuries of separation must not be forgotten. The dark Jew comes from the South, the fairer type from the North, and the same distinction is remarkable in other races. The usual dress of the northern Jew is mean and slovenly, but this does not always indicate poverty; for the habits of earlier times survive, in countries where property is unsafe, and the Hebrew often simulates a destitution which saves him from the rapacity of those in power. A striped gaberdine or dressing-gown, with white cotton socks and cheap boots, is surmounted by a small black 'wide-awake,' under which hang down the two uncombed 'love locks,' which betoken the Pharisee. Among the wealthy, the wearing of fur-lined or fur edged robes is common, with velvet caps also edged with fur, much as in Rembrandt's famous pictures. The dress of the women is studiously plain and unattractive, consisting generally of prints and cottons. The hair is hidden under a white head-dress, for it is believed that demons find shelter in the unbound locks of those who shew the glory of their curls in public places. The dress of the Jew, no less than his deferential manner, often hides the power of wealth and station which he actually possesses.

The distinguishing marks of the Jew are, however, seen only in the synagogue, the home, or at prayer. These are the *phylacteries*, the *talith*, and the *mezusa*. The first are small leather boxes, containing texts from the Law, beautifully written on strips of parchment. The boxes are bound to the hand and forehead by long leather thongs. The practice, which is at least twenty centuries old, is supposed to be inculcated in the Law; but a volume might be penned on the relation which exists between this custom and similar practices of other primitive peoples. The *talith* is a shawl, also bearing a symbolic meaning, which is placed over the hat or cap at prayer time: for the Jew never removes his head-covering in the synagogue, and in so doing retains the custom of the East, where the feet are uncovered in mark of respect but the head never.

The *mezusa* is a similar amulet, a verse of the Law enclosed

in a leather, metal, or glass case, and fixed to the doors of houses and rooms. To this also there is an allusion in the Pentateuch, according to Rabbinical Jews, though the Karaites, who hold none of these customs in observance, do not so understand the allusions in Scripture. The *mezuzoth* may be observed in the houses of wealthy Jews in London, and have often puzzled those to whom Jewish customs are unfamiliar.

The Jews, as practical linguists, take high rank, though as a rule they care only to know enough to make themselves understood, and speak few languages correctly, but many incorrectly. An enquiry at Jerusalem some dozen years ago showed that the least advanced could express themselves in ten dialects or languages, and the more proficient in twenty at least. For purposes of trade such knowledge is essential, but among themselves Hebrew, in a corrupt form, is commonly spoken. The Jews of Spain speak Spanish even in the East; the Ashkenazim have developed an extraordinary language, in which German is mingled with the later Hebrew. In Kurdistan the Jews speak Kurdish and Turkish to their neighbours, but the 'vernacular' (*Imrani*) which they speak to each other is a modern form of the old Aramaic or Assyrian spoken after the captivity, but now corrupted by the admixture of Persian and Turkish words. In Kurdistan the Law is read twice in Hebrew and then once in the vernacular, just as it was by Ezra, for the enlightenment of the Aramaic speaking Jews.

This corruption of language began very early. In Ezra's time pure Hebrew was already becoming a dead tongue. The Aramaic already began to absorb Greek and Persian words before the Christian era, and in the fourth century a large number of Greek terms connected with government, law, trade, art, science, and with the sea, were commonly used in writing and speaking, with a smaller proportion borrowed from Latin. In Babylon, when about 500 A.D. the Babylonian commentary on the Mishna was written, Persian, and even Mongol words were also introduced into the Aramaic text in such a manner as to show their familiar use by the Jews. All languages are subject to such corruption, and the more conversant with foreign tongues any nation may be, the more certainly

will such terms find a place in vernacular speech and in familiar writing. Pure Hebrew is, however, still a sacred language to the Jews in general, though forgotten in some of the isolated colonies of China, India, and Africa.

The written characters used by the Jews are, in like manner, descended from their national script. The square Hebrew originated as a distinct character during the exile, though it has undergone much modification. The common script of the Spanish Jews differs greatly from that of the Ashkenazim, and a cursive character has grown up in Morocco; but scholars have been able to show that all the various types are derived from the alphabet which was used in Asia and in Italy about the second century of our era. The Jews have, however, also learned the various alphabets of the countries in which they dwell, and their calligraphy is devoted mainly to their sacred writings.

The ordinary occupations of the Jews are financial and mechanical, much as in the days of the Roman domination. The Mishna or 'Second Law' shows us that in the second century they were engaged in agriculture and in the rearing of cattle, and this is no doubt also the case still where they form a landed population; but mediæval law deprived the Jews of the right to purchase land, and forced them to turn their attention to other means of gaining a living. They then became traders and bankers, or worked as tailors, dyers, shoemakers, weavers, bakers, tanners, smiths, porters, barbers, and butchers. In the Middle Ages they were famous as dyers and glass-makers—trades which they still follow in Palestine—and also as physicians, on account of their supposed superiority in magical arts, astrology, and cabbalistic knowledge. Above all in finance and trade, the shrewdness and business capacity of the Jew has been remarkable, under the most discouraging restrictions.

The Jews are very abstemious in eating and drinking, and their ability to live on the most scanty subsistence is noticed by Orientals, even though these, as a rule, are also small eaters. Unlike the Moslem, the Jew drinks wine, and, if we may trust the Talmudic accounts, drunkenness was not unknown

among them. It is, however, unusual to see a Jew intoxicated, and their success has no doubt been due in great measure to the moderation of their habits. The less reputable among them are often keepers of taverns, on which the Moslem looks with disgust; and a Jew who has lost caste, or who has been expelled from the synagogue, often becomes more shamelessly degraded than the lowest class of other nations; but from such cases no impartial observer would draw a picture of the character of the nation as a whole.

The Jews retain their ancient lunar year and their ancient festivals: the Passover in April; the Feast of Weeks in June; the New Year in October, in which month falls also the Fast of Atonement, and the festival of Tabernacles. The feast of the Hanukah, commemorating the Dedication of the Temple, in December, dates only from the time of Judas Maccabæus; and Purim, in March, commemorates the deliverance of the nation by Esther. Of these anniversaries, the Passover and Tabernacles are most remarkable in the eyes of strangers.

The Passover ceremony is the same in character with the feast as held in the Roman period, except that the lamb is no longer eaten, but represented only by a leg bone placed on the plate. The 'bitter herbs' and the bitter sauce eaten with the unleavened bread are mentioned in the Mishna, together with the four cups of wine drunk at stated periods of the ceremony, which are not mentioned in the Law. The feast is a purely domestic ceremony, which each household celebrates at home. The special psalms are sung in a high screeching falsetto, which must be very trying to the voice, and to a Western ear quite devoid of any musical or harmonious effect. The curious swaying of the body while singing or praying has also a very remarkable appearance to those unaccustomed to see it. The Passover is eaten sitting, and at a certain point in the ritual the lounging attitude, which is purposely assumed, indicates the 'rest' of Israel in the 'inheritance.' The Samaritans alone now eat the Passover standing, with girded loins. A portion of the unleavened bread is laid aside for the invisible 'Elijah,' for whom also an empty chair is placed at wedding festivities,

and whose presence is ever supposed by the devout to watch over the daily life of the Hebrews.

The celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles in crowded cities presents great difficulties, for during its continuance the Jews must remain in booths set up under the open sky. These booths must often be erected in small courts and alleys, and the proper materials are not always easily obtained. The lugubrious sound of the cowhorns blown at this feast may be heard in Jerusalem, but many of the ancient rites connected with the festival are no longer possible to observe.

The celebration of the Sabbath is one of the main duties of every true Jew. The day is by no means a time of enforced solemnity, for the Talmudic rules lay down clearly the duty of rejoicing, and of wearing the best garments and the choicest ornaments in honour of the day: only work is forbidden, innocent recreation and rejoicing are not prohibited. The law of the 'Sabbath-day's journey' is strictly maintained, and in Jewish quarters, when no wall marks the boundary of the town, poles are sometimes erected, and a cord passed from one to the other, to define the limits, beyond which the measurement of a thousand cubits is to be made. The Rabbis doubted whether false teeth, false hair, and wooden legs might be worn on the Sabbath, since to put them on might be regarded as 'work,' but they decided that if put on before the Sabbath dawned, they might be worn as 'ornaments' in honour of the day. This decision, like others which appear almost childish to those who read the Mishna without a true knowledge of the underlying principles on which such discussions were based, finds its origin in the desire to 'place a hedge about the law,' which might render impossible even an apparent infringement of its least commands. Works on the eve of the Sabbath were forbidden, in order that a wide margin of time might be left, and were permitted only to those who, as barbers, washers, or the like, were engaged in beautifying Israel for the holy day.

The Talmud, and the decisions of the Rabbis on the meaning of its prescriptions, form the basis of all Jewish customs and motives of action. The power of the Rabbis, which is among

the lower classes supreme and despotic, is based on their knowledge of the Law and of the Talmud, and on the rights thereby obtained to judge the people, and to pronounce the dreaded sentence of 'cutting off,' which expels the offender from the only organisation in which he can trust to aid him in his dealings with the world. Jewish education, except in as far as it is professional or technical, is based on knowledge of Talmudic literature, and on familiarity with the orthodox explanation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Free thought and private judgment is permissible only in those matters concerning which there is no authoritative dictum, and the great power of Jewish organisation lies in the general obedience to the authority so maintained.

To understand the Jew aright it is, therefore, most important to understand the Talmud; and this is a task which presents the greatest difficulty to the non-Jew: for even in our present time no complete translation of this voluminous literature exists in any modern language, while the crabbed diction and strange vocabulary of the original renders an acquisition of its contents difficult for all, save the specially instructed. Hence the ordinary conceptions of those whose knowledge is confined to pretended abridgments and selections are, as a rule, confused and ignorant, and much that has been written breathes a spirit of prejudice and contempt, such as will not enable the student to discover the truth. Under the name Talmud many Rabbinical writings are commonly included which form no part of the actual work, and some of the Rabbinical treatises which date even as early as the second century, are, although older than the Talmudic commentaries, not really Talmudic. The Talmud consists of two parts, the Mishna or 'second law,' which is a digest of Jewish custom penned about 200 A.D., and the Gemara or commentary on the Mishna, which exists in two distinct forms, belonging to the two great schools of Palestine and of Babylon. In the most extreme form of Jewish belief the whole Talmud, as well as the whole of the Hebrew Scripture, is regarded as inspired, but, on the other hand, we have seen that the Karaites reject the Talmud entirely.

The Mishna, which is one of the most valuable and interest-

ing of Jewish literary works, is a dry digest of decisions on all matters connected with the law. It is both a record of what had been customary, while yet Herod's Temple was standing, and also an authoritative statement of the duties of the Jew under the new conditions of his existence as a Roman subject, tolerated, indeed, in the land of his fathers, but no longer allowed the service of his temple. It includes regulations as to Agriculture, Feasts, Women, Civil Law, Sacrifices, and Purifications, with records of the decisions of famous Rabbis, and their remembrances as to the customs which prevailed before the Temple was destroyed. One of its most valuable tracts is that which gathers together the maxims and epigrams of the masters in Israel, presenting a noble picture of Jewish ethics. Among the most curious is that concerning 'strange worship,' which regulates the behaviour of the Jew to the heathen—Greek and Roman—with whom he was brought into contact. The language of the Mishna is Hebrew, but not the pure tongue of earlier days, since already in its pages foreign words, mainly Greek, may be discovered. The dialect thus distinguishes the Mishna from all subsequent writings of the Rabbis in Aramaic dialects.

It is in the Gemara or commentary, however, that the Jewish imagination runs riot. In rambling and often obscure sequence, criticism, philosophy, legend, parable, eager enquiry into physical phenomena, prayers and exhortations, denunciations and anecdotes, follow each other in bewildering confusion. The later writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, seem to have striven to exhaust all their resources in commentary on the sober text of the Mishna. The twenty-four folios which result are a characteristic epitome of Jewish beliefs, customs, and traditions, a great mine in which the student may dig for a lifetime, finding always something new. It is not to be expected that all he finds is either valuable or noble, and there is much that might well have been buried in oblivion. Yet for those who would study a nation in every light, and who desire to know what is most strange and ignorant and displeasing among them, as well as what is noblest and best, no people have provided such material as have the Jews in the Talmud.

By selection, it is possible on the one hand (as Deutsch by his eloquence has done,) to present the Talmud as the wisest and noblest of human writings; and on the other hand, by gathering together all that is most worthless and displeasing in its pages, it is equally possible to hold it up to execration and contempt. In this respect it is an epitome of human nature, and a book of 'confessions' of the Jewish nation. Its power lies, however, in the greatness of the lessons of patience, humility and faith, which were taught by the leaders of the nation to the people, in the days of bondage and oppression; and its denunciations were often merited by those who persecuted the Jew. Extravagance and hyperbole are so natural to the Oriental that they must not be judged by Western standards of taste. If an over-weening conceit characterises the utterances of many of the Rabbis, it is possible that these might be paralleled much nearer home, in the dicta of our own religious teachers; and on the other hand, the true beauty of the gems which shine here and there amidst the dust and rubbish of an unrestrained and disorderly accumulation is perhaps unsurpassed in other literatures. Such as it is, no book has perhaps ever produced so much history, by its influence over a race—excepting the Bible, on which the Talmud is based.

The Talmud is, however, partly responsible for many superstitions rife among the more ignorant of the Ashkenazim and of the Oriental Jews, which are deplored by the better educated, who do not share them. These superstitions are not as a rule peculiar to themselves, but are similar to these which survive among the peasantry of other races. Some are of great antiquity, traceable to the times of the Phœnicians and the Assyrians: some are of Persian origin: some seem to have been learned among the rude Teutons and the Russians: some are universally found throughout Asia and Europe: all have their roots in that fear of chance and fate which darkens the life of the ignorant.

The Jews of the Middle Ages, and even earlier, in the first century of our era, were famous as magicians and cabbalists. The magic bowls, which they inscribed with conjurations of demons, have been recovered from the ruins of Babylon. In

Rome, they sold charms and interpreted dreams; in Antioch, the Christians resorted to them as wizards. Beliefs in magic, in cabbalistic charms, in hoards of gold turned to charcoal, in the existence of countless demons, in the evil eye, in the necessity of hiding the nail parings, in the 'hand of might' as a charm above the entrance of a house, in ghosts, in the witch spirit Lilith who steals the new born babe, in the souls which sit at night on the headstones of graves, are still common among the lower classes of the Ashkenazim. The ceremony of the *Tashlich*, or placing the sins of the year on running waters, is superstitious and unauthorised. The Polish Jews believe that the souls of those who die in foreign lands are doomed to a terrible underground journey, through caverns full of snakes and monsters leading to the valley of Hinnom, where their brethren sleep in peace. A kind of fork is said to be buried with the superstitious in Poland, to assist them in digging their way to the valley of judgment. The Jewesses of Jerusalem, who carefully conceal their nail parings, and cut the nails only on lucky days of the week, are said sometimes to place a few of their hairs in some dish prepared for the husband: it being held that his love is secured when he has swallowed the hair. We might perhaps think that the result would be quite the reverse. Many of these beliefs were held by Talmudic writers, but such superstitions were denounced by the nobler spirits of every later age, as by the Hebrew prophets of earlier times.

To represent the Talmud as a mere collection of superstitions and legends is, however, to do injustice to its noblest sayings. Rabbi Judah said, 'none should sit down to his own food till all the beasts that he owns are fed.' 'Rab said, 'men should beware lest they cause women to weep, for God counts their tears.' 'If thy wife is small, bend down to her and whisper in her ear,' is one of the Talmudic gems. 'Jerusalem was destroyed because the teaching of the young was neglected, for the world is saved by the breath of the school children.' These are but a few examples of the many wise, shrewd, and loving sayings of true masters in Israel.

A passing allusion must also be made to the ancient calumny known to the Jews as the 'blood accusation,' which represents

them as mingling human blood with the Passover bread. The charge was brought against them in Roman times, and commonly revived in the Middle Ages. Almost every year it embitters the Passover season, and endangers the lives of Jews even in Europe. In cities like Smyrna, Alexandria, or Salonica, and in the present year in Corfu, it has led to furious riots, and to bloodshed and massacre. Any murder committed at this season is charged against the Jews; but the malice of fanatics led to the same charge being brought by their enemies against Christians, Gnostics, Templars, and others throughout the dark ages, and its survival in the nineteenth century, shows how little advance has been made in the education of the Continental peasantry. Rabbi Jehudah told a renegade Jew that repentance could only be expected by him when a dry stick of cornel wood should blossom, and lo the rod became green and budded. 'Tell me,' said Rabbi Judah, 'what good deed have you done that so outweighs your sins?' 'I remember,' said the renegade, 'that I came once to a town where the Jews were accused of murdering a child for its blood. The people knew of my coming, and said, "We will ask him who has abjured his old faith, and he will tell the truth as to the use of blood, and we will do accordingly." Then I took an oath and told them the accusation was false, and brought many proofs to my assertion of their innocence. And because of my word, many Jews were released, and they suffered nothing, whereas, had I said the contrary, all the Jews would have been murdered. This is the one good deed I remember.'

Chaucer has related the same story of accusation in the 'Prioress' Tale,' laying the scene in an Asiatic Ghetto. Matthew of Paris relates it of the Jews of Lincoln, and Richard of Devizes of the Jews of Winchester. The anti-Semites of to-day thus revive the superstitions of the Roman age, and place themselves on a level with the rabble of the Levant. The Passover is no secret ceremony. With due respect shewn, the non-Jew is allowed to be present at the supper, and knows that not even the blood of the lamb, which once formed the meat of the Feast, is now shed. Yet, notwithstanding such public celebration, the suspicions of the fanatical lower class of Eastern Europe

and the Levant, are every year excited when the Passover season approaches.

The worst accusations that can be justly brought against the Ashkenazim are those of great want of cleanliness in person and house, and of instability in their relations to the other sex. The connection between health and cleanliness is generally unknown in the East. In Russia the Jew is probably not dirtier than the Finnish or Mongol peasant. In Syria the Moslem, however, is more cleanly than the Jew. The epidemics which sweep over the Levant are mainly due to want of sanitary cleanness, and the Jews are regarded as among the greatest sinners in this respect; the king of the fleas holds his court at Tiberias, where so many Jews are still found. To enter into details on this subject would be unpleasant, but the objection is not without importance to those who may be obliged to deal with masses of the poorer classes of the Ashkenazim.

As regards their relation to the other sex, the main evil lies in the great facility of divorce. It is regarded as disgraceful for a Jew, until he has become old, to travel alone without a wife, and it is said that in cases of long journeys marriages are sometimes made with the express understanding that a divorce will follow when the journey is ended. This is no doubt an extreme case, but the frequency with which some of the less respectable Jews change their wives is an open scandal. A badly-cooked dinner is regarded as an excuse, or even that the husband prefers another woman. So long as the wife is thus forced to live in daily terror of divorce the stability of the family life, on which depends the healthy and honest growing up of future generations, can never be attained. Such evils are countenanced neither by the Law nor by the teaching of the Rabbis, who inculcated that a man must love his wife as himself and honour her more, and that all the blessings of the home come from the wife. Jewish literature is full of the praises of good women, and Jewish women have been conspicuous in every country for their accomplishments, and even for their learning; but in the East the Oriental seclusion common to other races is also observed by the Jews. In

America the family sits together in the synagogue, but further East the women are confined to their gallery, they sit by themselves at the Passover, and veil their faces like the Moslem women. Yet the theory of the nobler Jewish writers makes woman equal to her mate, and though ascetic Rabbis have railed against the sex as loudly as the hermits of the Christian creed, they find no countenance in the Scriptures, which speak of the good wife, whose price is far above rubies.

The education of women, and the strengthening of the marriage tie, must come gradually, if the Jew of the East is to be raised to a higher level of civilization. Most of the superstitions which are so strongly prevalent among them are preserved by the mothers and nurses, and secretly believed in spite of the teaching of the educated Rabbis. Freedom, and the self-respect that grows therefrom, may do much to dispel the cloud of ancient popular errors which overshadow their beliefs.

This brief sketch of the population which is now about to be shaken loose and drifted to America, Asia, and England, may perhaps show sufficiently both the difficulties and also the capabilities with which Jewish leaders, and European statesmen, are called upon to deal. The brief historical retrospect has sufficed, perhaps, to explain the origin of the great differences which have arisen among the various Jewish stocks, and to show the indomitable energy and industry which has carried them over the whole face of the earth, and supported them under every form of persecution and discouragement. The capacity of the Jew for statesmanlike government of men has been witnessed, both among the wild Khozars of the Caucasus, and also under the rule of a Jewish Premier in Britain in our own times. If the Jew is a trader and shopkeeper rather than an agriculturist, it is because the laws imposed on him by other nations have made him such. In countries where Jewish villages have been allowed, by Moslem rulers, Jewish farmers have worked and prospered as they do also in America. According to their own statements, there are many among them able to till the land, as they tilled it when the Mishna was written

at Tiberias, and yet more, whose chief desire is now to be allowed so to till the land of their fathers.

Many independent causes seem to be co-operating to turn the tide of the new emigration to Palestine and Syria. Over-population in England, the jealousy of the Americans as to suitable colonists, the anti-Semitic movement on the Continent, the Russian persecution, the 'Palestine-hunger' among the Jews themselves, and the antagonism of Turkey to Russia, all seem to work in one direction. The distance from Odessa to Syrian ports is short. The conditions of life in Oriental countries are nearer than any in the West to those which prevail in Moscow; and the misgovernment of the Sultan's dominions is less oppressive than that of the Czar's police-ridden Empire. Much must depend on the Sultan's good will, but this has been already shewn by the asylum offered in Albania to the fugitives from Corfu. The more ambitious expectations of those who would fain see Palestine remodelled on the basis of the Lebanon Constitution may perhaps be doomed to disappointment, but the conviction having once taken root, as it has, that the best course, in the interests of themselves and of those whom they would protect, lies, in the opinion of the Jewish leaders, in establishing their poorer brethren in Palestine, money will not be lacking, nor influence such as is most powerful with the Turks. So much accurate information is now in their possession, as to the advantages and drawbacks of a peasant life in Syria, that the Jews are able to form a just conclusion on the subject. Travellers and merchants from among themselves have recently come home convinced that this settlement presents the true solution of the present difficulty, and the next few years may witness an historic episode of no small interest, in the readjustment of Jewish population, and the formation of a national nucleus in their own land, which will materially change the status of the Jew, and perhaps lead to important results in the working out of the Eastern question.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. II.—A PUBLISHER AND HIS FRIENDS.

Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray, with an Account of the Origin and Progress of the House, 1768-1843.
By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D. Two Volumes. Portraits.
London. 1891.

THESE volumes carry us back to one of the best periods in English literature, and set it before us in a singularly clear and attractive light. The publisher whose life it chiefly records had dealings with most of the wits of his time. His legal adviser was latterly Sharon Turner, the accomplished historian of Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest. Among his friends and correspondents were Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott, Moore and Campbell, Rogers and Coleridge, George Canning and Sir John Borrow, Gifford, Lockhart, and Croker, the elder D'Israeli, George Ellis, Sir Francis B. Head, and George Borrow, Southey and John Hookham Frere, Henry Hallam and Dean Milman, Thomas Carlyle and Benjamin Disraeli, and Mr. Gladstone. All these were men of remarkable ability; some of them were men of genius. It is rare, exceedingly rare, that a publisher has had the good fortune to gather around him such a brilliant array of commanding intellects, and to stand towards them not simply in the mercantile relation of publisher and author, but in that as well of host and guest, correspondent and friend. The Life and Correspondence of such an one was assuredly worth publishing. It forms, as need hardly be said, a most important contribution to the history of modern English letters.

Dr. Smiles, to whom we owe the preparation of the volumes, is a veteran biographer. The work has led him out into a new line, and into a field which hitherto he has been little accustomed to travel. The cunning so conspicuous in his *Industrial Biographies* appears here, but scarcely with the same masterliness either of method or narrative. If anything, he seems to have been overweighted with a plethora of material. The task of selection and condensation appears to have been particu-

larly heavy, and here and there are signs that the pruning knife has been vigorously used, and not always with advantage. The method which has been adopted is not altogether above criticism. The volumes have too much the appearance of a collection of essays. Instead of a narrative in which the events are related in their chronological order and illustrated by the correspondence, after the manner, say, of Lockhart in his admirable biography of Sir Walter Scott, successive chapters deal with incidents and circumstances which are often synchronous. In other words, the incidents are not presented in the order in which they occurred, but are grouped round individuals, and the chapters have often the appearance of *disjecta membra*. This method has no doubt its advantages, but it is outweighed by its disadvantages. One result of it is the necessity for frequent repetitions; another is, that one has often to hark back in order to find out whereabouts, in the fifty or seventy-five years covered by the volumes, one really is, to say nothing of the difficulty, often irritating, of recalling the exact position of the incident under notice in the political or literary affairs of the time. To use a phrase of Sir Walter Scott's, there is an absence of general views in the volumes, and their instructiveness as well as the pleasure of their perusal is thereby impaired.

On the other hand, looking at the volumes as a series of semi-independent chapters, and considering them in this character alone, they are deserving of uncommon praise. They are full of anecdote, interesting side-lights, and rare information. The modern world has two holy of holies, a banker's parlour and a publisher's office, and into the latter the world is here admitted on the freest terms. The mysteries of the 'Anak of Publishers' are here for the first time unveiled to the profane gaze, and we are told all about the price paid for books, and the hopes, joys, and disappointments of author and publisher, not in any niggardly, sophisticated way, but as the private and confidential correspondence of author and publisher alone can inform us. Dr. Smiles' old skill comes back to him here, and the reader, if he reads only for enjoyment, is carried on with an interest that never flags. At the same time,

the instructiveness if not the interest of the chapters would have been heightened, if the commentary on the letters had been somewhat fuller, and written from a wider knowledge. But to find fault is easy. In the present instance we are free to confess that it is almost ungracious. Nothing short of our very high appreciation of the value of the two volumes before us and an imperative sense of duty would have induced us to pass the remarks we have. At the same time, we are bound to express our sense of the difficulty Dr. Smiles has had to contend with. With the materials he has evidently had at his command, to have expanded his biography to say twice its size would have been comparatively easy. But a biography in two volumes appears now to be the utmost that the public will accept, no matter how interesting or instructive it may be; and if the public will insist upon its limits, it must put up with more or less imperfect work.

John MacMurray, the father of John Murray, was a lieutenant of Marines, and, as his name indicates, of Scottish descent. He belonged to the Murrays of Athole. His uncle, Colonel Murray, was out in the rising of 1715, under the Earl of Mar. The Colonel's brother, the lieutenant of Marines' father, adopted a safer course. He prefixed the 'Mac' to his name, adopted the profession of law, settled in Edinburgh, and became a Writer to the Signet. Lieutenant MacMurray was the younger son of the writer. Six years after the treaty of Paris, tired of the monotony of barrack-life, despairing of promotion, and anxious to push his way in the world, he retired on half-pay, and resolved to set up in business in London as a bookseller. During his residence in Chatham, where the Marines were quartered after the treaty of Paris, he had married Nancy Wemyss, daughter of Captain Wemyss, and renewed his acquaintance with Falconer, the author of 'The Shipwreck,' also a native of Edinburgh. He had at first hoped to secure Falconer as a partner, but after finishing his *Universal Marine Dictionary*, Falconer had accepted the post of purser to the 'Aurora' frigate, and MacMurray's letter, asking him to become his partner, did not reach him till he arrived at Dover on board the 'Aurora,' then on her way out to India. Falconer would appear to have

declined the overtures. Anyhow, he continued his voyage on board the 'Aurora,' which, after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, was never heard of again. Lieutenant MacMurray, however, was not to be deterred. His father supplied him with the capital, and in November, 1768, he began bookselling, dropping the 'Mac' from his surname, and putting a ship in full sail at the head of his invoices.

Among the first books published by 'John Murray (successor to Mr. Sandby), Bookseller and Stationer, at No. 32, over against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street, London,' were new editions of Lord Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead*, and *History of King Henry the Second*, and of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*. His old friends and brother officers supported him, and he seems to have had many orders from abroad. His friendship with Falconer brought him into connection with the Rev. Dr. Cartwright, for whom he published 'Armine and Elvira,' a poem now forgotten, but greatly admired at the time, seven editions of it selling in little more than a year. Through Dr. Cartwright he became acquainted with Dr. John Langhorne, for whom he published the *Fables of Florian* and then *Plutarch's Lives*, by which North's translation from the French of Amyot was soon superseded. His fast friend was Mr. William Kerr, Surveyor of the General Post Office in Scotland, who helped him to the best of his ability with money and advice. In 1769 the quondam naval lieutenant employed Thomas Cumming, a Quaker, mentioned in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, as his agent in Ireland. Of Dublin the worthy Quaker wrote him: 'This is not a reading, but a hard drinking city,' and described his prospects of doing business as almost hopeless. He succeeded in selling the right to publish one or two books in Ireland, but notwithstanding his zeal and the sanguine expectations of the friends on whose advice Mr. Murray had acted, the Irish business did not prosper. English books were pirated by the Irish booksellers then, just as they are by the Americans now. In 1770 Mr. Murray formed the acquaintance of Professor John Millar of Glasgow, and gave him 100 guineas for the first edition of his *Observations concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society*.

This book was a distinct success, and ran through four editions, the second being called for six months after the first. The first volume of Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, his next venture, 'was a lingerer on the shelves,' and did not sell.

So far, notwithstanding the energy and enterprise which he had brought to his business, Mr. Murray's success had been but moderate. Some of his books had succeeded, but he was sadly hampered by the want of capital. Twice he had been indebted to his friend, Kerr of Edinburgh, for loans of money; but in 1775 a windfall of between four and five thousand pounds from the estate of his deceased uncle put him fairly and squarely on his feet, enabled him to extend his business, and to publish more important works. In 1778 we find him engaged in a curious controversy with Mason, the executor of the poet Gray, in which, though he took up his pen and issued a vigorous pamphlet in his defence, Mason obtained an injunction against him. With Scotland he seems to have opened up a pretty extensive connection. The principal bookseller at the time in Edinburgh was Creech, 'of facete memory,' from whose shop in the Luckenbooths issued the works of Kames, Smith, Hume, Mackenzie, and the poems of Burns. Next to him was Elliot, with whose family that of Mr. Murray's afterwards became closely connected. They exchanged catalogues and books, and practically became each other's agents. In June, 1780, Elliot wrote to Murray: 'As the fleet sails this evening, and the schooner carries 20 guns, I hope the parcel will be in London in four or five days,' and again later: 'I am sending you four parcels of books by the "Carron," which mounts 22 guns, and sails with the "Glasgow" of 20 guns.' To which Dr. Smiles adds: 'The reason of the Edinburgh books being conveyed to London guarded by armed ships, was that war was then raging, and that Spain, France, and Holland, were united against England. The American Colonies had also rebelled, and Paul Jones, holding their commission, was hovering along the East Coast with three small ships of war and an armed brigantine. It was therefore necessary to protect the goods passing between Leith and London by armed convoys.'

In June, 1782, Mr. Murray had a paralytic stroke but soon

recovered, and returning to work, issued some of his most important books, among others Mitford's *History of Greece*, Lavater's work on Physiognomy, D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, and Leslie's translation of Buffon's *History of Birds*. He was the London publisher as well as part-proprietor of the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, which had been started by Dr. Gilbert Stuart, and editor and proprietor of the *English Review*. But, owing to the war with France, trade was bad, and the anxieties attending the conduct of his business proved too much for his health, and in November, 1793, after a long and painful illness, he died. The times had been against him. After twenty-five years of hard labour he did not, with all his industry, double his capital. The fortunes of the house were still to make.

John Murray the Second, 'the Anak of Publishers,' and the central figure in Dr. Smiles' volumes, was his father's only surviving son. He was born November 27, 1778, and received the chief part of his education at Dr. Burney's school at Gosport, where he had the misfortune to lose the sight of his right eye by an accident. At the time of his father's death he was only fifteen years of age, and the conduct of the business of the firm was placed in the hands of Samuel Highley, his father's 'faithful shopman.' Young Murray remained at school two years longer, and, on the marriage of his mother to Lieutenant Henry Paget, returned to 32 Fleet Street to take part in the business. Highley was assumed as a partner, and the business was carried on under the firm of Murray & Highley, though Murray was still a minor. The chief share of the management fell to Highley, who, though respectable, was altogether wanting in enterprise, and contented himself with selling the books which were brought out by other publishers. To young Murray this slackness, on the part of Highley, was a continual source of irritation. He desired to be free, and to embark on a more enterprising policy. In November 1799, he came of age, and four years later took steps to dissolve the partnership. An arrangement was come to whereby Highley removed to No. 24 Fleet Street, and took with him the principal part of the medical works of the firm, Mr.

Murray remained in the old place of business, No. 32 Fleet Street.

The times were far from propitious for the starting of a successful business. Trade was at its lowest ebb. The country was threatened with invasion. The taxation was enormous. And the people were more intent upon military than upon literary matters. Mr. Murray, however, was not of a temper to be deterred. He began at once to set his house in order, and to lay the foundations of that career of publication which has been almost unrivalled in the history of letters. He was an ensign in the 3rd Regiment of Royal London Volunteers, but was none the less attentive to business. Besides pushing the sale of his share of the works belonging to the late firm, he brought out a new edition of Cartwright's *Armine and Elvira*, and published Dr. Graves' *Pharmacopœia*, Williams' *Picturesque Excursions*, the *Revolutionary Plutarch*, the *Memoirs of Talleyrand*, the *Female Plutarch*, and the *Flim-Flams* of Isaac D'Israeli, who became his intimate friend as he had been his father's.

One of his first acts after the dissolution of his partnership with Highley was to draw more closely to Constable of Edinburgh—a connection which had a considerable influence on his fortunes. Constable & Co. was then the most prominent of the Scottish publishing houses, and was doing a large business. The *Edinburgh Review* was on the tide of success, and Mr. Murray pushed the sale of it in London. Constable undertook to become agent for any books Mr. Murray might consign to him, and the correspondence between the two firms became frequent and intimate.

But an event was about to happen which was to draw the firms still more closely together. In 1805 differences arose between the Constable and Longman firms as to the periodical literature in which they were interested. After many stinging letters had passed between them it was resolved in Edinburgh by the editor and proprietors of the *Edinburgh Review* that the London agency for the publication of that journal should be transferred from Longman to Mr. Murray. Longman protested, and when the proposal was made to him, Mr. Murray honourably threw

himself into the breach, and tried to effect a reconciliation. But the split was not to be avoided. The two firms gave up their friendly relations, and Messrs. Longman turned over to Mr. Murray their whole stock of Constable's books, and obtained an injunction to prevent the publication of the *Edinburgh* by any other publisher in London without their express consent. Matters were at last brought to a crisis by Jeffrey, who intimated to Constable that unless Longman gave up his claim to the *Review* both he and his contributors would entirely withdraw from it, and 'probably give notice' of their 'intention to establish a new work of a similar nature under a different title.' A copy of this letter was forwarded to Messrs. Longman by Constable, who assured them that in the event of the editor and contributors to the *Edinburgh* withdrawing and establishing a new periodical, the existing *Review* would be of no value either to proprietors or publishers, and requested to be informed whether they would not be disposed to transfer their interest in the property, and if so, on what conditions. The result was that the Messrs. Longman agreed to accept £1000 for their interest in the property and future publication of the *Review*, the injunction was removed, and the London publication of the *Edinburgh* was transferred to Mr. Murray, under whose auspices No. 22 accordingly appeared. The circulation of the *Review* in London had gone up from 1000 in 1806 to 3,500 at the beginning of 1807. After the transfer to Mr. Murray it continued to increase. Of the 7000 printed in Edinburgh 5000 went to the London publisher.

The two firms now drew still more closely together. They published conjointly a considerable number of new books and reprints, and for a time all went smoothly. 'But,' to use the words of Dr. Smiles, 'a little cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, made its appearance, and it grew and grew until it threw a dark shadow over the friendship of Constable and Murray, and eventually led to their complete separation. This was the system of persistent drawing of accommodation bills, renewals of bills, and promissory notes. Constable began to draw heavily upon Murray in April 1807, and the promissory notes went on accumulating until they constituted a mighty

mass of paper money. Bills were renewed again and again, and the bankers were put off as long as possible. Murray's banker cautioned him against the practice, which was desperately costly, and certain in the long run to prove ruinous. "An ounce of comfort," he said, "was worth a pound of care." But repeated expostulation was of no use against the impetuous needs of Constable & Co.' In a letter written on the 1st of October 1807, only two months after the transfer of the publication of the *Edinburgh*, Mr. Murray gives a list of bills of his own (including some of Constable's) amounting to £1073, which he had to pay in the following week. Two days later he drew up a cash account, from which it appears that the bill transactions with Constable had reached no less a sum than £10,000. Murray asked for bills to keep himself right with his banker. Constable answered with bills at forty days, when Murray wrote: 'these are of no use to me at present, and I am therefore obliged to solicit the favour of you to get me a remittance at sight.' Remittances at sight, however, were for Constable frequent impossibilities. He would often draw upon Murray without the slightest warning, and the only intimation that the latter got that the bill was afloat, was his banker's advice that it was about to fall due. In March 1808, Murray wrote to Constable: 'Twelve months ago I confided to your honour and friendship the receipt of two bonds of a thousand pounds each [part of his wife's marriage portion] with the interest upon them. The first of them that was paid you remitted to me immediately; the second, being long overdue, I repeatedly urged you to obtain, assuring you as often that I very much wanted the money. Notwithstanding which, you never wrote to me as you did in the former case; but in consequence of a new request from me, you at length told me that it had been paid, and, as if you did not know that I had expressly informed you that I wanted the money, you asked me how it should be remitted? My answer was, soliciting the favour of you to remit the sum in bills, as you did the amount of my former bond. In consequence of this, I have been expecting the money every day, until the receipt of your last letter, a month after the money had been paid to you, whereas

without any notice of the time that it had been already detained, you tell me that it will be convenient for you to retain it for a month, unless I wish you to remit it to me.' That Mr. Murray continued: 'This behaviour, Mr. Constable, after a week's consideration, does not appear to me to be reconcileable either with friendship or business,' is not to be wondered at. The relations between the two firms became strained. Their quarrels and reconciliations grew frequent. But the upshot was that in 1808 the Messrs. Constable opened a house in Ludgate Street for the sale of the *Edinburgh Review* and the other works in which they were concerned, and that in 1813, Mr. Murray at last peremptorily refused to have anything more to do with their bills, and so escaped the vortex in which they themselves were finally overwhelmed.

Mr. Murray's connection with the Messrs. Constable had naturally brought him into relation with the Ballantynes, and from 1806 he was in frequent and intimate intercourse with James Ballantyne, who had printed for him Hogg's *Ettrick Shepherd* and other works. Subsequently, when the Ballantynes were fairly launched upon their disastrous career, they endeavoured to induce him to join them in some of their enterprises, but with only the most partial success. This it probably was that led Sir Walter Scott to adopt Byron's words, and call him in his 'Journal'* 'the most timorous of all God's booksellers. But whether or not, he appears to have been extremely unwilling to embark in any of their schemes. Apparently he feared the cost, but it may be that he was aware of Ballantynes' connection with the Messrs. Constable, and was afraid of getting further mixed up in their peculiar mode of doing business.† His connection with the Messrs. Constable, how-

* Vol. i., p. 21.

† Referring to this Lockhart says: 'Owing to the habitual irregularities of John Ballantyne, it had been adopted as the regular plan between that person and Constable, that, whenever the latter signed a bill for the purpose of the other's raising money among the bankers, there should, in case of his neglecting to take that bill up before it fell due, be deposited a counter-bill, signed by Ballantyne, on which Constable might, if need were, raise a sum equivalent to that for which he had pledged his credit. . .

ever, was not wholly unprofitable. For one thing, it had brought his name into prominence, and for another, it had given him a share in 'Marmion,' a share which he afterwards generously surrendered when the crash had come, and Sir Walter was heroically struggling to wipe out the enormous debts in which his connections with Constable and the Ballauntynes had involved him.

The London agency for the publication of the *Edinburgh Review* did not pass from Mr. Murray's hands, as we have seen, till towards the end of 1808. He had, however, for some time previous to this been dissatisfied both with the politics of the *Review* and with the tone of some of its literary articles. The *Edinburgh*, as is well known, was set up in 1802 in the Whig interest, and Mr. Murray was a Tory. Scott also was a Tory, but took great interest in the *Review*, and in its earliest days frequently contributed to its pages. As late as May, 1807, he had even written to Southey, endeavouring to enlist his services for the purpose of strengthening the *Review*. But Jeffrey's severe and unjust review of 'Marmion,' which appeared in 1808, in which he accused Scott of a mercenary spirit in writing for money (though, as Dr. Smiles observes, he was himself writing for money in the same article) and asserted that he had neglected Scottish feelings and Scottish characters, considerably cooled his interest in it, and when Jeffrey's article on 'Don Cevallos on the Occupation of Spain' appeared later on in the same year, he wrote to Constable declining to subscribe to it any longer. Like Murray, he had for some time been dissatisfied with it, and had supported it latterly more from patriotic motives than from personal liking. Murray, however, had already conceived the idea of starting a

The plan went on under James's management, just as John had begun it. Under his management also, such was the incredible looseness of it, the *counter-bills*, meant only for being sent into the market in the event of the *primary bills* being threatened with dishonour—these instruments of safeguard for Constable against contingent danger were allowed to lie unenquired about in Constable's desk, until they had swelled into a truly monstrous "sheaf of stamps."—*Life of Sir W. S.*, Vol. vi., 116, edition 1837.

periodical in opposition to the *Edinburgh*. In September, 1807, he had written to Canning, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, calling his attention to the character of the *Edinburgh*, and soliciting his patronage for his plan of setting up a rival to it. He fully appreciated the ability with which the *Edinburgh* was conducted; but was willing to risk close on a thousand pounds a year in order to counteract what he conceived to be its mischievous tendency. To the letter addressed to him on the subject, Canning seems to have sent no written reply, probably for the reason that the project was meant to embrace the discussion of political questions, and that by means of these discussions he might, if the thing went on, be embarrassed. But shortly after the letter had been received, Murray received a communication from him through Mr. Stratford Canning, whose acquaintance he had already made through the publication of the *Miniature*, and who, at the instance of Canning, introduced to him Gifford as a suitable editor. This was in January, 1808, and the three, Stratford Canning, Murray, and Gifford, then began to hold many and long consultations together. It was some time, however, before any practical steps could be taken towards the carrying out of the project.

But the support of George Canning having been obtained, though from his position of Minister for Foreign Affairs he was compelled to keep in the background, and an editor having been fixed upon, Murray next resolved to set himself to secure the co-operation of Sir Walter Scott. The publication of Jeffrey's ungenerous article on 'Marmion' afforded the opportunity. He resolved to consult Ballantyne, with whom he was ready to place a considerable amount of printing, and arranged to meet him at Boroughbridge in Yorkshire. The information he then received induced him to push further northwards, and when the number of the *Edinburgh* containing the Don Cevallos article arrived at Ashestiel, he was present. Scott entered into the project with zeal, promised his hearty co-operation, and subsequently wrote several long letters of advice both to Murray and Gifford, as well as others to his brother, Thomas Scott, Kirkpatrick Sharpe, then at Christ's

Church, Oxford, Mr. Morritt of Rokeby Park, Yorkshire, and to Southey. Support was also promised in other quarters, among others by Mr. George Ellis, the friend of Scott and the political confidant of Mr. Murray, but better known as the author of the *Early English Metrical Romances*, Lord Hawkesbury, Hookham Frere, Mr. Long, Rogers and Moore, James Mill, Mr. Pillans, then a master at Eton and afterwards Rector of the Edinburgh High School, Dr. Young, whom Brougham had savagely cut up in the *Edinburgh*, and J. Wilson Croker.

The preparations for the first number were conducted with the greatest secrecy, though not without some rumours of them reaching the Messrs. Constable in Edinburgh, who tried to heal the breach already existing between them and Scott. Canning and Gifford retired in the end of November, 1808, to Mr. Ellis's house at Sunninghill, and there concocted the article on Spain. Southey was busy with his article on Missionaries; Turner was preparing his Sanskrit article, and Dr. Young was engaged on Laplace. The Ballantynes were appointed the Edinburgh publishers, and in the end of February, 1809, the first number of the *Quarterly Review* appeared. The principal contributor to it was Scott, from whose pen it contained three articles, those, namely, on the Reliques of Burns, the Chronicles of the Cid, and Sir John Carr's *Tour through Scotland*. 'Like most first numbers,' says Dr. Smiles, 'it did not entirely realize the sanguine views of its promoters. It did not burst like a thunder-clap on the reading public; nor did it give promise to its friends that a new political power had been born into the world. The general tone was more literary than political; and though it contained much that was well worth reading, none of its articles were of first-rate quality.' Scott was not entirely satisfied with it, and saw evident signs of haste in most of the articles. Ellis, who long continued to play the part of 'candid friend' to the *Review*, said of it: 'Upon the whole, I am at least tolerably satisfied.' Sharon Turner, on the other hand, deplored the appearance of Scott's article on 'Carr's *Tour through Scotland*.' The sale was good. Four thousand copies were at first printed. They were soon exhausted, and a second edition was called for. The Ballan-

tyes took 850 copies, and Scott expected for the second number a 'firm and stable sale' in Scotland of 1000 or 1500, and expressed himself satisfied with his payment of ten guineas a sheet.

Number 2 had several new contributors, and was considered superior to its predecessor. Even Constable had a good word to say for it; but it had the fault of appearing at the end of May instead of in the middle of April. Number 3 also was late. The fourth number, which contained Grant's article on the 'Character of the late C. J. Fox,' an article which, according to Mr. Murray, excited general admiration, instead of coming out in November, did not appear till the end of December 1809. The fifth, with Southey's 'Life of Nelson,' was also unpunctual, as likewise were numbers 9 and 10. The circulation of number 8 fell from 5000 to 4000. The fact would seem to be that, at the beginning of its existence, the *Quarterly* was in a very precarious condition, and for many numbers did not pay its expenses. This was due in a large measure to its unpunctuality. In this respect it was a singular contrast to its rival. The *Edinburgh* was always up to date, while the *Quarterly* was always behind. Contrasting the two, Mr. Erskine of Edinburgh wrote to Murray, 'It is a pity your *Palinurus* is so much less vigilant and active;' and the publisher himself, Dr. Smiles tell us, felt the necessity of expostulating with the editor. In May 1809, six weeks after the second number was already due, he wrote saying: 'I begin to suspect that you are not aware of the complete misery which is occasioned to me, and the certain ruin which must attend the *Review*, by our unfortunate procrastination. Long before this, every line of copy for the present number ought to have been in the hands of the printer. Yet the whole of the *Review* is yet to print.' This, as we have said, was six weeks after the Number was due. But with Gifford expostulations were of little use. He replied complaining that the delay and confusion were due to a want of confidential communications, and that Murray had too many advisers, and he himself too many masters. In many respects Gifford was an excellent editor. He was by no means as merciless as he has had the credit of being; but he was not a man of business,

and was thoroughly unpunctual. He was conscientious and scrupulous in most matters, a good scholar, skilful as an editor, and an admirable hand at spreading a judicious measure of seasoning throughout an article, though his editorial efforts were not always appreciated, and were sometimes resented. But good as his other qualities were, his want of punctuality would have killed any periodical, and there can be little doubt that the chief source of the *Quarterly's* success lay not with him but with the publisher. Murray's efforts were indefatigable, both in the endeavour to keep Gifford up to time, and to secure fresh contributors. The matter of unpunctuality does not appear to have been entirely got over during the whole of Gifford's reign. It was not until the *Review* came under other hands that it adopted those habits of regularity which are now characteristic of most of the periodicals both of this and other countries.

In 1812 Mr. Murray removed to 50 Albemarle Street, the place which has since become so famous in the annals of book-selling and publishing. He purchased the lease of the house and took over the copyrights, stock, etc., from Mr. W. Miller, who had carried on the publishing business there since 1804, for the sum of £3822 12s. 6d.; handing over to him, until the purchase money was paid (which was not till 1821), the copyrights of Mrs. Rundell's *Domestic Cookery*, one of his most successful publications, and the *Quarterly Review*, and his one-fourth share in 'Marmion.' 'The step,' says Dr. Smiles, 'was so momentous and the responsibility so great, that at times he was driven almost to the verge of despondency. On the other hand, it was much more convenient for him to have his place of business near the residences of his principal contributors and editor, for Gifford lived near at hand, in James Street, Buckingham Gate.' Two years after the removal, Mr. Murray took the opportunity of his wife's absence in Edinburgh, to turn the drawing-room of the house over to the painters and upholsterers. To Mrs. Murray,* he said, 'I hope to leave it exclusively at

* She was the daughter of Charles Elliot, bookseller and publisher, Edinburgh, and was married to Mr. Murray, March 6th, 1807. The marriage took place in Edinburgh, and immediately after it the newly wedded couple

your command.' But it was used for other purposes than the reception of society-callers. It became, as Dr. Smiles tells us, for some time the centre of literary friendship and intercommunication at the West-end. The Athenæum Club did not come into existence till 1832, some nine years later, and until then, Murray's drawing-room was the main centre of literary intercourse in that quarter of London. Here men of distinction from the Continent and America came with letters of introduction to Mr. Murray. They were cordially welcomed and entertained by him, and in the course of their visits, met with many distinguished individuals. Among those who frequented the room were Gifford, D'Israeli, Moore, Campbell, Elmsley, Hallam, Croker, Barrow, Canning, Frere, Mackintosh, and Sir John Malcolm. Among distinguished visitors from abroad were Ticknor, Washington Irving, and Madame de Staël. It was here that Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron met for the first time. Letters and gifts had already passed between them, but it was not till Friday, April 7, 1815, that they met face to face. They conversed together for a couple of hours. During the time, Gifford, Boswell, the biographer of Johnson's son, William Sotheby, Robert Wilmot, Richard Heber and Mr. Dugate were present, and the present Mr. Murray has given his recollections of the incident as follows:—

'I can recollect seeing Lord Byron in Albemarle Street. So far as I can remember, he appeared to me rather a short man, with a handsome countenance, remarkable for the fine blue veins which ran over his pale, marble temples. He wore many rings on his fingers, and a brooch in his shirt-front, which was embroidered. When he called, he used to be dressed in a black dress-coat (as we should now call it), with grey, and sometimes nankeen trousers, his shirt open at the neck. Lord Byron's deformity in his foot was very evident, especially as he walked downstairs. He carried a stick. After Scott and he had ended their conversation in the drawing-room, it was a curious sight to see the two greatest poets of

set off for Kelso. The roads were obstructed with snow, and near Blackshields the horses fell down and rolled over, the postboy's leg was broken and the carriage sadly damaged. A neighbouring blacksmith came to the rescue, and Mr. and Mrs. Murray managed to reach Kelso with no further mishap.

the age—both lame—stumping downstairs side by side.’ ‘They continued to meet in Albemarle Street,’ Mr. Murray goes on to say, ‘nearly every day, and remained together for two or three hours at a time. Lord Byron dined several times at Albemarle Street. On one of these occasions, he met Sir John Malcolm—a most agreeable and accomplished man—who was all the more interesting to Lord Byron, because of his intimate knowledge of Persia and India. After dinner, Sir John observed to Lord Byron how much gratified he had been to meet him, and how surprised he was to find him so full of gaiety and entertaining conversation. Byron replied, “perhaps you see me now at my best.” Sometimes, though not often, Lord Byron read passages from his poems to my father. His voice and manner were very impressive. His voice, in the deeper tones, bore some resemblance to that of Mrs. Siddons.’

Lord Byron was one of Mr. Murray’s most frequent correspondents, and, when in London, one of his most frequent visitors. To his connection with him, Murray owed no little of his prosperity. He paid magnificently, but the sale of Lord Byron’s poetry was immense, and must have been extremely remunerative. The first time the two met was when Lord Byron called one day, with Mr. Hobhouse, in Fleet Street, just after Mr. Murray had purchased the copyright of the first two cantos of ‘Childe Harold’—August 1811. ‘He afterwards looked in from time to time,’ says Dr. Smiles, ‘while the sheets were passing through the press, fresh from the fencing rooms of Angelo and Jackson, and used to amuse himself by renewing his practice of “Carte et Tierce,” with his walking-cane directed against the book-shelves, while Murray was reading passages from the poem, with occasional ejaculations of admiration; in which Byron would say, “You think that a good idea, do you, Murray?” Then he would fence and lunge with his walking-stick at some special book which he had picked out on the shelves before him. As Murray afterwards said, “I was often very glad to get rid of him!”’

To give an account of Mr. Murray’s relations with Lord Byron is not our intention. They are for the most part already well known through the medium of Moore’s Life of the poet. Dr. Smiles has here entered minutely into them, and his account of them forms one of the most interesting portions of his volumes. There is one episode, however, to which we may

be permitted to refer, as hitherto it has not been altogether accurately represented. Even Dr. Smiles is not perfectly exact. It may be called the Godwin episode.

In December 1815, Mr. Murray received from Lord Byron the MSS. of 'The Siege of Corinth' and 'Parisina,' and immediately sent him two notes amounting to a thousand guineas for the copyright of the poems. Lord Byron refused the notes, declaring that the sum was too great. Some time after, Mr. Murray again pressed the money upon him, and went so far as to lay it upon the table before him.* Lord Byron, however, though at the time in the greatest pecuniary difficulties, persisted in his refusal, and the money which Murray thought the copyright of the two poems worth remained in his hands untouched. At the time Godwin, the author of *An Enquiry into Political Justice*, was also in the greatest straits, and Sir James Mackintosh hearing of Lord Byron's refusal of the money for the copyright of the two poems, wrote to Rogers, suggesting that application should be made to Lord Byron for a part of the money to be given for the relief of Godwin. Rogers acted on the suggestion, and Lord Byron replied :—

'I wrote to you hastily this morning by Murray, to say that I was glad to do as Mackintosh or you suggested about Mr. Godwin. It occurs to me now that, as I have never seen Mr. G. but once, and consequently have no claim on his acquaintance, that you or Sir J. had better arrange it with him in such a manner as may be least offensive to his feelings, and so as not to have the appearance of officiousness nor obtrusion on my part. I hope you will be able to do this, as I should be very sorry to do anything by him that may be deemed indelicate. The sum Murray offered, and offers, was, and is, one thousand and fifty pounds : this I refused before, because I thought it more than the two things were worth to M. and from other objections, which are of no consequence. I have, however, closed with M., in consequence of Sir J.'s and your suggestion, and propose the sum of six hundred pounds † to be transferred to Mr. Godwin, as may

* Clayden, *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, i., 213.

† Dr. Smiles says : 'It was afterwards suggested by Mr. Rogers and Sir James Mackintosh, to Lord Byron, that a portion of it (£600) might be applied,' etc., as if the exact sum of £600 was the suggestion of Rogers and Mackintosh. It will be seen, however, from the above letter, that the sum was fixed, not by them, but by Lord Byron himself.

seem best to you and his friend. The remainder I think of for other purposes.*

To Mr. Murray, who was the chief party concerned in the matter, this proposal was, as was quite natural, anything but pleasing. In fact, it caused him, to use the words of Dr. Smiles, the 'deepest vexation,' and he wrote to Lord Byron as follows, apparently on the same day the above letter was written:—

'I did not like to detain you this morning, but I confess to you that I came away impressed with a belief that you had already reconsidered this matter as it refers to me. Your Lordship will pardon me if I cannot avoid looking upon it as a species of cruelty, after what has passed, to take from me so large a sum—offered with no reference to the marketable value of the poems, but out of personal friendship and gratitude alone—to cast it away on the wanton and ungenerous interference of those who cannot enter into your Lordship's feelings for me, upon persons who have so little claim upon you, and whom those who so interested themselves might more decently and honestly enrich from their own funds, than by endeavouring to be liberal at the cost of another, and by forcibly recovering from me a sum which you had generously and nobly resigned.

'I am sure you will do me the justice to believe that I would strain every nerve in your service, but it is actually heart-breaking to throw away my savings on others. I am no rich man, abounding, like Mr. Rogers, in superfluous thousands, but working hard for independence, and what would be the most grateful pleasure to me if likely to be useful to you personally, becomes merely painful if it causes me to work for others for whom I can have no such feelings.

'This is a most painful subject for me to address you upon, and I am ill able to express my feelings about it. I commit them entirely to your liberal construction, with a reference to your knowledge of my character. I have the honour,' etc.

On the receipt of this, Lord Byron wrote to Rogers, saying:—
'You may set your heart at rest on poor G.'s business. Murray, when it came to the point, demurred, and though not exactly refusing, gave such sort of answers as determined me to take the MS. away, and not publish it at all.' Subsequently, however, the MS. was returned to Mr. Murray, and the sum he originally offered for it was paid to Lord Byron, who was compelled, by the increasing pressure of his debts, to accept and use it for his own purposes.

* These were the relief of Maturin and Coleridge.

The episode is curious. Mr. Clayden, after giving Sir J. Mackintosh's letters to Rogers, and that of Rogers to Lord Byron, containing the suggestion, says: 'This generous intention was frustrated.'* The intention, no doubt, was generous, but it was badly conceived. To most readers the conduct of both Sir James Mackintosh and Rogers will look very like an impertinence. The matter was not only private, it was closed, and neither of them had any business to interfere in it. Gifford, when returning the draft of Murray's letter to Lord Byron, wrote: 'The more I consider their conduct, the more I am astonished at their impudence. A downright robbery is honourable to it.' The language is strong, but not a bit too strong. Generosity with another man's property is cheap, but neither becoming nor honourable, and one can only wonder that two such men as Rogers and Mackintosh should have ever dreamt of making the proposal. This, however, was not the only occasion on which Rogers interfered in Mr. Murray's affairs. Towards the end of 1818 Crabbe brought to Murray the MS. of his 'Tales of the Hall,' and proposed that Murray should publish them together with the rest of his poems, which were to be transferred to him from Colburn. Murray offered him £3000 for the copyright of the whole. Next morning Crabbe breakfasted with Rogers, and told him of his good fortune and of Murray's magnificent offer. Rogers thought it was not enough, and that Crabbe should have received £3000 for the 'Tales of the Hall' alone, and suggested that he should be allowed to try if Longman would not give more. Crabbe, who was naturally anxious to get the most he could, allowed him. But when Rogers returned with the news that Longman would not give more than £1000 both for the 'Tales' and the rest of the poems, he was thrown into a state of utter consternation. Rogers' fine management was likely to lose him a couple of thousand pounds—more than he had ever made by his writings—and in all probability would have lost them, if the application to Longman had come to the knowledge of Murray. Fortunately, however, Murray, when

* *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, i. 213.

applied to again, stuck to his offer, and the catastrophe was avoided.*

With Sir Walter Scott Mr. Murray was long on the most friendly and intimate terms. Their correspondence with each other was frequent. Murray was at Ashestiel, and afterwards at Abbotsford; and when in town Sir Walter was a frequent visitor at Albemarle Street. The interest which the latter took in launching and carrying on the *Quarterly* we have seen. Murray was always anxious to have some share in the publication of Sir Walter's writings, but never managed to secure, beyond the fourth share in 'Marmion' already alluded to, and a share in 'Don Roderick,' the copyright of any, with the exception of a share with Blackwood in an edition of 6000 copies of the 'Tales of My Landlord.' Sir Walter always seemed to prefer the Edinburgh publishers, and after the crisis in his affairs was compelled. It says much for the acumen of Murray that when *Waverley* appeared, he at once pronounced it to be Scott's. The reasons which led him to do so, Dr. Smiles tells us, were as follow: 'when he met Ballantyne at Boroughbridge, in 1809, to settle some arrangements as to the works which Walter Scott proposed to place in his hands for publication, he remembered that among these works were three—1st, an edition of 'Beaumont and Fletcher'; 2nd, a poem, and 3rd, a novel. Now, both the edition of 'Beaumont and Fletcher' (though edited by Weber†) and the poem, the 'Lady of the Lake' had been published; and now, at last, appeared *the novel*.‡ Each issue of the Tales, by the 'Author of Waverley,' only seemed to confirm his original belief. In 1816 he wrote

* The speculation was not a paying one. According to Moore, if the whole edition (3000) had been sold off, which it was not, Murray would still have been a loser by £1,900.

† Henry Weber acted for some time as Scott's amanuensis. He published the 'Tales of the East,' and the 'Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries,' and brought out with Scott and Jamieson the 'Illustrations of Northern Antiquities.'

‡ Ballantyne & Co.'s printed list of 'New Works and Publications for 1809-10,' issued in August 1810, contained the following entry, 'Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since; a novel in 3 vols., 12mo. The work was not published till July 1814. Dr. Smiles; i. 244, note.

to the latter, saying: 'Although I dare not address you as the author of certain Tales*—which, however, must be written either by Walter Scott or the devil—yet nothing can restrain me from thinking that I am indebted for the essential honour of being one of their publishers,' and then went on to try to 'draw him.' But, as is well known, Scott was not to be drawn. In reply he offered to convince him that he was not the author of the 'Tales' by reviewing them, which he did in the *Quarterly* for January 1817.† Still, notwithstanding Scott's disclaimer, Murray could not, up to the moment the authorship was made public, get rid of the belief that Scott was either the author of the 'Tales,' or had at least a large hand in them.

Three other Scotchmen who figured among Mr. Murray's friends were Hogg, Blackwood, and Lockhart. To the last we shall have occasion to refer by and by. Mr. Murray was also on intimate terms with Campbell, for whom he published the *Essays and Selections of English Poetry*, the preparation of which occupied the poet some ten years, and cost the publisher £1,200.‡ 'Christopher North' offered Murray the copyright of the 'City of the Plague,' but he appears to have declined it. Carlyle also offered him *Sartor Resartus*. Hogg's works were brought to his notice by Lord Byron, by whom he was induced to undertake the publication of the Shepherd's 'Pilgrims of the Sun.' When it was issued Hogg was aggrieved that Blackwood's name was placed above Murray's in the advertisement of it. Gifford was desirous of enlisting Hogg for the *Quarterly*. In 1815 Murray sent the Shepherd, who was always impecunious, some 'timeous' help, when he replied by calling him the 'prince of booksellers,' and

* Vol. i., 469.

† The correspondence is also given by Lockhart, *Life*, iv., 31, *et seq.*

‡ Dr. Smiles writes: 'It was Thomas Campbell who wrote "Now Barabas was a Publisher," whether in a Bible or otherwise is not authentically recorded, and forwarded it to a friend; but Mr. Murray was not the publisher to whom it referred, nor was Lord Byron, as has been so frequently stated, the author of the joke.' So far good; but who was the publisher referred to?

concluded his letter by saying: 'I wish you or Mrs. Murray would speer me out a good wife with a few thousands. I dare-say there is many a romantic girl about London who would think it a fine thing to become a Yarrow Shepherdess.' Murray continued to befriend the Shepherd, though he does not seem to have provided him with a shepherdess. He subsequently lent him £50, and helped the sale of his books.

With Blackwood—Mr. William Blackwood—the founder of the well-known publishing house in Edinburgh, Mr. Murray was doing business as early as the year 1810, when he appointed him his Edinburgh agent for the sale of the *Quarterly*.* Their relations soon became intimate. The alliance was advantageous to both. Murray was in need of an agent like Blackwood,—young, active, and shrewd, in touch with the literary society of the northern capital, and qualified to tell him what was going on there, and to carry on communications with the leading men. Blackwood, on the other hand, had just begun business, and recognized the benefits to be derived from the connection. Like Murray he was quite as anxious about the literary credit of his firm as he was for its commercial prosperity, and looked upon his business as something more than means of making money. 'In your connections with literary men,' he wrote to Murray, 'when I consider the books you have published, and are to publish, you have the happiness of making it a liberal profession, and not a mere business of pence. This I consider one of the greatest privileges we have in our business.' Later, he wrote: 'I will always be able, I hope, to keep up the character and respect which I consider is due to our profession when liberally conducted.' These words do him infinite credit, and might form a text for an excellent essay on the Place and Functions of the Publisher. Blackwood was of course in frequent communication with the Ballantynes, who were continually dangling before him the bait of some work by the author of *Waverley*; but he could no more put up with their

* On page 452 of his first volume Dr. Smiles gives 1814 as the year in which Blackwood was appointed Murray's agent in Scotland. From page 175 of the same volume the date would appear to be 1810.

mode of doing business than Mr. Murray could, and little came of their negotiations. Singularly enough the connection between Murray and Blackwood came to an abrupt termination, as did Murray's connection with Constable and the Ballantynes, though from a different cause. It was brought about by the character of the articles which began to appear in *Blackwood's Magazine*. This was first started in April 1817, under the name of the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*, and had Thomas Pringle and James Cleghorn for its editors. The name was soon changed to that which it has since borne, and in number 7, the first under the new title, appeared the famous 'Translation from an Ancient Chaldee Manuscript,' every paragraph of which contained a special hit at some particular individual well known in Edinburgh. Ten thousand copies of the number were struck off, and then it was suddenly suppressed, and could not be had for love nor money. There were other articles in the number which were quite as personal as the 'Manuscript.' Murray expostulated with Blackwood, and soon after paid £1000 for a half share in the magazine; but in spite of his advice and adjurations, the personalities continued. At last in October 1818, a year after the publication of the 'Translation from the Ancient Chaldee Manuscript,' and when it was supposed to be forgotten, there appeared a scurrilous lampoon entitled 'Hypocrisy Unveiled,' in which the publishers and leading contributors to *Blackwood* were violently attacked. Murray and Blackwood resolved to take no notice of it, but Lockhart and Wilson, who were designated 'the Scorpion' and 'the Leopard,' were so annoyed that they unwisely sent challenges to the anonymous author through the publisher of the pamphlet, who of course refused to reveal his identity, and at once published and circulated the challenges. Nor was this all, in the November following, a biting pamphlet with the title, 'A Letter to Mr. John Murray of Albemarle Street, occasioned by his having undertaken the publication, in London, of *Blackwood's Magazine*' appeared, in which Murray was told that 'the curse of his respectability' had brought the letter upon him, and requested 'in the name of an insulted public to renounce this infamous magazine.' 'I conjure you,' said the

writer, 'by your reputation, by your honour, by your sense of justice: I implore you by your regard for the good opinion of men, to renounce it: I appeal to your own bosom whether you are not ashamed of your connection with it. Renounce it, renounce it.' Other appeals reached Murray of a similar kind. Hazlitt, who had been attacked in the *Magazine*, commenced action for libel against its proprietors. At first Murray was disposed to stand by the *Magazine*, and did so for some time, but the personalities continuing in spite of his expostulations, he sold out and transferred his agency in Scotland to Messrs. Oliver and Boyd, with whose firm it has since remained.

Mr. Murray's most intimate literary friend was unquestionably Mr. Gifford, author of the *Baviaa* and *Maeviad*, translator of Juvenal, and first editor of the *Quarterly Review*. At first there was some shyness between them. Gifford, as already mentioned, complained of a want of confidence on the part of Murray. By and by, however, their intercourse became extremely intimate. Murray consulted him on all literary matters, and showed him great kindness. His career, before he was introduced to Murray, had been strangely chequered, and the chapter in which Dr. Smiles narrates the circumstances of his early life, his suffering and struggles, and the generosity of his benefactor, is the most interesting and touching of the whole of the two volumes. In consequence of the brutal treatment he received when a child, his health was always bad, but he bore up against it heroically. In Mr. Murray's drawing-room he was to be seen frequently, and though shy, won the affectionate regard of those who learned to know him. He wrote very little for the *Review*, though he was supposed to be the author of a number of its articles, and was as often engaged in softening the contributions of others as in sharpening them. He was never married. He delighted in children and was kind and generous to his domestic servants. Much of what little health he had, he owed to the care of his house-keeper, to whom he seems to have been attached. During her last illness he watched over her with great care, and wrote to Murray, 'I owe in some measure the extension of my feeble life to her care through a long succession of years, and I

would cheerfully divide my last farthing with her.' She was buried in South Audley Street Church, Grosvenor Square, where Gifford erected a tomb over her, and placed on it a very touching epitaph, concluding with the words: 'Her deeply affected master erected this stone to her memory, as a faithful testimony of her uncommon worth, and of his gratitude, respect, and affection for her long and meritorious services.' In a cruel and libellous pamphlet which he published in 1819, Hazlitt made an unfair use of this. The pamphlet was written partly in consequence of a criticism in the *Quarterly* on the 'Round Table;' but the hints it contained respecting the relations between Gifford and his 'frail memorial,' were as groundless as the supposition that Gifford was the author of the criticism complained of. Ticknor wrote of Gifford, whom he met in Mr. Murray's drawing-room: 'Never before was I so mistaken in my anticipations. Instead of a tall and handsome man, as I had supposed him from his picture—a man of severe and bitter remarks in conversation, such as I had good reason to believe him from his books, I found him a short, deformed, and ugly little man, with a large head sunk between his shoulders, and one of his eyes turned outward, but withal one of the best-natured, most open and well-bred gentlemen I have ever met' (*Life*, i. 48). Many bitter attacks were made upon him for articles he was supposed to have written in the *Quarterly*, but though he was not the author of them, rather than betray the secret of their authorship, he bore the attacks in silence.

In the editorial chair, Gifford was succeeded by Mr. Coleridge, who was afterwards Sir John Taylor Coleridge, one of the Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench. He edited four numbers, and then gladly resigned the position to Lockhart. Lockhart's appointment caused considerable commotion. He was Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law, and one of the band of writers who had made the pages of *Blackwood* so distasteful to its London publisher and proprietor. In November 27, 1825, we find Scott writing in his *Journal*: 'Some time since, John Murray entered into a contract with my son-in-law, John G. Lockhart, giving him, on certain ample condi-

tions, the management and editorship of the *Quarterly Review*, for which they could certainly scarcely find a fitter person, both from talents and character. It seems that Barrow and one or two stagers have taken alarm at Lockhart's character as a satirist, and his supposed accession to some of the freaks in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and down comes young D'Israeli* to Scotland, imploring Lockhart to make interest with my friends in London to remove objections, and so forth.' Matters, however, were soon put right. For under the same date Scott continues: 'Yesterday I had a letter from Murray in answer to one I had written in something of a determined style, for I had no idea of permitting him to start from the course after my son giving up his situation and profession, merely because a contributor or two chose to suppose gratuitously that Lockhart was too imprudent for the situation. My physic has wrought well, for it brought a letter from Murray saying all was right, that D'Israeli was sent to me, not to Lockhart, and that I was only invited to write two confidential letters, and other incoherences—which intimate his fright has got into another quarter. It is interlined and franked by Barrow, which shows that all is well, and that John's induction into his office will be easy and pleasant.' Scott not only cleared the way for his son-in-law's accession to office, he also came to his assistance with articles. Lockhart managed both to retain the old contributors and to attach new ones,† and under his skilful management the reputation of the *Review* was soon greatly

* Benjamin Disraeli, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield.

† Among others he endeavoured to secure Professor Wilson, with whom he had been associated in *Blackwood's*, and wrote to him immediately on taking office: 'Mr. Coleridge has yesterday transferred to me the treasures of the *Quarterly Review*; and I must say, my dear Wilson, that his whole stock is not worth five shillings. Thank God! other and better hands are at work for my first number, or I should be in a pretty hobble. My belief is that he has been living on the stock bequeathed by Gifford, and the contributions of a set of H—es and other d—d idiots of Oriol. But mind now, Wilson, I am sure to have a most hard struggle to get up a very good first Number, and if I do not, it will be the Devil.' Quoted in *Scott's Journal*, i. 26.

enhanced. Between him and the publisher there sprang up an intimacy and mutual confidence that lasted till Murray's death. The nickname of the 'Scorpion,' under which he was attacked in 'Hypocrisy Unveiled,' clung to him for a long time, but it was not deserved, and by no means indicated his character. Even in his adverse criticism, as Dr. Smiles observes, he displayed a moderation and gentleness, for which those who knew him but slightly, or by representation only, scarce gave him credit.

Among Mr. Murray's literary adjutants were George Ellis and J. Wilson Croker. Along with Sir Walter Scott and Gifford, the former of these played a leading part in the foundation of the *Quarterly*. He was, as already remarked, the friend of Scott and George Canning, and was on intimate terms with Murray, by whom he was frequently consulted. His contributions to the *Quarterly* were numerous; among them were articles on Scott's 'Lady of the Lake,' 'Lord of the Isles,' 'Rokeby,' 'The Bridal of Triermain,' Byron's 'Childe Harold,' 'Giaour,' and 'Corsair,' and along with Canning he prepared for it several important political articles. As already mentioned he was the 'candid friend' of the *Review*, always writing to Murray on the appearance of its numbers, and pointing out what in his opinion was good or bad in the materials or management. Croker, whose character has but recently been vindicated, got the credit of doing many things which he did not do. From the beginning he was a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*, but chiefly on literary topics. Speaking of him to Murray, Gifford said, 'he is really a treasure to us;' Lockhart, however, was scarcely of the same opinion. For some time he was Secretary to the Admiralty, and was supposed to have more to do with the politics of the *Review* than he really had. He stood high in society and had considerable influence. He could do a good action and could do it handsomely, as is shown by the following. Mrs. Graham, the authoress of *Little Arthur's History of England*, was exceedingly anxious that her husband, who was then on half pay, should be again put in command of a ship. Murray promised to help her, and to this end invited Croker to dine at Albemarle Street, and placed Mrs. Graham

by his side, so that she might have an opportunity of stating her views as to her husband's re-appointment. 'Murray,' continues Dr. Smiles, 'had not fully taken into account that Mrs. Graham was not only a Whig, but a high-spirited woman, who did not hold back her opinions—nor did Croker hold back his—and the consequence was that they got into collision about politics. At the close of the dinner, Croker said to Murray's son, John, "Run down for a copy of the *Navy List*, and bring it here." After it had been brought, Croker looked through the list, and found the name of Graham. Murray thought he intended to put a black mark after his name, in consequence of what had occurred; but, on the contrary, Croker, who liked a woman of spirit, took occasion to speak in Graham's favour; and he was shortly after appointed to the command of the *Doris*.'

One of the most regular contributors to the *Quarterly* was Southey. He avowedly wrote for 'pudding,' and a very good pudding he found the *Review*. His contributions to it paid him much better than the works on which he staked his fame. At his death he had written in all ninety-four articles for the *Review*, for which he had usually received £100 a piece. The alterations made on his articles by the editors caused him great annoyance. Gifford, he used to say, 'cut out his middle joints,' but he grumbled and wrote on. The most successful of his articles were those on Nelson, Wesley and Bunyan. Among his larger works, his *Peninsular War* seems to have paid him the best. For the copyright of it Murray gave him £1000. Other contributors were the late Dean Milman, Sir F. B. Head, the Rev. Reginald Heber, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, and the Rev. H. Philpotts, afterwards Bishop of Exeter. Leigh Hunt was asked to contribute, but declined.

Not the least notable of those who appear among the correspondents of Murray are Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Benjamin D'Israeli, and Mr. Gladstone—the former as the projector of an ill-fated newspaper, the *Representative*, and the author of *Con- tarini Fleming*, and the other as the author of *Church and State*, and *Church Principles*. The Rev. C. R. Maturin, the author of 'The Fatal Revenge,' etc., affords material for some

interesting pages, as do also Ugo Foscolo and Giovanni Belzoni. Two men who deserve to be mentioned in the remaining crowd of the Publisher's friends were Borrow, author of the *Bible in Spain*, and Richard Ford, author of the *Handbook on Spain*, one of a series which practically owes its existence to the present Mr. Murray, and of which Dr. Smiles has given an account, which will be read with interest by all who have had occasion to use any of the excellent manuals belonging to it.

We have already outstepped our limits and have left ourselves no space either for further reference to the character of the 'Anak of Publishers,' or for alluding, in even the remotest way, to the numerous other men and women with whom he corresponded. The book is not one that can be exhausted in a 'Review' article. There are few authors of the period who are not mentioned in its pages, and about whom Dr. Smiles has not something interesting to tell.

ART. III.—PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

LORD GIFFORD'S remarkable will, the practical operation of the foundation which bears his name, and perhaps more than either, the epistolary warfare in the daily press with reference to the doctrinal attitude adopted by the distinguished lecturers—particularly by Prof. Max Müller—have aroused widespread interest. But this interest, especially when it has assumed the form of what may be termed 'concern,' has not invariably been well-informed. Misconceptions exist, too, on the other side. The question, have all the lecturers fully sympathised with the founder's wish, is constantly put, and not without reason. It is hinted on many sides that, in several cases, statement of mere historical, or quasi-historical, facts has predominated to the exclusion of due elucidation of religious principles. The benefactor's testament, not only explicitly, but in its entire spirit traverses procedure of this kind. 'I give my soul to God,' Adam Gifford beautifully wrote, 'in Whom and with Whom it always was, to be

in Him and with Him for ever in closer and more conscious union.' And, once more, showing how fully he had fathomed the ultimate meaning and nature of religion, 'The true knowledge of God, . . . and the true and felt knowledge (not merely nominal knowledge) of the relations of man and of the universe to Him, . . . when really felt and acted on, is the means of man's highest well-being, and the security of his upward progress.' The object is ultimately to relate all religious manifestations to Deity. Relation to God is regarded as the common, or constitutive, element in everything that deserves the name of religion. A systematic account of the reasons for the reference of all things to the indwelling spirit of the Lord, and of God's relationship to mankind is, therefore, the object for the furtherance of which the bequest was made. This is tantamount to instituting a search for a satisfactory philosophy of religion.

In such a connection several general questions, bearing on this intensely fascinating study, may be discussed. It may be inquired, What is the necessity for a philosophical view of religion? What is the general nature of investigation directed towards this end? And, very specially, many will seek to know whether religion as such has anything to fear from research of this character. Within the space at disposal, we propose to attempt a review of these problems. It is impossible here to outline any new theory of the import of religion, or of the development of religious belief, even were this our desire, nor can we address ourselves to a discussion of the content of the idea of God. On the other hand, it is possible, and might perhaps be serviceable, to review reflectively the aims, limits, and implications of a satisfactory philosophy of religion; that is, of a systematic view concerning man and the world, which results in the final reference of all things to Deity.

Speaking in general terms, it may be said that philosophy is necessary, because our ordinary knowledge contains so many uninvestigated assumptions, and because—mark the important implication—we believe ourselves able to arrive at principles capable of rational defence. We are continually forming half-views of men and things. To correct this bias, to set subjects in their proper relations to one another, to see the world less in fragments, in short to discover the basis of unity,—this is the task of philoso-

phy. Mere observation, mere assent to opinions authoritatively propounded, does not constitute philosophical thinking, indeed it is usually characteristic of the non-speculative mind. The fresh process of thought, on which all worthy philosophic effort depends, is absent. Yet, notwithstanding this essential reconstruction wrought by the individual mind, philosophy does not try to build up a strange subjective universe. Nay, if it be true to itself and to its mission, it cannot create any single thing. It rather uses this work-a-day world, attempting to correct common impressions and striving to exhibit the ultimate nature of ordinary experience. If nothing else, it leads one to seek for the permanently true in an interested spirit. There appears to be no little need for approaching many questions, particularly those connected with religion, in some such temper. In that department of speculation which concerns itself with religion it is pre-eminently necessary, not merely to put the hand to the plough without dream of turning back, but also to see to it that search be made only for the things that cannot be shaken.

Several deny the very possibility of constructing a rational philosophy of religion. The well-worn distinction between faith and knowledge is still occasionally urged. But it is now more usual to find the allegation that religion, being essentially a matter of feeling and sentiment, is so opposed to reason or understanding as to be incapable of legitimate treatment by any purely intellectual method. Passage from the warm devotion of affection to the calculating analysis of thought, is alleged to deprive religion of its most characteristic features. Another objection, of more recent origin, is, that metaphysic, on account of its speculative character, ought to be excluded from theology, which has to deal with the crystallised facts of religion as presented under certain clearly defined forms. These arguments, however, if not beside the mark, at least seem to miss the main point under consideration. The distinctions between faith and knowledge, feeling and reason, metaphysics and theology, are doubtless quite warranted. But to declare that mere difference of this kind is an exhaustive explanation of the question at issue, is, at the same time, to ignore the possibility of inner relationship, to say nothing of identity. A philosophy of religion is not vitally affected by

the simple enunciation of irrelativity between factors in human nature, or between their respective manifestations. For the very declaration itself already implies an answer to the difficulty raised. Faith attaches to a *person* as much as does knowledge; and the same is true of feeling and reason. To separate one absolutely from the other is to destroy the meaning of both. Or, applying the principle, the ground of a philosophy of religion is constituted by the necessary and inseparable relationship between philosophy and religion as equally emanating from a single personality. Both address themselves to similar problems, and both desire to achieve similar results, even although the methods employed by each differ widely. Even were it true without qualification, 'that religion is at the cradle of every nation, and philosophy at its grave,' it would also hold that the nation itself was the connecting link. Its religion would be among the phenomena of its life—among the most important, moreover—which had crumbled away under the corrosive influence of reflection. The assumed truth of the unreasoned world-scheme, which religion always embodies, would undergo criticism according to the more systematic procedure of a reasoned inquiry, which also aimed at the discovery of ultimate principles.

No special effort is needed to understand why religion and philosophy should be so intimately connected. While many find themselves unable to accept Hegel's statement, 'that philosophy seeks to apprehend by thought the same truth which the religious mind has by faith,' they are not warranted in dismissing all idea of relationship simply on account of the implied elimination of elements peculiar to religion. It may very well be that religion has fears and hopes, joys and emotions, to which philosophy can lay no claim. Yet this does not prejudice the fact that religion and philosophy are alike products of personal self-consciousness. Here, if anywhere, their inner connection is to be sought, and the legitimacy of a philosophy of religion to be adequately justified.

A philosophy of religion, then, is possible, in that religion is a form of self-conscious activity. It is indispensable, moreover, because if religion be rationally justifiable, the permanent value of its different phenomena must be determined, and their organic relationship set forth. Philosophy without religion, if there can

be such a thing, is far more worthy of suspicion, and fortunately much less rich in meaning, than the philosophy which acknowledges that the theoretical presuppositions of religion are identical with its own. *A priori*, one would be inclined to suppose that true religion and satisfactory philosophy could no more be in conflict at the last, than the career of action and the life of thought. Both are integral members of a larger whole, and are processes in which a single nature finds outlet for its varied manifestations. No doubt, as we are only too well aware, religion and philosophy, *quâ* religions and philosophies, have come into collision. It is not our present task to discuss such historical conflicts. Indeed, they explain themselves with sufficient clearness. Whenever a religion dictates a certain limit of research to philosophy, there is inevitably opposition; so, too, on the other side, when a philosophical system proposes to eviscerate religion of all distinctive contents, save those which are agreeable to arbitrary speculative presuppositions. In either case, however, the battle is between particular faiths and systems, not between religion and philosophy. It is therefore apparent that no external justification can be found for philosophy of religion. The argument, if it is to be in any full sense final, or even satisfactory, must be grounded on a well ascertained internal community of interest, nature, or aim. This community must be essential, subject to no disturbance from dogmatic theories which embody but partial views of the complete whole in question.

Closer inspection of the position may elicit some more definite information respecting the unity for which we seek. As all will admit, God is the chief object of religion. In religious creeds the being of God is usually taken for granted. Indeed, were it not so, religion would necessarily be forced away from belief into a semi-rationalism. Yet, even if it be admitted that mere faith in God remain to the exclusion of all apparatus of proof, there is, notwithstanding, a certain channel through which it cannot but have made itself known. The ordinary process of elimination leads at length to the conclusion that, even by faith, God must be known to man through consciousness. The human spirit, for some reason, intimately associates His being with that of the external world. The material universe, in all its endless details

of life and death, of growth and decay, appeals to the mind in a manner of its own. If nothing else, it induces the notion that behind and in these complex manifestations is some Power, either, like Force, compelling them, or, like Spirit, revealing itself in their manifold inter-workings. It matters but little *what* God is thus conceived to be. The fact of real importance is that, do what he may, man cannot rid himself of the conception either of an absolute being, or of an unconscious principle which, simply because order exists, is a necessary presupposition. In both cases alike, man's thought wanders, as if drawn by an irresistible impulse, from the seen and temporal to the unseen and eternal. At this point legitimate doubt may certainly exist with respect to the nature of the implied eternal. But the point to be observed is that the eternal itself, whatever it may or may not be, is cognised through consciousness. In other words, the theist and the materialist are equally indebted to consciousness for such first principles as they possess.

Thus, the mere statement of the distinctively religious position involves a certain speculative element. The religious man knows at least the external world and his own consciousness. From these, by an intelligent act, he either deduces God or finds His existence their necessary postulate. But this implies, as an indispensable factor, a knowledge of the absolute being. Whether deduced or, as is more common, postulated, this knowledge is the result of a process in consciousness. As such it has certain implications. First, in order to knowledge of God intelligence must put forth a specific act. The thought, without any reference to the Being towards whom it is directed, has existence only if it be a product of mental action. Secondly, the Being in question, when cognised by this thought, is found to possess a certain nature. At this point it might conceivably be urged, for instance, that God cannot be deduced from the world. It is not possible to base the infinite on the finite. Or, it might be held that the Deity, as the author of the universe, cannot but be a person. The consciousness of man and the recognisable aim in organic processes, as the argument would run, could not be inspired by a mere principle or diffused unconscious force. Accordingly, it falls to be admitted that religion implies two cardinal ele-

ments which are also to be found in the purely intellectual sphere. There is the knowledge of God, obtained through a mental process, and there are the characteristics of God as an existent being, which supervene upon the perception of Him by the individual mind. On this view it is not only useless but fundamentally absurd to attempt the severance of religion from philosophy. Religion involves, as indispensable to its very existence, a theory of the manner in which God is known, and a theory of the Supreme Being Himself. No doubt it is possible to secure the ejection of philosophy by affirming the unintelligibility of religion, that is, by deposing it from its place as the source of man's most elevated *thoughts*. But such procedure, while it harms philosophy not one whit, is disastrous to religion. For, it is thereby degraded to the level of an occult phenomenon, curious, and mayhap interesting, but of no ascertainable worth whatsoever. Those who can acquiesce in such a view of the things which concern salvation have either so little affinity for religion that it is a wholly indifferent matter to them, or are so imbued with superstition as to be well satisfied with a semi-barbarous materialisation of the immaterial. On the other hand, the conclusions of religion concerning what is termed revelation must, in order to exist, have passed through the processes of consciousness. Consequently, they can—nay, if they are to be firmly grounded, they must—become objects of philosophy, and receive the systematic justification which unassumptive consideration alone can confer. It is not, one has to remember, a question of the relative superiority of this or that religion, but a vital discussion affecting the nature of religion as a whole. For every religion has its rational implications, and these can be appraised and finally adjusted only by philosophical methods.

An empirical philosophy of religion is a contradiction in terms. While it is true that philosophy seeks to take the facts of religion as they are historically, it is also true that their simple colligation is not its special task. The conflict between the statements that the origin of religion is a philosophical question, and that the origin of religion cannot be determined by speculation, is apparent, not real. Working backwards through the recorded events of history, it may be possible to arrive at the precise point where

religion appeared. But, even were this highly problematical success achieved, it would affect, not the origin of religion, but the circumstances of its historical apparition. And this distinction is fundamental. An empirical philosophy of religion is impossible, because it would have regard only to religious phenomena, their order, and their grouping. Of course no one denies that a very valuable department of research exists which perhaps may be so styled. But it is preferable to term it, with Burnouf, the science of religions, or, with Réville, the history of religions. This most interesting study is a department distinct and complete in itself. Its aim, like its method, is peculiar to it as contrasted with philosophy of religion. The desire is, in the first place, to collect by strict search the scattered phenomena which are referable to the religious consciousness of all ages; and second, to collate them in such a manner that they may furnish sufficient foundation for certain inductions. The historical method, for example, exhibits the succession of religions, and on this basis attempts to find a principle of unity among them. The comparative method lays religions side by side in order to discover their similarities and discrepancies by inspection. But, prior to the faithful exercise of either method, a sufficient science of religions must take other considerations into account. Religions as a whole have in the course of their history been modified by certain ascertainable conditions. Climate, race, and the external limitations imposed by hostile peoples, as in the case of the Jews, and the like, all demand due attention. Such questions cannot be treated *a priori*, they do not lend themselves to interpretation prescribed by a ready-made formula or plan. The object of history or science of religions is to put the facts in a position to speak for themselves, and, having heard them, to determine within the given limits what conclusions possess a fair show of reason. The inferences thus drawn might reveal, say, a unity of rites in the great historical religions, and they might assign causes for this development. As a final result, an exhaustive classification of religious phenomena might be carried out, and the connection between religions themselves, and between them and the other accompaniments of human progress, might thus be determined.

But, as has been said, research of this kind has its own sphere and pursues its own methods. The sphere is not that of philosophy, nor are the processes in vogue those of speculation. The science or history of religions may deal with the origin of religion in so far as this may be empirically viewed. But it leaves its legitimate plane, and ceases to be either scientific or historical, whenever it attempts to compass ultimate truths. The phenomena which it collects and arranges are most indispensable. But they do not exhaust all that can, and indeed must, be said about religion. A period invariably arises, come it late or early, when inquiry, pushing aside the veil of recorded phenomena, tries to elicit their inner spirit. All the facts with one accord bear witness to the effort of man to rise to a worthy conception of the ultimate Being, and, in its light, to render Him fitting service. The fitting service, with its form of worship, and its attendant sentiments or emotions, is peculiar to the sphere of religion proper. But the cognition of God and the conception of His nature, which are the presuppositions of such service, are the conditions of there being any facts for the science or history of religions to record. And, when it is asked, of what nature are these conditions, and to what conclusions affecting man and the world as a whole do they point, we have left science and history of religions and have arrived at philosophy of religion, which does not indeed try to determine the origin of religion, but seeks to show on what it must inevitably be based. The science of religions may tell a great deal about gods, and views of God; it has no direct interest in the theistic problem as such. This interest philosophy has from its very nature. The one treats the question as if it had never been asked, to the other falls the tasks of systematically considering the evidence for the being of God, and of exhibiting the essential nature of Deity, in so far as it can find expression by the human spirit. While the science of religions interprets the external, philosophy of religion passes to the internal in order to discover why the phenomenon called religion exists. The Absolute Being, man's knowledge of Him and of His nature, are subjects to the investigation of which only the study of first principles, in its highest department, is adequate.

If religion be essential to a rational intelligence like man, the last word on the matter must rest with philosophy.

Apart altogether from any preconceived idea of what religion ultimately is, the great majority will readily admit that it is marked by one pre-eminent characteristic. Before it can proceed to aught else it must find God. Deity on some wise is the determining condition of religion. Religion thus occupies a clearly marked ground of its own which can be entered, so to speak, only by a special kind of philosophy. God, as conceived of by the religious consciousness, is a transcendental being. He does not, indeed, as so many would interpret the term, remain entirely above and outside of human experience. So far as religion is concerned, He is rather in man's consciousness, rendering it possible, and largely making it what it is. An empirical philosophy of religion, by its own act, excludes itself from giving a sufficient account of religion; it has not the altitude, so to speak, requisite for the mere perception of the meaning of worship. Philosophy of religion either can, or it cannot, confirm religious intuition of the transcendental. But, in order to accomplish the one or the other, it must itself be able to discuss the transcendental. To remove the higher element, by declaring that the means for its treatment are wanting, is neither to explain it at all nor to explain it away. The question is judiciously begged, and so far as any effect upon religion goes, the discussion is left precisely where it was at the first.

As we have already seen, there are two elements in religion which can certainly be made objects of theoretical inquiry. The apprehension of Deity involves a mental process, it also implies something conceived of as existing, in relation to which the process takes place. Perception of Deity, and Deity *quâ* object of conception, are the great factors implied in the emergence of religion. Now a thinking process of any sort requires an ego. A subject, who is at once the cause of the process and its condition, is the principle without which knowledge is impossible; and on the nature of this subject the nature of knowledge largely depends. There must be a permanent personality, in order that even the transition from one so-called 'feeling' to another may be made. Nay, the 'feeling' can be constituted the *point d'appui*

of the transition only if it has been already deprived of its character as feeling. So that, even to the being of one isolated 'feeling' an ego is indispensable. But, if it be said that a self-distinguishing consciousness exists, it can also be affirmed that it can be known. Were it entirely without the sphere of knowledge, not even its simple being could be alleged. Yet, nothing is more certain than that every person in the world distinguishes himself from every other. At the same time, the highest category known to us, personality, is also the hardest to fathom. This the sensational and empirical schools have not sufficiently understood. Selfhood is not a fact to be classed with the table and the chair. It ultimately possesses no external reality. Like religion, it is transcendental, and is consequently beyond the ken of empirical philosophy. The presupposition of all knowledge, it is yet in all knowledge, and the difficulty of learning its constitution lies in the circumstance that it cannot be wrenched from the processes in which it reveals itself and be treated as an isolated thing. It cannot be studied as are most external objects. But, if the *proprium* of the thinking subject be its constitutive power, the processes whereby it produces knowledge must be rendered possible by this very power, which issues in self-consistent wholes. The subject or thinker, not only reveals itself in the processes, but also rationalises the object—recognises it as a practicable content of thought. Accordingly the process through which the religious mind passes in the apprehension of Deity is at once an ideal movement, which takes place in the transcendental sphere peculiar to spirit, and a real manifestation of a unity of self, which is no transcendent or unknowable entity, but which is actually and constitutively present in every act of thought. The bare assertion that a man has a self means, in religious language, that he has a soul to be saved; or, to put it philosophically, that he inhabits a region which is above sense, but is at the same time known in relation to sense and to the whole universe of reality. Arrived at this point, the connection between religion and philosophy becomes sufficiently obvious. Philosophy, too, has need of a transcendental being. But it reaches forth to God as an end, whereas religion postulates him as the starting point.

The process whereby the knowledge of the absolute, assumed by religion, is obtained, finds itself subjected to analysis by philosophy, and with a certain result. It is discovered to be in no wise essentially different from the activity present in any other species of cognition. When one recognises that personality is not only the highest category of thought, but also the living principle which welds all thoughts into unity, then the general nature of the cognitive process assumes a very definite character. The recognition that I, an ideal self-conscious individual, am the condition of everything that can possibly enter into my experience, places the problem of knowledge within measurable reach of rational statement, if not of final solution. For, personality is not a mere substratum behind all acts of knowledge, it is not an unknowable something which ever evades thought. It is rather a constitutive principle which exhibits its purposes and enjoys its fullest reality in self-revelation. But a self-motived being of this kind, which reveals itself, does not show forth its nature in a void. It abhors a vacuum. The manifestation is made in character with its various attributes, in the moral career with its many acts, in the intellectual life with its numerous objects. While objects as such are not created by individual minds, they are so modified by transcendental processes that whatever value they can have is dependent upon the interpretation accorded to them by an ego. This is a conclusion which we cannot avoid. For their present meaning is relative to thought, and their externality, as it is commonly termed, would not be unless it too were constituted in some analogous manner. Embodied reason without is the obverse of which embodied reason within is the reverse. No engineer can see in a machine, be it never so ingenious, more than the reasonably mechanical. What the machine may be, even at its best, the interpretation of reason determines. The object does indeed exist external to individual minds; it cannot be spoken of as such, save in terms of mind. It must be rational ere it can be objective. Engineer and schoolboy alike see the engine before them. Whatever may be the differences in their manner of interpreting it, *i.e.*, between their ideals of it, simply because it is an object for both, it must embody some rational principle wanting which it would appeal neither to the one nor the other. That

towards which the constitutive power of personality directs itself is thus essentially native to a transcendental sphere, and this even in relation to what we are prone to term crassly objective. In other words, it is what it is, because it stands related to a pervading principle, which renders it at once objective, not subjective, and makes its appeal to our finite intelligences possible. We cannot say, for instance, that a given number of things are objects unless we recognise in, yet beyond, each of them, a factor common to all. This is transcendental; and as concerns things material it furnishes the parallel to our own personality. As we seek the latter in every process of cognition, so we read the former into every object of perception. In the same way, were it not for a pervasive and transcendental unity, the universe as a whole would be a mere fortuitous collection of particulars.

The mental process present in even the most fragmentary experience is, therefore, possessed of a certain implicit character which it is the business of philosophy to set forth explicitly. If object and subject be alike contained in a sphere which is real only because it is conditioned by ideal processes, then the full knowledge of any one thing implies a recognition of its essential unreality if regarded in isolation. Knowledge of a thing means that its particularity is the medium through which a universal may in some sense be observed. Philosophy takes upon itself the discussion of this process; the universal is to be exhibited in its relation to the particular, and in this an exposition of universality is implied. True, absolute identity of thought and being, in which both disappear, is an absurdity. But thought is thought only as contrasted with being, and being is being only as contrasted with thought. Their irreducible relation points to some principle of connection without which they would not be what they are. Philosophy has to elicit the nature of this principle; and in so doing, it ultimately arrives at God. And God is the postulate of religion. In looking at the life of an individual, for example, the important point is personality—the unity of soul which pervades all acts and passing states, rendering them subservient to the revelation of a single character. So, too, looking at the world as a whole, the principal feature which demands attention is, not the universal order itself, but the inner principle which so rules

it as to make it all that it at present is. And as man cannot pass beyond personality in reference to his own life, so, too, personality bounds his view, if indeed this be bounding, with regard to the world as a whole. The multiplication of personalities may be endless, but the distinctive features of personality are not thus affected. The highest that man knows comes to him conditioned by self; other selves, in their order, likewise condition what they know, and so the conclusion is inevitable. There is a universal element common to all, manifesting itself in all; it renders men capable of understanding one another, of co-operating, and of recognising that the universe expresses itself only in and for some kind of self-consciousness. When this is realised, the difficulty is, not to believe in God, but to get away from the knowledge of God, which, by the very fact that he exists, man possesses. God is the condition and accompaniment of the world. An infinite self-determining personality is the only power capable of sustaining the universe which we know. Man is a denizen of a world which is bounded only by the ultimacy of personality. He is able to know things just because reason without answers to reason within. In the simplest act of thought, involving as it does the presence of constitutive intelligence, man is already in the sphere which, not only postulates God's existence, but is the best, nay, the sole possible, witness to it. The personality of man would not be what it is, would not possess the power which it evinces, in short, would have no existence, were it not grounded on that other personality, in relation to which the universe is real, and by whose indwelling potency the world exists for man and he for it. It is not true that thought, as manifested in my individuality, and things, as externalities, are one. But it is true that, unless things were constituted what they are by an immanent principle, of which self-distinguishing reason is the only known expression, there would be for me no world either of men or things. And as a result, I myself should be a mere figment—not conscious, because not related to anything, not unifying, because not possessed of anything to unify. If the external being which we know did not contain intelligence, we could not recognise it as such, for it could not take its place in the transcendental sphere outside of which there is nothing.

Thought is its own outside. Thus the all-inclusiveness of Deity is the sole meaning which we can put upon the saying: His ways are past finding out. They ever will be past finding out, in the sense that nothing can be derived from any other source. God, seen as the ultimate and constitutive principle, is attained by philosophy, because He is the one indispensable implication of a reasoned view of the world as it is. The same God is assumed by religion as the only being to Whom worship can be rendered, or love felt. Nor does philosophy present us with a logically fallacious ontological proof. Properly speaking the being of God cannot be proved, though it may be argued for. It is itself the presupposition of any such proof or argument. And the business of philosophy is, not so much with an impracticable proof, as with the 'why' of the statement just made. Philosophy has to show how it results that God, as a reality, is already present in any so-called proof of His existence. Not assuredly that it refers us to a universal whose being consists in a mere play of categories. Feuerbach, Strauss, and others of the Hegelian left are a standing example, complete in incompleteness, to those who would fain fill their bellies with these husks, imagining that they enjoy the food of the gods. The unity of intelligence is the sole explanation of the differentiation of intelligences. Consequently, in the unity of intelligence—that is, in a unity like, and productive of, individual personalities—must be sought the ground of the unquestionable transcendental process organic to the simplest act of thought in every self-conscious being. Further, as my thought and the things which I perceive are not one, and notwithstanding, I can imagine a knowledge of externality which is not purely subjective, it follows that both are dependent on a principle which binds the two wholes together by processes which, whatever their immediate results, are identical. So, from whichever side the question of knowledge is approached, whether from the fact of an active selfhood, or from the fact of a systematised external universe, a principle is implied, with powers similar only to those characteristic of personality, and which, in so far as we can learn, cannot but be controlled by a person. God, according to philosophy, is the pre-supposition of everything. His being cannot be formally proved, but an inspection of the facts conclusively shows,

that the impossibility of proof is the result of His absolute reality, not of His non-existence or unknowable transcendence. To the religious man faith reveals, as an object of worship, a being in whom he can find rest. The philosopher discovers, by a process of reasoning, an infinite personality who is at once the *terminus ad quem* of thought and its *prius*. Both bear a common testimony, though in different ways. God is the efficient and final cause, that is, the indwelling reality of universal being.

The two first elements in religion which any adequate philosophy of it must elucidate are, thus, the mental process by which God is cognised, and the object of this cognition. In this way religion and philosophy are most intimately related. Both direct themselves to the same field, although they survey it for widely different purposes.

But there is another task to which philosophy of religion must address itself. Just as philosophy of art attempts to comprehend æsthetic manifestations in their totality, and philosophy of history the progress of history as a whole, so philosophy of religion must be directed to the systematisation of all religious phenomena. What is to be deduced from the facts of religion? To what elements in nature, human and divine, do they testify? It is therefore necessary, not merely to elucidate the fact of the absolute, but also to exhibit the ultimate sanction of religion, to discuss the problems of evil, of freedom, of immortality, in short, to view man's general relationship to the Absolute Being as it has been successively conceived in the course of religious development. For this purpose, philosophy must treat the totality of religious phenomena irrespective of their order in history. But it presupposes that order, as supplying the circumstances in which the unity of principle lies imbedded. Philosophy of religion thus stands in one relation to the history of religions, in another to the manifestations of religion regarded in their unity as 'Religion.' Hereupon two questions suggest themselves. With respect to history, it may be asked, Can philosophy of religion reduce history of religions to symmetrical order by an *a priori* method? With regard to religion, and especially with regard to Christianity, it must be inquired, Has Religion anything to fear from philosophical discussion of its own postulates?

The succession of religious manifestations has as much factual reality, and appeals to the mind with as great external force as the succession of battles, of monarchs, or of revolutions. On the whole, if the earliest religions be excepted, the story of religious ebullition is as well ascertained as that of any other *suite* of historical events. In spite of efforts that have been made to put a contrary practice into operation, it is impossible to rid one's self of these facts. They form the material on which philosophy of religion must depend. The object, say of philosophy of history, is not to come to the recorded circumstances with an *a priori* formula to which they must perforce conform, but is rather to seek among the given facts, principles of connection, which have existence and can be known only through the medium of phenomena. So, too, philosophy of religion misses its vocation if it come with an architectonic of religion, into which, whatever be their special peculiarities, the different religions must fit. To cut and trim history in order that it may square with theory, is to substitute an unreal logical movement for ascertained occurrence, or to replace history with the figments of individual imagination. Philosophy must patiently hear the history of religion, and then, having thus ascertained the facts, probe them in order to discover what they ultimately mean. Should the events testify to the presence of a principle of development well and good. They are not to be forced to tally with such a principle; it must be found in them, not thrust upon them. No doubt philosophy of religion brought much discredit on itself in its earlier stages, because it attempted, on the basis of an altogether inadequate apprehension of the circumstances, to make them testify to a strange process of antithetic movement. This, however, does not affect the point now at issue. History of religions cannot be presented according to an *a priori* redaction conducted by philosophy. The task of philosophy is, having accepted the events, to comprehend them in their totality, in order to learn their ultimate ground and significance.

Philosophy of religion is doing its proper work when it unravels a general notion of religion from amid a multitude of phenomena, which can be characterised as religious only by its presence. The constitutive principle is not a product of the facts, but is

recognised in them when they are subjected to a philosophical method of treatment. Unquestionably, there are dangers in the application of this method. Granted, for instance, that a development be traceable in religious phenomena, a tendency may display itself to determine the place of some one religion in this development too exclusively by reference to the transcendental idea of religion. This is not satisfactory. The transcendental general idea is certainly indispensable to the recognition of this or that phenomenon as religious. But this is not to say that the phenomena is thereby built into some place for which it has in itself no particular fitness. The fitting must be done, not by an appeal to the *a priori* general notion, but to the nature of the presentation of the notion by the fact or group of facts in question. Hegel's complete failure to account for Islam and to characterise Buddhism or Brahmanism adequately was due not only to the imperfect state of knowledge at the time, but also to his attempt to force these religions into a scheme, in which the first had no organic place, and into which the others fitted only after much unwarrantable preparation. Reason is present in all religions *quá* Religion, but the kind of its presentation is determined historically by the religions themselves, not by the common element. Here another safeguarding clause is necessary. Philosophy is not to be confined to a simple hearing of the facts of history. History is sufficient for the mere repetition of the circumstances to be considered. But philosophy must take their interpretation upon itself. Its business is to discover what they mean. Philosophy of religion, then, does not merely seek the common element in the historical facts of religion, and thereby characterise them as religious; but by the elucidation of principles, it attempts to throw fresh lights upon the recorded events, to set them in new relations to one another, and so to derive from them a united testimony which they would not otherwise bear. In short, it takes what history reveals, and puts it to the question. It asks, is reason here, or, is the beginning in any way connected with the end? If the facts be not a simple collocation of unrelated circumstances, there must be a permanent element present in them. This it is not the task of history to unravel. And in seeking for it, philosophy is not confined to a bare enumeration

of the presented phenomena, but brings with it to them a certain apparatus, of classification, say, whereby the permanent may be distinguished from the passing, and the partial separated from the essential. While remarking, then, that philosophy must have an adequate conception of what religion is, and that it must attend to the historical facts with the utmost patience, we have also to bear in mind that it possesses a standpoint proper to itself. Experience is the basis; but there is no experience without mental processes, and this points to elements even in religion which philosophy alone, as the science of ultimate reality, can fully and systematically explain. Philosophy of religion is not concerned to construct either history or religion; but it belies itself if it do not struggle to set forth the implicit reason of both.

Once more, on the view just stated, religion has nothing to fear, but has much to gain from philosophy. It cannot be denied that, in the past, conflicts have tended to produce distrust on the one side and arrogance on the other. In particular, the narrow interpretation put upon the term Reason in last century, and the destructive accompaniments of irreflective rationalism, have occasioned serious difficulty and loss. Deism and Indifferentism remembered, it is little wonder that pious people should have the greatest misgivings about Reason, even when it comes in different guise. 'Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.' For even to-day, as in the time of Voltaire, certain thinkers appear to be incapable of seeing that the categories of abstract understanding have no application in the field of religion. The atonement, as is too often forgotten, cannot be grasped in a concept, nor the doctrine of the Trinity be thrown into propositional form, nor the being of God be proved syllogistically. Deistic rationalism was once useful in discrediting mysticism, ecclesiasticism, and the like, with which religion had been for the nonce confounded. Purblind intellectualism, brandishing the 'Vice's dagger' of positive thought, rushed to attack religion, the existence of which was an admitted fact. But, as a natural result, there was no philosophy of it forthcoming, except such as reduced it to the level of an organised sham. Destruction was the aim of precise thinkers, and they worked their will upon religion no less than

upon all other forms of human aspiration. The soul was thus bereft of faith; all that it had previously worshipped was snatched from it; reliance could no more be placed upon hostile Reason. For this, religion itself doubtless merited some blame. Certain it is that 'there was in the heart a decay of faith, purity, and love; hence so much bewilderment in the understanding.' Philosophy of religion has not yet recovered from the mistrust generated during the humiliation of faith by a pseudo-rationalism. The utter falsity of that eighteenth century philosophy is still ignorantly attributed to speculations which are in every particular its antipodes. For causes on which we need not now dwell, men cannot yet grasp the fact that an irreligious philosophy is an absurdity.

Finally, let us look for a moment at Christianity. Here the conclusions already urged may be pressed further home. Religion presupposes and rests upon the intelligence which is revealed to man in his own nature. Earnest thinkers have maintained—and perhaps their kin will always maintain—that religion is primarily a matter of feeling or sentiment. Schleiermacher will probably never be entirely without adherents, who agree 'that religion is constituted in feeling—the absolute feeling of dependence on God.' But it is to be remembered, at the same time, that feeling cannot exist save in terms of consciousness. The emotion, the sentiment, the love, which bulks largely in religion, is the property of a being who identifies it with himself, and in so doing transforms it into something more than feeling. Even were religion dependent on feeling only—which it is not, because it implies *perception* of God—it could be shown that, apart from a transmuting intelligence, it would be nothing. An adequate view of intelligence is therefore essential to a satisfactory explanation of religion, even though the actual being of religion does not require this. Philosophy thus lifts us at once beyond the things of time and sense into a world where the transcendental or constitutive principle, implied in the very existence of the universe, is immediately cognisable. The cry of religion is for redemption; philosophy looks for unity. Analogous means are necessary to the realisation of either end. A philosophy which is able to comprehend the facts put before it

in these days must be not only religious, but also Christian. The history of religions is a long record of man's effort to be rid of the contradiction, the sin, inherent in his being. The yearning for God is not a mere contemptible superstition. No philosophy which regards it as such can do more than explain it away. Its origin lies deeper than aught else in human nature. The individual possesses personality only in relation to his fellow-men and to God. He yearns to be at one with both. Hence the gradual evolution of the religious consciousness which culminated in Christianity. There a religion at once divine and human burst upon the dying pagan world. To all mankind it was then practically demonstrated, that union of finite and infinite was possible, that I, the poor, sinful, half-grown individual, could, by attempting to re-live the ideal life realised in Christ, become a new creature. Philosophy, in discussing these points, sees in them not a barren recrudescence of mythological absurdities, but a reproduction, in a special sphere, of the entire prior and contemporary movement of civilisation, that is, of universal spirit. Thought is ever trying to overcome its own imperfection. So, too, the thinker, in his religion, which implies thought, is always striving to overcome the contradiction of the present, to reach the blessed peace and admirable rest of fully realised personality. He, as a reasonable being, finds God in all thought, just as he makes Him the indispensable supposition of religion. Taken together, the two teach that the universe rests for recognition upon the self-consciousness of man, and that the self-consciousness of man, like the universe, derives reality from the absolute being. There is here no opposition, but a junction, of forces, and this to effect a common purpose. The power of philosophy is to exhibit the ultimate meaning of facts—and religion is the largest fact in man's life, just as Christianity is the bulkiest fact in religion. The power of religion is to induce immediate expansion of spiritual life. The assurance of faith and the reasoned conviction of philosophy are not two things but one. Each contains elements drawn from the other. Religion brings phenomena to philosophy; philosophy gifts religion with a settled and rational account of first principles. Nay, it finally reveals that phenomena and

principle alike stand indissolubly related to God, of whose nature both are vital expressions.

Despite all this, however, we must remember that philosophy of religion is not to be cramped by sectarian views regarding particular doctrines. Many, no doubt, will be disappointed when they come to philosophy of religion and find that it does not supply them with a gospel. Many more will be even repelled when they discover that it does not make a point of confirming their most cherished articles of faith. Nevertheless, no one ought to have any difficulty in understanding that philosophy of religion is not religion. This is the reason why it preaches no gospel, and caters for the benefit of no particular dogma. Its very *rationale* is to obtain the universal element in all religions, and that by a special process, which is applied not only to one part, but to the great prior condition of religion itself. Some may deem their faith perfect when they can recite the Apostle's Creed with a little fervency, or conscientiously sign documents such as the Thirty-nine Articles or the Westminster Confession. But philosophy has to treat these formularies as part of the unity of religious phenomena with which it has to deal. From its point of view, faith cannot be perfect until reason is present. Not indeed that faith and reason are one, but that philosophy, in its task of comprehending all faiths in order to arrive at their ultimate basis, must proceed by way of reason. Hence the assurance of the rationality of faith, which it seeks, is not attained till reason be satisfied. Consequently, in such an inquiry, individuals must look not so much for authoritative confirmation of this or that article of faith, as for a calm justification of the cognising powers through which man grows in religion, no matter what his religious ideas, and for an explanation of the nature of the absolute being, in so far as that nature can be fathomed from the manifestations of it in religion as a whole. But this in no way traverses the point just urged, that philosophy and religion are not in conflict. It is not the mission of the one to confirm this or that manifestation of the other, but, taking all manifestations, to exhibit the implications without which they could not be designated religious. A philosophy which proposes to dismiss religion by tracing its origin to fear of non-existent ghosts, is not in any way a philo-

sophy of religion. It may be an account of particular kinds of phenomena to be found in a specific worship. It does not even touch on the great questions of religion as a whole. To assume religion as a fact, and then to explain it away by religious phenomena is much the same as to say that because light enables us to see the sun there is therefore no sun. In the one case as in the other the explanation has really nothing to do with the subject. Thus it is, that a philosophy of religion, which is adequate to the phenomena presented for consideration, although expressly withholding approval from any religious dogma, at the same time reduces not one whit the truth of religion. Indeed, it preserves this truth in a new form, which is at once more systematic and more conclusive than any dogmatic formulary can possibly be. For, so far as Deity is concerned—and He must be taken as the object of every creed—philosophy has to reproduce, as the result of reflection, what the creed itself proposes in a bald statement. Such a statement, if it do not involve knowledge in the strict acceptation of the term, undoubtedly implies a process of thought directed to a certain end. This process—its nature, validity, and the accuracy of its results, is the subject matter of philosophy. What it states philosophy grounds, not concerning itself with any particular aspect of the dogma put forward, but with the distinctive essence of the integral element by the presence of which it is called religious. Or, from another point of view, the aim of the religious consciousness is also the aim of the philosophy of religion. It penetrates beyond the historical to the principles there manifested, and this it does in every department. The object of religion is God ; so too God is the object of philosophy of religion. Indeed, for this very reason, religion is more indissolubly connected with philosophy than is any other department of human consciousness. For, as philosophy seeks the ultimate being in all things, religion consists in worship of the same absolute. In a very special sense then, philosophy does not conflict with religion, but pursues the same path, trying by systematic accuracy to arrive at the point from which religion set out. The final standpoint of thought is one with that of religion. Knowledge of God is a hard-won possession for philosophy, for religion it is a persuasion, sometimes nobly defended, but always

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accepted with eager joy. But this joy, just on account of its eagerness, may generate doctrines only too ill-adapted for self-defence. Partial aspects of the divine nature may be over-emphasized, the relation of man to deity may be obscured in essentials, the practical life of daily toil may be left to take too much care of itself, and instead excessive attention may be bestowed on dogmatic purity. This and such as this philosophy of religion would purge away. For, above all else, it tries to elucidate that pervasive essence of religion—the union, in normal human life, of a finite self-conscious being with the eternal personality, and this by acts which persons alone can originate, that is, through the self-determination of love. Philosophy investigates theoretically the process presented practically in religion. According to the *declaration* of the latter, man *has* communion with God in his spiritual life. Philosophy seeks to discover how far the recorded facts of religion testify to this allegation, and, if confirmation be obtainable, systematises the results which necessarily follow on a concatenated view of the universe thus conditioned. For this purpose philosophy has to examine the succession of religions. It is in no wise opposed to religion, although it may see reason to cast aside this or that specific phenomenon as less intimately connected with the general progress than some others. On the contrary, philosophy is of the highest value to religion; for it enables one to distinguish between the accidental in religions and the permanent in Religion.

Lord Gifford's conviction, that the human soul always was with and in God, and that with Him it shall ever dwell in closer and *more conscious* union, is the postulate at once of religion and of systematic or final philosophy. For in personality, man's distinctive characteristic, the nature of Deity is pre-eminently revealed, in so far as it can be known here. God may clothe the lilies of the field and sustain the sparrow, but in man He shows forth the crowning mystery of self-consciousness. Not that man and God are co-ordinate, as some appear to think. The Deity, if He be God, has a personality above and beyond all human selfhood. But humanity as a whole, in that it reaches forth unceasingly to an infinite ideal, is inspired by that divine potency which controls the world, reveals itself in time, and causes all progress;

yet which is more than the world, as you and I are more than our acts, is the condition of time, and the postulate of all individual thought; which constitutes the final end of universal development, and as the full stature of perfection, revealed in Christ, is the goal of the good man's life. By his very nature, man is most closely related to this Being. Thus, in philosophy of religion, although the mind alone, rather than the whole character, is directed towards God, the search and the culminating assurance are of and for the Absolute Personality by whose love all men are winning, and shall one day win, the ultimate 'Sabbath of their lives.' The founder of the Gifford lectureships was profoundly moved by this conviction; he left of his substance to further the kind of search just sketched, and to fix his fellows more in that line of conduct which is inspired by the very presence of Deity. No one of those who are appointed to carry out his last instructions should permit themselves for a moment to forget that, like his close intellectual companion, Spinoza, he was a 'God-intoxicated man.'

R. M. WENLEY.

ART. IV.—THE LEGEND OF ARCHANGEL LESLIE.

1. *Il Cappuccino Scozzese.* Di Monsignor Gio-Battista Rinuccini, Arcivescovo e Principe di Fermo. Con licenza de' SS. Superiori. A Macerata. 1644.
2. *Il Cappuccino Scozzese in Scena, con la seconda parte, e sua morte, non ancor mai più stampata.* Data in luce dal Signor FRANCESCO ROZZI D'ALATRI. Roma, 1673.
3. *Le Capucin Escossois. Histoire merveilleuse et tres veritable, arrivée de nostre-temps.* Traduite du manuscrit Italien de Monseigneur Jean Baptiste Rinuccini, Archevesque et Prince de Ferme. Par le R. P. FRANCOIS BARRAUT, Procureur general des Pères de la doctrine Chrestienne, residant à Rome. (1st French edition) Paris, 1650.
4. *L'Histoire et la Vie merveilleuse du Comte de Lesley, gentil-homme escossois, capucin.* Edition nouvelle, corrigée et

recognised in them when they are subjected to a philosophical method of treatment. Unquestionably, there are dangers in the application of this method. Granted, for instance, that a development be traceable in religious phenomena, a tendency may display itself to determine the place of some one religion in this development too exclusively by reference to the transcendental idea of religion. This is not satisfactory. The transcendental general idea is certainly indispensable to the recognition of this or that phenomenon as religious. But this is not to say that the phenomena is thereby built into some place for which it has in itself no particular fitness. The fitting must be done, not by an appeal to the *a priori* general notion, but to the nature of the presentation of the notion by the fact or group of facts in question. Hegel's complete failure to account for Islam and to characterise Buddhism or Brahmanism adequately was due not only to the imperfect state of knowledge at the time, but also to his attempt to force these religions into a scheme, in which the first had no organic place, and into which the others fitted only after much unwarrantable preparation. Reason is present in all religions *quá* Religion, but the kind of its presentation is determined historically by the religions themselves, not by the common element. Here another safeguarding clause is necessary. Philosophy is not to be confined to a simple hearing of the facts of history. History is sufficient for the mere repetition of the circumstances to be considered. But philosophy must take their interpretation upon itself. Its business is to discover what they mean. Philosophy of religion, then, does not merely seek the common element in the historical facts of religion, and thereby characterise them as religious; but by the elucidation of principles, it attempts to throw fresh lights upon the recorded events, to set them in new relations to one another, and so to derive from them a united testimony which they would not otherwise bear. In short, it takes what history reveals, and puts it to the question. It asks, is reason here, or, is the beginning in any way connected with the end? If the facts be not a simple collocation of unrelated circumstances, there must be a permanent element present in them. This it is not the task of history to unravel. And in seeking for it, philosophy is not confined to a bare enumeration

The famous missionary, who was born of Protestant parents in Aberdeenshire in the last decade of the sixteenth century, became in his youth a convert to the Church of Rome, and entered the order of the Capuchins in Italy. Some time afterwards he was sent into Scotland (1623-1629), and it was on returning to Italy after this his first missionary journey that he made the acquaintance of John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, in whose diocese Leslie's convent was then situated. Rinuccini, who is best known in this country as the papal envoy sent to the Irish Catholics in the troublous times of 1645-1650, had been, when he first met Leslie, five years in the enjoyment of his see. It was the year, too, he tells us, of the marriage of the Infanta of Spain and Ferdinand King of Hungary, that is 1631. The Archbishop became greatly attached to Father Archangel, employed him in preaching and other ministerial work in his diocese, and was so struck by the pious and romantic story of his conversion and adventures, which he heard from the Scotsman's own lips, that he resolved to put it into print for the edification of Christendom. 'Il Cappuccino Scozzese' appeared accordingly at Macerata in 1644, with a preface, addressed a 'All' Illustrissimo Sig. Cavalier Tomasso Rinuccini,' and signed by Pompeo Tomassini. It appears to have had a rapid sale. In the same year there was issued another impression, or the same with another title page, at Bologna, and in the following year at Bologna again, Venice, Florence, and Rome—the preface to the Roman edition being dated January 1645, two months before Rinuccini's departure upon his Irish political mission.

It was the author's belief that his narrative contained convincing evidence of the divinity of the Roman Church. 'Who will give wings to this little book' cries the ecstatic Archbishop, that it may fly boldly into all the corners of the earth and defy the rigours of climate. . . . Who will aid it to fly as far as Norway, or into the dense forests of Prussia? May haughty Pomerania read this history, may the fierce Dane, the proud Swede, study it even among the rocks of Stockholm, and say if they have any grounds upon which to withstand it;' and, in the spirit of prophecy he concludes,

‘they will deny the truth of the facts, and with impious contempt give the lie to the book.’

The little book took wings indeed. The Père François Barrault, Procurator General of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, then residing at Rome, made a translation from Rinuccini’s manuscript and sent it to Paris, where the ‘*Histoire Merveilleuse et tres veritable*’ was published in 1650, with two portraits, one of the ‘*Bienheureux R.P. George, Capucin Ecosais, Grand Predicateur et Superieur des Missions Estrangeres,*’ and the other of the *Duchesse de Chastillon*, to whom it is dedicated. It issued from the French press again at Mons in 1652 and at Paris in 1656. An enlarged edition, for which Francis Clifton, already referred to, made himself responsible, was printed at Rouen in 1660. Other French impressions followed rapidly; at Rouen again in 1662, twice at Paris from different publishers in 1664, again at Paris in 1669 and 1682, and lastly at Rouen in 1700. Portraits, not by any means agreeing with one another, multiplied also. Meanwhile the original Italian had been reprinted at Venice in 1647, perhaps again in 1649, and certainly in 1663; and Father Antonio Vasquez, the author of a life of St. Philip Neri, made a translation of Rinuccini for the Spaniards, which went through at least two editions (Madrid, 1647 and 1661). Basil de Teruel is said to have produced another version, also at Madrid, in 1659; and finally Francisco de Ajofrin published this narrative together with the lives of other Scottish Capuchins ‘*famous for sanctity and nobility*’ in 1787. The Portugese were not behindhand. Diego Gomes Carneiro brought out an edition at Lisbon in 1657; and a great preacher, Christ. de Almeyda, suffragan or coadjutor of the Archbishop of Lisbon, published another in 1667. The book passed into Flemish (at Bruges and Ghent) in 1686, and into Dutch at Antwerp in 1701. A Capuchin under the name of Lucianus Montifontanus published a German version, together with the life of Archangel Forbes, at Constanz, in 1677; and Fidelis of Rottenburg another, from the enlarged French version, at Bregenz in 1711. The Roman Capuchins were so pleased with the story that they threw it into the form of a drama, and

printed their play in 1673 under the title of 'Il Cappuccino Scozzese in Scena'; and in 1760 there appeared at Rome *Il Cappuccino Scozzese, da scrittori francesi, scozzesi e portughesi*. A latin life had been written by Richardus Hybernensis in 1662, containing some fresh information, but unfortunately, owing to the death of the author, it was never printed. The manuscript was, however, seen and used by Bernard of Bologna in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Capuccinorum*, where he gives to the illustrious Scottish friar three or four times as much space as he gives, on an average, to the greatest writers of the order.

There is no difficulty in understanding the popularity of the tale. A great interest had been taken by the Catholic world, especially after 1580, in the combined political and religious attack upon the Protestantism of Great Britain. The history of the conflict as told by Aquepontanus (or Bridgwater) in his *Concertatio*, and by Nicolas Sanders and his continuators, was well disseminated in Europe. Pollini told it to the Italians in the vernacular, and Yopez and Ribadeneyra to the Spaniards. The numerous apologies for the martyrs by Cardinal Allen and Father Parsons made all men acquainted with the conditions of the struggle as they were presented at least on the papal side, while numerous martyrologies and biographies, of which the life of Campion the prince of the Jesuit missionaries was a conspicuous example, gave graphic pictures of the minor details. This literature continued to be abundant during the whole of the seventeenth century. The contemporary records, as far as they deal with facts, are, in comparison with such martyrologies in general, remarkable for their fidelity to truth. They were carefully compiled, for it was the aim of these writings to bring home to the English Government the injustice of the persecution and the barbarity of its methods, quite as much as to edify believers or to sound the praises of the Roman Church.

In Scotland the conditions were very different. When the interest excited by the romantic fate of Mary Stuart and the faint possibility of her son's conversion had died away, and notably when the crowns of Scotland and England were united,

comparatively little was heard in Europe of the Catholics of the north. There was no bond of cohesion among them, no ecclesiastical organization, not even a prefect of the mission until 1653. They had no great leaders, no literature to speak of, and very little money. Individually they suffered terrible hardships, worse it is said than what was endured by the recusants of England, yet they had but a single martyr whose biography could call for the sympathies and admiration of their co-religionists abroad. The seventeenth century was a dark age for Catholic Scotland. Thus while private letters and the reports of exiles made known vaguely the severity of the persecution and the meritorious labours of the hunted missionary, there was, comparatively speaking, a lack of definite information or of thrilling narrative with which to satisfy the pious curiosity of the faithful.

Under these circumstances the welcome received by this story of the Scottish Capuchin is not surprising. Here was a typical Scottish convert, noble, chivalrous, accomplished, and a saint almost from his cradle. Here was a missionary whose romantic adventures put those of the English Jesuits, Campion or Gerard, in the shade; and here was a picture—a unique picture—of Scottish family life in the very heart of the persecution. The story came too with authority. The Archbishop of Fermo was a man of affairs, held in high esteem at the Court of Rome, and he wrote with an eloquence and enthusiasm befitting his subject.

Only in the land of the hero's birth did the book meet with rather a cold reception. For more than two centuries there was no translation printed in the English language, nor is there evidence of any deep impression made by his memory in Catholic Scotland or England. On the contrary, certain Jesuit Fathers, his contemporaries, as we shall see, insinuated their doubts and misgivings; and little or nothing more was heard of George Leslie in Scotland until the beginning of this century, when David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, unearthed the forgotten narrative, of which he gave a summary, as a specimen of his proposed *Biographia Scotica*. The *Scots Magazine*, also, about the same time (1802), printed an abstract of the

life, and accused Rinuccini of deliberate fiction; while the author of the article, 'George Leslie of Monymusk,' in Chambers' *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (1835), calls attention to the 'absurdities' of the story. Later on, Colonel Leslie, a Roman Catholic, in his *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie*, points out some serious errors in the narrative, hazards the suggestion that it was written as 'a pious romance,' and apparently inclines to give credit to a strange surmise of the Abbè Macpherson, that the original was not written by Rinuccini, but by a Jesuit Father, by name Andrew Leslie.

In spite of this tentative scepticism the biography has recently taken a new lease of life. It has been reproduced within the last thirty years almost as often, and in as many different quarters, as during the first thirty years of its existence. Capuchin historians abroad everywhere make much of it. It was reproduced at Modena in 1862. Dr. Raess, the bishop of Strassburg, in his great biographical work on famous Converts to the Roman Church since the Reformation, (1873), gives thirty closely printed pages to Leslie. Rocco da Cesinale, an ex-provincial, who attended the Vatican Council as theologian, and is now the procurator of the missions of his order, in his account of Leslie in his *History of the Capucin Missions* (1872) is indignant with those who presume to hint at any doubts regarding the truth of the biography. The Père Richard has devoted to the same subject a handsome volume printed at Lille, with an epilogue and embellishments of his own, about 1883. The life in its fullest form now made its appearance for the first time in England in the pages of *The Annals of the Franciscans* (1879-1881), and it has found its way to the United States in a little volume published anonymously at Philadelphia. Canon Bellesheim in his *Geschichte der kath. Kirche in Schottland*, and Father Hunter Blair, his translator, celebrate 'a life distinguished, even in those troublous times, by trials of no ordinary kind;' and admitting some possible indiscretions in their hero, call upon their readers to admire his zeal for souls, his ardent nature, and his 'almost unlimited influence over all with whom he came in contact.'

It is however remarkable that few of the modern writers, Catholics or Protestants, who have related the history, appear to have seen the original work of Rinuccini, or the first literal translations from it; and those who have seen it and quote it, have not noticed or called attention to the successive stages in the growth of the story. Lord Hailes, who imagined that he was using a second revised French edition, was in fact using the ninth, and this error led him to ascribe to Rinuccini many statements which the archbishop never made. Other writers who have had the original in their hands, use all sources indiscriminately, and make no attempt to dissect the history into its component parts, or to distinguish the authority, or lack of authority, due to each.

The literary history of Rinuccini's book is, in fact, curious and instructive. It presents some interesting questions in the ethics of pious biography; and there seems, therefore, sufficient reason for once more laying all the facts before the reader.

The original story, as told by Rinuccini in 1644, or by his French translator in 1650, was this. George Leslie was the son of James Leslie and 'Selvia' [*i.e.*, Wood], his wife, Protestants of most noble blood and great wealth, who lived in Aberdeen. James died soon after the birth of his son, and left him heir to his large possessions. In his will he directed that the boy should be educated at Paris. The mother married again—Rinuccini does not say whom—and when George arrived at the age of eight years she sent him with a private tutor and an equipage proper for his station, to Paris. Here the boy made rapid progress in study and virtue, and was universally beloved. He wisely chose for his closest companions two brothers of a noble family, who with him attended the University of Paris. These young men invited George to their father's country-house, and gradually by arguments, which are related at length, made him a convert to their faith. The youth's conversion could not long be concealed from the Calvinistic tutor, who reported it to the mother. She threatened to disown her son, to deprive him of his estates, to blot him out from the genealogical tree—all in vain. She then angrily recalled the tutor, withdrew from George all supplies of

money, and pronounced upon him her curse. He was, however, given a home by the father of his university friends, and with the latter, in his sixteenth year, he proceeded on a tour in Italy.

On arriving at Rome, the three young men paid a visit to the famous Capuchin Father, Ange de Joyeuse, formerly known as the Comte du Bouchage and Duc de Joyeuse. The Scotsman was so captivated by the edifying life and conversation of this father, that he could not tear himself away from his society. While the Parisians entertained themselves with the antiquities and sights of Rome, George spent his days in the Capuchin convent. When the time came for his friends to return home, he could not be persuaded to join them, while he made known to the Father General, Girolamo da Castel Ferretti, his desire to enter the order of the Capuchins. The General expressed some scruple of admitting him, on the ground that a papal bull had prohibited the admission of converted heretics. In his distress, Leslie appealed for counsel to Ange de Joyeuse, who thought the decree in question referred only to sons of apostates, not to persons born in heresy. The fathers debated the matter, but could come to no conclusion. Thereupon Leslie now took a truly celestial resolve. He went boldly to the Quirinal, passed the papal guards, ascended the stairs to the ante-chamber, announced himself a Scot, and demanded audience of the Holy Father. On being admitted to the presence of Paul V., he was dazzled with a light more luminous than the sun, which proceeded from the sacred head of the Pontiff. This, says Rinuccini, Leslie, in obedience to his superior, had often described, and 'he confirmed the fact to me upon oath.' Such splendours, indeed, adds the Archbishop, always encompass the Roman pontiff, but they are not visible to every one. The young Scotsman, who knew three languages besides Latin, addressed the Holy Father confusedly in all; but the Pope, instructed by heaven, easily understood him, and said promptly, 'Go, my son, in joy, and if the Father General refuses you, say to him that we on our part receive you.' Leslie was, of course, at once admitted to the order. The General destined him to the convent at Camerino, bestowed

on him the name of Archangel, and then throwing himself on his knees before the young novice, demanded pardon and penance for his former opposition to his reception.

Some fathers who knew Leslie, says Rinuccini, still speak of his fervour and devotion at this time. His superiors, aware of the progress he made in learning at the University of Paris, set him at once, after his profession, to the study of philosophy and theology; and he soon became famous as a preacher. It was now twenty years since George had left his mother's house, when some Scottish gentlemen, returning from their travels, brought back to his mother the news that her son was a Capuchin, and living in the Marches of Ancona. She heard that these same Capuchins were beggars, their clothing dirty, and their condition considered shameful. In her rage and despair she poured forth exclamations, which cover three pages of print, and resolved to wipe out the stain upon the honour of her family by procuring her son's assassination. His own discarded wealth, she declared, should be the recompense of his murderer, and the house which her son had abandoned should become the asylum of his assassin. On second thoughts, however, she summoned her eldest son by her second marriage, and commissioned him to proceed at once to Italy to find out George, and by every means in his power to induce that erring brother to return home. She sent with him a letter, beginning: 'To George Leslie, my very dear son. He who gives you this letter is your brother,' etc.

Archangel was then at Urbino, in the convent of which Justus de Bonafide was the guardian. On hearing of the arrival of the younger brother all the nobility of Urbino hastened to visit him. The eccentric and accomplished Francesco Maria della Rovere, the last of the Dukes of Urbino, insisted upon his taking up his residence in the palace. For such honours the Scotsman was not prepared; otherwise, he assured the prince, that he would have brought with him recommendations from his king. At last, when overcome by the arguments of his brother, he resolved to abjure his heresy, the Duke, to the delight of all his subjects, proclaimed a general holiday. Crowds thronged to the Cathedral to witness the ceremony, while the Scot, with his hand on his sword, amid the tears of the people and the intoning of the *Te*

Deum, made profession of his new creed. The return to the palace was a triumph. There was a procession of the nobility, the royal guards and archers, and a grand discharge of firearms. The function ended with a splendid banquet, to which the Capuchin fathers were invited by the Duke. The piles of sweetmeats filled the good friars with wonder, and served as steps to elevate their minds to the most sublime contemplation. The skill of the confectioner in forming statues of jellies and creams was to them less admirable than the divine power which could thus soften and mould the stubborn heart of a heretic.

The younger brother—Rinuccini does not give his Christian name—now prepared to go home. All agreed that he should dissimulate with his mother, and, above all, conceal his conversion, and meanwhile watch for a favourable opportunity for the return of Archangel. The Duke presented the traveller with a gold chain, to which was attached a crucifix studded with pearls and rubies. On his arrival a Monymusk the mother was much disappointed with the evasive account he gave of his negotiations. On going into his room at night, however, she caught sight of the jewelled crucifix and chain, which had been carelessly laid upon an ivory table. The treachery of her son was discovered. In her passion she dashed chain and cross upon the ground, cursed this second son, and drove him from her door.

Meanwhile, Mary of Medicis, regent of France, wrote to her ambassador at Rome to look out for a suitable person of the Capuchin order to act for her as court preacher. Archangel, who happened to be at Rome at the time, was fixed upon for the office, and despatched to Paris. His success there was immense. Gregory XV. now [1621] succeeded Paul V., and gave commission to his nephew, Cardinal Luigi Ludovisio, to found the Congregation of Propaganda for the establishment and government of foreign missions. One of the first acts of Propaganda was to select the popular court-preacher at Paris as chief and conductor of a mission to Scotland. He was also empowered to act as preacher and missionary in England. The necessary briefs were sent to him at Paris. As good fortune would have it, there was at that moment in Paris the Spanish ambassador, who was on his road to England to negotiate the proposed

marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta. The ambassador had need of an interpreter. The French queen proposed Archangel. The ambassador, after making due enquiries as to the Capuchin's birth and antecedents, admitted him into his suite, and ordered him to be attired as a cavalier.

Archangel remained in London as long as the ambassador was there, feeling bound in honour not to abandon his post as long as his services might be required; and the manner in which he discharged his duties as interpreter gained for him the good will of the king. The ambassador, on the eve of his departure—the project of the Spanish match having fallen to the ground—presented Archangel with a magnificent horse. The Capuchin was now free to pursue his mission to Scotland. After passing a night in continued prayer, clothed in his hair shirt, he set out upon his journey, attended by two servants. One of these servants led the ambassador's horse by hand, while Archangel himself humbly mounted a hack which he had bought at court. Yet he only rode at times to escape observation. As a rule he journeyed on foot, as becomes a friar. At Aberdeen he wrote in his own name a letter to his mother, which he dated from Urbino, recommending the bearer as his intimate friend. Having done this he prayed to God to favour his stratagem. He would have blushed with shame if he had not acted for the good of the faith, and felt that, like Jacob, he was inspired to make use of such a dissimulation. When he reached Monymusk, the lady was with her daughters-in-law engaged in embroidering a silk bedcover for her eldest son in the hope of his return. 'Madam,' said the visitor, 'I have come from Italy, whence I bring you a letter from your son.' She took the letter, but before reading it looked the cavalier in the face and exclaimed, 'The most ungrateful son that ever lived, and a disgrace to his kindred.' However, she made the stranger welcome, and politely assured him that in that house he was master. At dinner Archangel's mind was agitated with conflicting sentiments. According to the custom of the country, a heretical minister sat at table with the rest. Archangel was horrified to see this impious minister in the company. He thought with indignation of the 300 crowns a year the man received as the price of ignorance and error. The food seemed

infected with poison, and the feast became as a funeral. Archangel forgot to eat. However, he soon won the good graces of the family. He insisted upon his youngest brother—in later editions called Edward—taking the Spanish horse as a gift, threatening to shoot the animal if it were not accepted. He let it be discovered that he was a Catholic, and cleverly introduced apologies for the Capuchin. After five days had passed, an incautious question, repeated too loudly to a deaf servant, about an aviary, which George had remembered in the house in his boyhood and now missed, was overheard by the mother, and the discovery was made.

Rinuccini's description of the dramatic scene cannot be given at length and would be spoiled by any abridgment. When, however, the swoons, the embracing, and the tears, were over, the house became a theatre of joy. The news spread through the town and the old lady received a thousand visits of congratulation. Fireworks were let off in the evening, and cannon were fired. An express was despatched to recall the banished brother, who arrived at the castle on the following day. The minister alone was melancholy. Some fury of hell seized his heart, and venomous serpents devoured his entrails. For peace sake the mother imposed silence on both sides regarding matters of religion, and to this arrangement the Capuchin agreed. The restraint was almost unendurable to him. His zeal led him to secretly go out from the castle, under pretence of hunting, and there among the mountains and forests to preach to the people. He thus brought crowds to the faith. It is said that in eight months he made more than three thousand converts. Nevertheless, while his mother remained in heresy, his conscience could not rest. She observed his fatigue and his sadness, and an explanation followed. The Capuchin, it was arranged, should challenge the minister to a controversial dispute, at which the mother would be present. The minister was led to declare that he belonged to the Church of Geneva, and that the Bible was his sole rule of faith. 'If you will show me,' said Archangel, 'where there is mention of the Church of Geneva in Scripture, I will leave my mother in peace.' The impious man, casting down his eyes, craved for time, and promised to find the passage.

'With my mother's consent, I will give you twenty-four hours,' replied the friar. On the resumption of the debate the unhappy Calvinist, after much shuffling, had to admit that he could not lay his hand upon the text, but he in turn challenged Archangel to find mention of his own church. 'Bring me a Bible,' said the triumphant Capuchin; 'and opened at once the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, where the apostle gives thanks that the Roman faith was announced throughout the world.' In short, the impious one, confounded in five successive conferences, was expelled with ignominy from the house, and the mother, with her whole household, made submission to the Catholic Church. A large hall at the top of the house was now converted into a chapel; the ladies offered their jewels and chains, their robes, and their embroideries, to worthily adorn it. The altar was decked with diamonds and pearls, and Archangel had a massive chalice wrought out of his mother's rings. He now once more resumed his friar's habit.

This first mission continued undisturbed for two years, when suddenly there came the crash of a fresh persecution. Proclamations were posted up in Aberdeen commanding all priests to depart the realm under pain of death. Archangel, who had already thought of retiring across the border, and of living there unknown, now quitted Monymusk to carry into icy England the same fire with which he had kindled Scotland. He, accordingly, assembled all the fathers engaged in the English mission, resolved upon new enterprises, and inspired them with fresh fervour. His mother encouraged him with her letters, at the end of one of which she wrote, 'I restore to you all that I unjustly took from you at Paris.' This charitable communication marvellously consoled the missionaries.

Archangel, during his stay in England, met with a strange adventure. He was one day on a journey, attended by a single valet, when an heretical bishop, with a large company, passed by on a visit to his diocese. The parties were exchanging salutes when Archangel spied among the bishop's suite the former chaplain of his mother. The recognition was mutual, and the minister pointed out the Capuchin to the bishop, who at once despatched twenty-five men to seize him. Archangel put spurs

to his horse and escaped in a wood, leaving in the hands of the satellites of Satan his writings, some books of controversy, and his beautiful chalice. The heretical clergy made a bonfire of the papers and books, and the bishop gave a feast, at which he sacrilegiously passed round the chalice filled with wine.

Archangel now received a letter from the Father General of his order, summoning him to Italy to make answer to certain charges, which had been brought against him, before the Congregation of Propaganda. He had been accused of indulging too much in the comforts of home, and in a liberty unbecoming a missionary. The pious Capuchin was overjoyed at the news. Now he had opportunity to merit. He prayed continually that there might be some obstacle to his justification, and he wrote to his mother that he was going to Italy on a matter extremely agreeable to himself, and he wished that he could make her partaker of his joy. When he reached Italy he found the plague ravaging the country, but the difficulties he encountered in consequence, gave him fresh occasions for works of penance and charity. He sought and obtained from his superiors permission to devote himself to the plague-stricken at Cremona. Meanwhile he received from the Propaganda a full acquittal from all the charges brought against him. On the cessation of the plague he was appointed Guardian of the convent of Monte Georgio, and here it was, as has been said before, that he made the acquaintance of his future biographer, the Archbishop of Fermo.

At this point of his narrative, Rinuccini makes a little digression to explain how he first met Archangel, of whose zeal he had already heard. Some mysterious lights had appeared in the year of the plague, generally on a Saturday, over an abandoned chapel by the river Lete. They were at once recognized as miraculous by the fishermen who first saw them, and afterwards by learned theologians, so that Rinuccini resolved, with the applause of his clergy, to institute a feast, and to visit the chapel in procession. The chapel became a place of pilgrimage, and numbers of the sick were miraculously healed. Among the most frequent visitors to the newly erected shrine was Father Archangel, and here began the friendship between the two men. Presently, from Monte Georgio, Archangel was sent to Ripa Transone, and here

he found another friend in Vagnozzo Pica, rector of the Congregation of the Oratory. The better to enjoy the society of Archangel, the archbishop spent a week at the convent, and there, together with Father Pica, extracted from him the story which has been related. Rinuccini describes his impatience to hear every touching detail, and how he sat down on a rustic seat in the convent garden, taking Father Pica by one hand and Archangel by the other. The Capuchin had just told the story of his brother's conversion at Urbino. 'I was the first to shed tears,' writes the archbishop, 'and Father Pica, putting aside all the bitterness he had felt against the mother, could not refrain from weeping.' Archangel, seeing them so much moved with tenderness from time to time, would pause till they recovered themselves. He spoke with great modesty of himself, passing lightly over the fruits of his mission, and he said little more of his mother. 'I asked him,' says Rinuccini, 'had she persevered, had he no news of her?' At these words the servant of God uttered a deep sigh, but afterwards returning to his natural gaiety, turned his eyes towards me and said, 'Monsignore, I think you believe that beneath this habit I bear some zeal for the Catholic religion, but all that I have is as embers compared with the flames which consume my mother;' and he proceeded to tell how, after his departure from Scotland, the heretics watched his mother, and finding she did not go to church, excommunicated her, and brought her before the judge, who condemned her to the loss of all her goods. She retired to a small house, and lived in great poverty upon the little she could make by needlework. She wrote to her son a letter of saintly resignation, upon the receipt of which Archangel passed over to France, and there, from his influence with the court, obtained letters to the King of England, which (as he learnt later on in Italy) had this effect—that his mother was replaced in possession of her lands and immoveable property; but she could not recover her moveable possessions, which had been sold. Archangel, however, was not satisfied, and wished to console her by his presence. He returned to Scotland in the disguise of a peasant.* As he drew near Monymusk, he

* The later compilers find some difficulty in making a suitable place for this return to Scotland in consistency with the rest of the narrative.

gathered some herbs, and pretending to be a gardener, went crying about the streets, 'Buy my greens!' The guards stopped him at the gates. He dared not ask where his mother lived, so he walked three times through the town. Having sold almost all his greens, he was at a loss for some new pretence to continue his search, when his mother came and cried, 'Here, gardener.' Archangel was deeply affected at seeing his mother dressed like a servant maid, and reduced to the necessity of buying her own vegetables. While she was bargaining about her purchase, he looked her full in the face, and said, 'Madam, this gardener does not sell, but gives to his mother.' She uttered a cry which might have been fatal to them. The interview was necessarily short. The commissaries of the King in matters of religion broke into the house, exclaiming, 'Do you not know this woman is a papist?' and Archangel with difficulty escaped into England.

It was at this point that Rinuccini resolved to write the history. Meanwhile, having to return home, he begged Father Pica to use his opportunities to gather from the missionary fresh information. But eight days afterwards, the archbishop found Archangel himself at prayer at the chapel of Lete. Archangel then told him that he had known that the Queen of the Sea intended him for a new voyage, and now he had just received a letter from the General announcing that the Pope had nominated Archangel as the companion of Father William of Paris for a new mission to Scotland. The archbishop, at the same time, revealed the secret that he himself had been inspired on this same spot with a resolution to go into England and Scotland, if there should be any prospect of the conversion of these countries. Archangel, after adoring the Holy House at Loreto, went to Rome, and thence to Leghorn, waiting a favourable wind. From Leghorn he wrote to Rinuccini a letter, which is printed in full. He attributes the favourable beginning of his journey to 'the Queen of the Adriatic.' He hopes to prepare a way for his friend, and sends messages to Father Pica.

This was the last which Rinuccini heard of Archangel. He read and re-read his letter, and preserved it as one of his greatest treasures. But, alas! he cannot satisfy the reader's

natural impatience to know what great conquest the missionary made in this, his new enterprise, or what adventures befell him. Two years afterwards, the Capuchins indeed received news that Father Archangel had died in Scotland. But the archbishop laughed at the attempt of Death to remove a man who in every way was immortal. He hoped to preserve him ever living, by means of the memoranda furnished by Father Pica; but to give him an immortality more glorious, he made diligent enquiries on all sides concerning this second mission. He questioned Scotsmen who passed through Italy, he read with unusual diligence the memoirs of his order, the Roman registers and letters from England, but without success. He shed tears at the ingratitude of silence. How could he propose this life as a model to religious if the end was concealed in darkness. 'Writers of Scotland,' he exclaims, 'how is it that you have neglected to record the actions of Father Archangel, has the inclemency of the North frozen your intellects: unhappy Aberdeen!' and so on. But, after all, the place of Moses' burial was not known to men, and with this consoling reflection, the author closes his book.

This, then, is the shape in which the story appeared, not only in the original Italian published at Macerata, Bologna, Florence, Venice and Rome, in 1644-5, but also in the first translations into French Spanish and Portugese. Rinuccini returned to his diocese from his Irish nunciatura in June 1650, and died December 1653. There is no reason to suppose that the Archbishop and Father Pica were guilty of uttering and disseminating a deliberate fiction. They can have had no motive for doing so. But their evident simplicity and credulity may have tempted the friar, a clever, plausible, and apparently vain man, to give to his family a social position and wealth which they never had, and to make himself the hero of romantic episodes which had no existence, except in his own dreams. Mere exaggeration in details, such as picturing the diminutive village of Monymusk with gates and guards, thousands of inhabitants, and streets through which Archangel walked three times, might be set down to the ignorance or fancy of foreign biographers; but the falsity of the narrative does not lie in such details. It affects the very essence of the history. It is enough to say here that Monymusk house was

never in possession of any member of the Leslie family. The present mansion (as is shewn by Colonel Leslie, the historian of the family,) was built by Duncan Forbes, the son of Lord Forbes, about 1554. His son, William Forbes of Monymusk, succeeded in 1587, and was in turn succeeded (before 1618) by his eldest son William, created a baronet by Charles I., by patent addressed 'Domino Willelmo Forbes de Monymusk,' 2nd April, 1626. Sir William Forbes was in possession of the place and resided there at the time when the Capuchin is represented as having made it the headquarters of his mission, and when it is said to have been taken from, and again restored to, Archangel's mother by the King. Monymusk remained the property of these Forbeses, always rigid Protestants, till 1710. But to take away Monymusk from the life of Archangel, is obviously to destroy the whole fabric of his story. Its romance vanishes, and with it, the character of the teller.

There seems to be something infectious in literary fiction of this kind. Ingenious and unscrupulous persons will be tempted to carry on the deception with no other motive than the love of mystery. The regrets of Rinuccini would appear like a challenge to imaginative writers to fill in the story of the second mission. In any case, not many years passed by before there was published an enlarged and improved edition of the 'Histoire tres veritable,' giving the much desired information in the amplest detail. In this edition the concluding paragraphs of the original are suppressed, and replaced by a supplementary chapter. Various interpolations are made throughout the work. Personal names which Rinuccini could not, or did not give, are supplied. The younger half-brother becomes Edward, the elder is styled the 'Baron de Torrey,' the Capuchin himself becomes a Count, and his mother the Baroness. This does not give the reader confidence in the historic accuracy or discretion of the continuator; for the first Count of the name of Leslie, was Walter, son of John Leslie, 10th baron of Balquhairn, who was created a Count of the holy Roman Empire by Ferdinand III., in 1637, the year of Archangel's death. The barony of Torrey, too, was held not by a Leslie but by Forbes of Monymusk in 1618, and remained in possession of the Forbes family until 1705, when

it was sold by Sir William to the town of Aberdeen. Rinuccini had remarked that the Capuchin spoke modestly of his exploits. This, perhaps, suggested to the continuator to magnify the 'more than 3000 converts' into 'more than 4000,' and to describe with picturesque detail how the missionary when he went forth from Monymusk to preach in the mountains, would fix a crucifix upon a stake in the ground; how before he had talked for ten minutes the people would change colour, groan, shed tears and throw themselves at his feet imploring him to reconcile them to the true Church; and how, at other times, he would boldly walk into the churches when the minister was preaching, loudly denounce his impostures and call upon the congregation to come to himself for the truth.

The story of the second mission, which must here be considerably abridged, is in outline as follows. From Leghorn, Archangel sailed to Marseilles, thence proceeded to Paris, where he was invited by the French Queen to preach at the Louvre. He then embarked at Calais with one Father Epiphanes on board a vessel the captain of which happened to be a Catholic. A furious storm arose, and it was proposed to cast lots to determine who should be thrown overboard to lighten the ship. There was a question whether the Capuchins should be included or not. Some said, yes; for they were men always ready to sacrifice their lives. Others said, no; for Scotland would call the rest to account for the lives of two persons of such extraordinary merit. The Capuchins, however, refused to be exempted, and the casting of lots was proceeding, when the ship was cast upon a rock near the Isle of Wight. Most of the crew perished. Archangel, Epiphanes, and some others landed on a lonely place, where they were directed by a shepherd to a village where the king of England and the chief lords of his court were wont to come to hunt. On the road Archangel converted from Protestantism two of his companions. On arriving at St. Calpin—which is not marked on the maps—he laid aside the name of Leslie and called himself Selvian. At the inn he met a young gentleman of whom, in the course of a long conversation, he enquired if there were many Roman Catholics left in Scotland since the great persecution. 'Formerly,' said the young gentleman, 'there were very many, but the King by his severe edicts has expelled them all

and confiscated their estates; and at present there remains but one family of them, settled in the large town of Monymusk. To this family the King, by a singular instance of bounty, has restored its forfeited estates, and out of gratitude for its services to him he tolerates it alone in the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion.' The gentleman turned out to be his brother Edward. The story of the recognition is told in a style well imitated from Rinuccini. From Edward, Archangel learnt the sad account of his mother's death. She had heard of Archangel's projected return to Scotland, and was impatient to get news of him. She walked every day on the road between Monymusk and Aberdeen, and meeting on one occasion with some merchants from London, she was told there had been a great tempest in the Channel, that many ships had been lost, in one of which there were some priests. Convinced that her son Archangel was drowned, the old lady sickened with fever, and died nine days after.

Edward had come to the Isle of Wight to ask the King to continue his favours and allow them to keep a resident priest at Aberdeen for the consolation of the family. Archangel proposed to go with him to the king, and finding that His Majesty was out on a hunting expedition, the two brothers, while waiting for his return, examined the fortifications of Newport, and criticising them too freely, they were seized as spies and thrown into prison. When the King came back, the prisoners were led in chains into his presence. Charles soon recognized the Capuchin as having been at court, and Archangel referred to the royal favours then bestowed on him, and especially the excellent horse that the King had made him accept. The prisoners were at once set at liberty. The King confirmed all the privileges of the family, and insisted that the brothers should take up their residence, during their stay in the island, at the royal castle, which they were to treat as if it was their mother's house. They were then conducted to a grand chamber by the gate of the castle, where Archangel, next morning, placing a sentinel at the door, said Mass secretly, and gave communion to the new converts he had made on the island.

On their departure the King put the two missionaries and Edward to confusion with his caresses. He gave them authentic passports to Aberdeen, whither they went by sea. Here the two

Capuchins separated. The labours of Archangel in the neighbourhood were only too successful. The King in a rage sent for him into England, and fresh edicts were published against the Catholics. Archangel now set out on his last journey, in obedience to the royal command. He visited several of the nobility on the way, and at a conference with a number of gentlemen at Torphichen he converted the eldest son of the baron of Clugni, an Englishman by birth. Exhausted with his labours, on reaching the borders of England he fell sick. A Jesuit father gave him the last sacraments and closed his eyes. For fear of the body being disturbed, his friends buried him on a haunted mountain in the neighbourhood, which the people dared not approach, as they constantly heard there the noise of hounds yelping, horses galloping, and men shouting. The Catholics, having no such fear, deposited on this spot the sacred relic.

It is to rubbish such as this that learned divines and historians have given the weight of their names. Bernardus de Bononia in the *Bibliotheca* of his order; Rocco da Cesinale, the historian of the missions; and Père Richard, the latest biographer of our hero, point with confidence to the 'caterva scriptorum gravium,' who by their testimony 'give the lie to those who presume to doubt its truth.' Charles the First never resided at Newport in the life time of Archangel. There is nothing more to be said on the matter. The whole Isle of Wight episode is a deliberate fiction from beginning to end.

There is yet another termination to the story. The Capuchin Father at Rome, who thought of dramatizing Rinuccini's narrative in 1673, knew nothing of this account of the second mission, or of the half-a-dozen French editions containing it. He was therefore anxious, before completing his play, to get accurate information. He applied to the Procurator General, who obtained from Mr. William Leslie, a Scottish gentleman then residing with Cardinal Carlo Barberino, a relation which is perhaps substantially correct. This William Leslie is said to have known and conversed with Archangel in Scotland. If he was the Rev. William Leslie who lived with Cardinal Barberini as agent of the Scottish clergy, he was a mere lad of 15 years of age when he went abroad to Douay in 1636. His statement is,

however, that Archangel was sent into Scotland about 1633, and arrived with other friars at Edinburgh, where they separated, Archangel remaining in Edinburgh for some days. A baron, named in the preface 'Daltay,' but in the text of the drama perhaps more correctly, 'Dalgaty,' was lying seriously ill in the city, and sent for Archangel, who administered to him the last sacraments. The Puritans getting scent of this made a dash at the house. Archangel escaped by the window. His pursuers then turned upon the sick baron, called upon him to recant, and on his refusal murdered him in his bed. They then did the same to his young son. Archangel spent two years in the neighbourhood of his 'poor devout but consoled mother' [who was therefore not yet dead] and he himself died, with the assistance of a Jesuit Father, Andrew [Leslie] his relative. He was buried close by, in a chapel which had been destroyed by the heretics.

Lastly, Père Richard amalgamates and works up the several versions with many amplifications of his own. He is able to give a verbal report of some long conversations between Epiphanes and Archangel at Monymusk. He adds some new facts regarding the martyrdom of 'baron Daltay' and his son, and what is far more interesting, states that on his death-bed Archangel wrote to King Charles, who expressed to his courtiers his regret at the death of so distinguished a person, and despatched couriers to dispense the Baron de Torrey, under the circumstances, from coming to London.

Three weeks later, the family were assembled one morning at Monymusk, during a great storm, when suddenly the aged Epiphanes appeared before them. He told the bereaved family that on hearing the news of Archangel's death he had sent a courier to the Father General, asking for fresh missionaries. He was certain they would soon arrive, as he was also confident that the manor of Monymusk would be their home and the centre of the Capuchin mission in the north of Scotland. Francis de Torrey in reply assured Epiphanes that the greater part of their fortune had belonged to Archangel, and at the very moment of Epiphanes' arrival they had decided to devote it entirely to the mission. As long as Charles lived the Barons of Torrey were

undisturbed, but when that unfortunate monarch expired on the scaffold, the persecution raged with greater violence under the protectorate of the cruel and impious Cromwell. The house of Monymusk was delivered to the flames, and the Barons, deprived of all their property, were driven to take shelter among the mountains. God gave no heir to either Francis or William, and with the three brothers the house of the Barons de Torrey was extinguished. But if their name is no longer found among the nobility of Great Britain, it is inscribed in characters of gold in the books of heaven. Père Richard writes the last words of this veracious history at Bruges, on the feast of the Seraphic St. Francis of Assisi, 1882.

It is difficult to acquit some of these compilers of bad faith. Bernardus de Bononia, in his article on Archangel in the *Bibliotheca* (*Venetis*, 1747) seems to have suspected some improbability in the Isle of Wight story. He therefore makes the shipwreck take place on a nameless 'island near England,' preserves the interview with the brother, but discreetly drops all reference to King Charles and his Court at Newport. Bishop Raess, indeed, follows blindly the German editions without apparently attempting any critical enquiries on his own part. But Rocco da Cesinale and Père Richard pretend to have made researches and examined the sources, and to have satisfied themselves of the truth of what they relate. Both refer, in proof of the trustworthy character of Rinuccini's account, to his declaration that he had made diligent researches, whereas Rinuccini plainly intimates that he made these enquiries regarding the second mission only, and that these enquiries resulted in nothing. Rocco da Cesinale, again, states that in 1867 he met in London 'one of the descendants of Archangel, Colonel Leslie,' who told him by word of mouth what he afterwards wrote in a letter, that 'the library was turned into a chapel by F. Archangel, and many traces of that use still remain,' and that Rinuccini described 'accurately the house of Monimusk;' yet Father Rocco suppresses the fact that two years later Colonel Leslie, in his work on the Leslie family—a work which Father Rocco had in his hand and refers to—denies that the Leslies were ever owners

of the place, and asserts that Rinuccini's book is 'a pious romance.'*

From Father Hunter Blair, the translator and annotator of Canon Bellesheim's German history of the Catholic Church in Scotland, we should have expected a more accurate and critical statement. He is certainly more cautious than the Bishop of Strassburg or the historian of the Capuchin missions, to both of whom, however, he refers as authorities. In giving the substance of Rinuccini, he makes in a note the very inadequate comment, that 'many of the details' of the biography 'are evidently more romantic than correct,' and points especially to two errors, viz., that Leslie was proprietor of Monymusk, and that he held the title of 'Count.' This last error, as we have seen, was not Rinuccini's. Father Blair gives his readers no hint that the greater part of the story told by Raess, Rocco da Cesinale, and others, is demonstrably false, and he fails to see that his own admission as to the primary error in Rinuccini's narrative, by no means an error of 'detail,' renders all the rest, or all that depends upon Archangel's testimony alone, absolutely worthless.

It would be tedious to trace all the variations, additions, and transpositions which the tale has undergone after crossing the Atlantic. Yet it is a curious and instructive study. For example, the Philadelphian editor considers himself justified in altering the words and tone of the letter, said to have been written to Archangel at Urbino by Mrs. Leslie, and in making her sign herself 'The Baroness de Torrey.' Again, he represents the story of Archangel disguised as a gardener selling greens, as having been told by the Capuchin, not to Rinuccini, but to Epiphanes, when crossing the Channel. After these and many similar dealings, the compiler modestly declares,

* Since this was written, I have learnt that Father Rocco's correspondent, in 1867, was not 'Colonel Leslie,' but his son, Mr. Charles Stephen Leslie. Whatever resemblance there may be to a Catholic chapel in the library of Monymusk house, that library or chapel never belonged to Archangel's mother. It was hardly fair on the part of Father Rocco to quote Mr. Leslie's words in apparent confirmation of his story, and to hide from his readers the fact that Colonel Leslie, in the publication referred to, treated the Monymusk episode as an absolute fiction.

'I am merely the translator of this true history, which is calculated to afford consolation to pious youth, and to encourage them never to despair . . . when they seek "Ad majorem Dei gloriam."'

It is now time to gather up the threads of authentic history for the reconstruction of the real George Leslie. He is no myth. He was the son of James Leslie of Peterstone, and his wife, Jane Wood. After James' death, his widow married another Leslie, John, laird of Belcairn.* George was enrolled in 1608 as a scholar in the Scotch college at Rome.† Father Hunter Blair prefixes to his brief account of Archangel, translated from Bellesheim, the words 'according to Rinuccini,' and thus leads the reader to suppose that the archbishop is the authority for this statement, whereas Rinuccini gives no hint of the fact, which is indeed inconsistent with his narrative. Archangel had evidently a gift of speech. Dempster, who died at Bologna, Sept. 1625, describes him briefly as an eloquent preacher, mentions that he had just gone into Scotland, and names a book, *De potestate papæ in principes sæculares et in rebus fidei definiendis*, which Leslie had written and was preparing to publish. The book, however, does not appear to have been ever printed.

Leslie was never superior of the Scottish mission. The Pope had appointed Fathers Leonard and Joseph of Paris, prefects of the Capuchin mission of England and Scotland; and under their authority, three fathers, Anselm, Angel, and Richard, were sent into England, and Epiphanius and Archangel into Scotland. This Epiphanius, Roger Lindsay, was an earnest and hard-working missionary, who lived as a peasant among the people in the north some years before Archangel's arrival. No reliance whatever can be placed on the statement, unless it can be confirmed from other sources, that Archangel remained in London until the departure of the ambassador in whose suite he came over. The ambassador referred to can be no other than the Marquis Ino-

* Leslie's *Hist. Records*, Vol. III., pp. 415-435.

† 1608. 'Georgius Lesly Aberdonensis. Deinde sacerdos Capuccinus sub nomine P. Archangelus.' This is on the authority of Rocco da Cesinale (*Missioni*, Vol. III., p. 407), who quotes the MS. register of the college.

josa, who landed at Dover, June 14th 1623, and left London again June 1624.* But in any case, there are traces of Archangel's activity in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen towards the end of the year. The period was just then favourable to the Catholics. The missionaries waxed bold. It is said that manifestos or pasquils were stuck on the church-door in Aberdeen. Some of these may have been the work of Archangel. He certainly wrote some controversial tracts, though none appear to have been preserved to our day. One of these, at least, was thought worthy of notice by Andrew Logie, parson of Rayne, who in his work entitled, *Cum bono deo. Raine from the clouds upon a choicke [sic] angel, or a returned answer to the common quæritur of our adversaries, 'Where was your Church before Luther?'* (Aberdeen 1624), makes reference to some such writing coming into his hands, as 'another straying leaf with the loins trussed, carrying or bearing this inscription, "Who want lawful calling are Robbers according to the warrands following," etc.' Logie makes a bad pun on the name Leslie; and some prefatory Latin verses in praise of the author, announce *Telo hoc Archangelus ipse—Confusus periet*; while a marginal note explains that this was George Leslie who elicited from Mr. Logie this learned treatise.

In a list of priests and 'trafficking seminaries' about Aberdeenshire, drawn up apparently about 1625, George Leslie is described as 'Capucian Leslic, commonly called Archangel;' and in a similar list of 'the resetters of Seminarists and Jesuits,' occurs the name of 'William Leslie, brother to George Leslie the Capucian.' In March 1626, he sent to Propaganda a report in which he complains of Catholics attending the Protestant sermons, and of their

* This lingering in London for twelve months hardly justifies Father Hunter Blair's statement, 'From London he hurried to Scotland.' The King who expressed his satisfaction with the conduct of Archangel as Spanish interpreter would have been James. Prince Charles was absent from England on his Spanish journey from February 19 to October 5, 1623. The continuator of the legend seems to have forgotten this in his account of the interview of Archangel with Charles in the Isle of Wight, though Charles had, indeed, returned to London some months before the departure of Inojosa and the capuchin.

not providing for the missionaries. He thinks it necessary for the Congregation to make certain priests an allowance of 200 florins, (Bellesheim, *History*, iii. p. 77.) After the lapse of three or four years, in 1628, Charles issued a proclamation to bishops and ministers to mark down all papists and report them to the Privy Council twice a year. Excommunications, imprisonments, and banishments followed rapidly. Whether it was an outburst of fresh persecution which drove Archangel from the north, or whether he went solely in obedience to the summons of his superiors, to answer the charges brought against him at Rome, is not clear.

It is, however, at this moment that light comes to us in the form of an authentic letter from the missionary himself, dated Paris, June 20th, 1630. It is addressed to Colonel Sempill, then at Valladolid. Colonel Sempill was in the confidence of the King of Spain, and a zealous supporter of the Scottish mission. The original of Archangel's letter was in English, but the copy printed in the *Records of the Family of Leslie* is a re-translation from the Spanish. It fully confirms, in the opinion of Colonel Leslie, 'all that is really important' in the traditional story. If nothing is 'really important' in the romance but its few grains of truth, that modicum of truth may be said to be here confirmed. But the reader can judge for himself, from the following extracts. The abridgment and extracts given by Father Rocco and Canon Bellesheim unfortunately omit just those passages of the letter which supply the best test of the truth.

'The manner I have conversed with heretics, and the method I have practised in Scotland for these last six years in converting souls, will shortly be published and dedicated to His Holiness—at least I have been advised to do so by some of those who, flying from the calamities and persecutions in our country, have taken refuge in France. I am more inclined to dedicate it to your Excellency. I have, therefore, omitted to give it a foreign appearance for many just reasons. I shall send to your Excellency some books of it just published, by which you will see the method I have employed in my vocation in the country.

'I wrote three other treatises in Scotland; two on the vocation of ministers, and one in reply to the reasons which induced a certain noble lady to apostatise from the Catholic faith to the Protestant. These treatises have disposed many to follow the Catholic faith, and many learned persons

are of opinion that they should be published, and I could not dedicate them to any person more worthy than your Excellency, whose zeal for the conversion of souls and love of the servants of our faith are so well known . . . as is proved by the pension which, by the care and solicitude of your Excellency, is so liberally distributed among the labourers of the Church, and for which benefit I thank your Excellency with all my heart.'

The writer then intimates that in the dedication of the proposed work he wishes to commemorate his Excellency's piety and charity, and proceeds :—

'In the meantime I beseech your Excellency to be pleased to continue the pension, which you gave me while I was in the mission, to pay the expense of publication, and because, when I return to Italy, I propose getting them published at Vienna, if your Excellency will aid in the expense.

'For two reasons I return to Italy ; first, because the government of our missions has been changed. Formerly all depended on a General, who sent those of every nation to labour in their own country of which they were subjects. But now a French Father, named Joseph, through the influence of Cardinal Richelieu, obtained from His Holiness the government of all the missions of our order in the east and west . . . so that by this change only Frenchmen are admitted into the missions . . .

'The second reason for my journey to Italy is to exculpate myself from some calumnies which have been imputed to me before the congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. To these calumnies I shall oppose all the Catholic ladies and gentlemen, who, flying from the persecution, have arrived in these parts, for the many conversions which God has made by means of me, afford no trace of those vile things which they impute to me ; for God has used me as an instrument for the conversion of my step-father [the step-father is never alluded to in Rinuccini's life], my mother and brothers, and of all the family.'

Archangel then mentions a number of his converts,* adding :

'I must omit innumerable other persons, both men and women, for there is not a corner of all the kingdom where I have not left the seed of Faith, thanks be to God, the fountain of all good. . . .

'But now, who are those who calumniate me? Are they, perhaps, heretics? No ; for these do not frequent the court of Rome. Are they secular Catholics? No ; because none of these would venture to say that they ever saw in me a trace of levity. Are they perhaps priests? I say they are ; but let them come to particulars and specify the conversions

* The list, naming one or more members of some sixteen families, is quoted at length in Bellesheim's *History*.

which they have made, and we shall see if theirs can compete with mine. But enough of this disagreeable matter.'

'With regard to the present persecution in Scotland it continues and increases every day. It is distressing to see the number of Catholics who, driven from their country, arrive at this part of France, where it would appear that Christian charity is dead. . . . There is at Paris a baroness, widow of the late Baron Crilton Maxwell, whom, after a long imprisonment, they have banished from the kingdom. Her daughters, beautiful girls, remain in Scotland, excommunicated by the ministers, and although the Queen of England has recommended her to the Queen-mother, nothing has been done for her, because charity seems banished from the court of France. I therefore beg to recommend her to your Excellency, because she is a learned, virtuous, and noble lady. There is also a Scotch gentleman, named George Mortimer, a most honourable man, and zealous in the service of God and of his country. He has given me the means to pay for publishing my narrative. May I request you to acknowledge his assistance. I have written thus to your Excellency in a very humble and common style, because I know I speak with the common Father of all. Supplicating our Lord to multiply your years,

'Your Excellency's most obliged servant and poor relation,

'F. ARCHANGEL LESLIE, Capuchin.'

The letter is interesting as a statement of facts, and as a revelation of personal character. It is certainly not the letter of a saint rejoicing, as the legendary Archangel rejoiced, in opposition and calumny as giving him fresh opportunities of merit. The criticism on the want of charity at the French court would have come ill from Archangel if it had been just at this time that the Queen, with whom the Capuchin's influence was all powerful, had procured by her good offices the restoration of his mother's estates. It is also strange to find the real Archangel—far from having his mother's wealth at his disposal on the mission—being in receipt of a pension from Colonel Sempill. The constant reference to his writings, printed or unprinted, is curious, seeing that nothing beyond this letter is now known to exist.

Archangel's case came before the Propaganda, April 22, 1631, when, on the petition of Father Leonard of Paris, 'prefect of the mission of the East and of England,' and on the testimony of Scottish Catholics, to his exemplary life and his confutation of heretics, '*per libros publice editos*,' he was acquitted, and permission granted for his return to the mission. The Capuchins at this

time held an important position in England. In February, 1630, a few weeks after the date of Archangel's Paris letter, Fathers Leonard and Joseph of Paris, and ten other Capuchin friars had been established in London, in a lodging adjoining Somerset House, as chaplains of Queen Henrietta Maria. As a matter of prudence, the other Capuchins about the country, and among them Father Epiphanius, were for the time recalled. Epiphanius, however, soon obtained permission to return to Scotland, and it is quite possible that he was the companion of Archangel on his second mission. Of the particulars of this second mission there is no authentic record.* The Father Ciprien de Gamaches, one of Queen Henrietta Maria's chaplains, who wrote *Mémoires de la Mission des Capucins près la Reine d'Angleterre*, 1630-1669, gives an account of several missionaries of his order who were his predecessors or contemporaries in England or Scotland, and is full of the praises of Epiphanius Lindsay, but says no more of Archangel than he was one of many who exercised their ministry with much edification and profit, and that his life was written under the name of the *Capucin Escossois*. We have, however, a contemporary notice of Leslie's death and burial from Father William Christie, a Jesuit, who was on the Scottish mission from 1625 to 1642, and in 1650 became Superior of the Scotch College at Douai. 'He died,' wrote Father Christie, 'in his mother's poor house, just over the river Dee, against the mill of Aboyne, and, I believe, was buried in ane old ruinous church in the way betwixt that and Kanakyle or Hunthall.'

This is not all that Father Christie has to say. We get from him the only ray of light which can be thrown upon the reception of the legend of 'Il Cappucino Scozzese' in Scotland. He was writing, November 29, 1653, when two French editions had appeared—but none with the interpolations and continuation—to

* Père Richard makes up for the deficiency by transposing the statement of Rinuccini, that Archangel made 'more than 3000 converts in eight months,' from its original place at the beginning of the first mission to this later period; and to emphasize the fact, and conceal the trick, he quotes the actual words of his authority, without, of course, their context, in a footnote.

Father Adam Gordon, then rector of the Scots College at Rome. Rumours seem to have reached Douai that there was some purpose of making a supplement to Rinuccini's book. Father Christie therefore writes: 'As to Capuchin Leslie's life it is expedient we quit us of that censure or information, seeing it is odious; and the rumour is that all those in our country, Catholics and heretics, who did know him were scandalised at that first Book, which I wish had not been printed and divulged; nor that another be put out, seeing it will more aggravate and augment the rumour of untruths; so my opinion is there be no more made or amended touching it. Father Thomson can sufficiently inform about the man. *He was zealous, but for the rest I will not write.* In his necessity before his death I got the Marchioness of Huntly to send him ten Jacobuses. He died in his mother's poor house,' etc. Surely F. Hunter Blair in editing Bellesheim's *History* should have quoted this explicit statement of F. Christie, or at least referred his readers to the supplement of Gordon's *Scoti chronicon* (Catholic Church in Scotland, p. 573) where the statement is to be found.

The Father Thomson, to whom F. Christie refers Father Gordon, was a Conventual Franciscan, then residing in his convent at Rome. Father Thomson had entered the Scots College at Rome in 1602, and perhaps was there with George Leslie, and after joining the Franciscans, was sent by them in 1613 unto Scotland, where he exercised his ministry many years. Banished from Scotland, he became one of Queen Henrietta's chaplains, and during the Civil War retired finally to Rome. It is evident that Father Christie dreaded some attempt being made in Rome, or elsewhere, under the influence of Father Gordon, to add to the legend. The extraordinary suggestion, already referred to, of the Abbé Macpherson, that 'Il Cappuccino Scozzese' was not written by Rinuccini but by Father Andrew Leslie, the Jesuit who closed the eyes of Archangel, and that the Jesuits themselves had the intention of publishing a second part if the first had taken well, or if the scandal caused in Scotland by the story, when the Capuchin's memory was fresh, had not alarmed them, scarcely deserves notice. The Jesuits may have had their faults, but such folly as this was not one of them. From

1631 to 1647, when he was thrown into prison, Andrew Leslie was labouring in the Highlands, and was not likely to have amused himself with this thoroughly Italian composition, or to have had the audacity to get it printed, under the archbishop's nose at Macerata. There is no ground, whatever, for doubting Rinuccini's authorship, nor would it ever have been doubted by anyone who knew the bibliography of the book. Moreover, there are passages in the diplomatic correspondence of Rinuccini which curiously resemble in style the language and sentiment of the biography.* The opposition of prudent men to the dissemination of the legend accounts for its never appearing in English as long as that opposition could make itself felt. The Scottish Jesuit, himself a Leslie, who compiled the *Laurus Leslæana*, printed at Gratz in 1692, says that the illustrious author of Archangel's life appears at times 'more anxious to display his eloquence than to state facts in accordance with truth.' This was perhaps as far as a Jesuit and a Leslie dared go in print. An attempt to bring out an English translation was made, it seems, in 1764. At least, a manuscript of that date, entitled *The Wonderful Life of the Count Leisley, called in religion Fr. Archangel*, formerly belonged to the English Benedictine convent at Cambrai, as appears from the MS. catalogue of their library.† The courage of the translator may have failed him, or the prudence of his superiors prevented the story going to press. It was obviously the character not of Rinuccini but of the Capuchin missionary, the real author of the greater part of the fiction, which was at stake.

There is, however, no longer any impediment in the way of the legend. It has gathered round itself a sacred tradition. A 'caterva auctorum gravium' protects it. It has been dedicated to an English Earl and a French Duchess, who should surely have known the truth; it has received innumerable approbations from bishops and doctors and inquisitors of the faith in all

* See, for example, pp. 84-85 of *The Embassy in Ireland of Mons. G. B. Rinuccini*. Translated by Annie Hutton. Dublin, 1873.

† Information kindly communicated to the writer by Mr. Joseph Gillow.

parts of Europe. They have pronounced it thoroughly sound in faith and morals, edifying and admirable. The pious archbishop's prayer has been, in large measure, fulfilled. His book has been welcomed in London and Philadelphia. Men who would now presume to cast a doubt on the story would be ready, says Father Rocco da Cesinale, to place Job and Tobit on a level with Don Quixote. *Magnum est Mendacium et prævalet.*

T. G. LAW.

ART. V.—MINERAL LEASES AND ROYALTIES.

THE problems which surround the tenure of land, and the laws relating to it, are not confined to the surface. There they are numerous enough, and have been abundantly discussed of late years. But beneath the surface there are difficulties as great, and one of the most interesting discussions of the time is that which relates to the rights of individuals in the mineral resources of the country. There is so much depending on the question, that it is worth while inquiring into the origin of property in mines, and into the character and incidence of royalties and other dues paid by the mine-worker to the land-owner, in anticipation of the completion of the task which is engaging the Royal Commission on Mining Royalties. That inquiry will not be concluded for some time yet, since it is to include examination of the conditions of the mining enterprises of foreign countries.

For the origin of property in minerals we must go back to the Roman law, under which was asserted the principle of Crown rights to minerals, and to the transference of these rights under certain conditions to the owner of the surface. The Roman Emperors, in short, claimed seigniorial rights over all lands and all mines. The subject was only a 'beneficial owner' either of the soil or of the mines, and from either occupancy a revenue was exigible for the State. It is to be observed that this claim did not amount to one of exclusive possession, and it was modified by the Emperor Gratian, in the fourth century, to an exclusive

right in all gold and silver mines, and a right to a proportion only (usually one-tenth) of the produce of all other mines.

This seems ancient history, but it is to these Roman regulations that we must trace the present Crown claims to the precious metals, the landowners' property in other mines, and the royalty system generally. That the Roman law was not universally observed, however, is inferred from the existence of various local customs in mining which in time have become modified by statute-law. Such local customs have been taken as evidence of a former condition when mining was free. The result is that we have in our present system a combination of privileges derived from concessions of Crown rights to the people, and of local custom extended and confirmed partly by royal prerogative and partly by feudal tenure. Thus it has come to pass that for centuries under English law, the right to the minerals is reserved by the lord of the manor. The rights of the Crown gradually disappeared before those of private proprietors, and if there ever did exist an older system of common rights in the soil, it has never been recognised in English law, the spirit of which is quite opposed to common property.

It was, we believe, in 1568, that the respective rights of the Crown and of private individuals were first made the subject of a decision in the courts of law. The case was that of the Queen (Elizabeth) against the Earl of Northumberland, regarding the right to the produce of certain mines in Cumberland, and the decision of the judges was that the royal rights pertained only to mines containing gold and silver, and that all the baser minerals belonged to the individual landowner. As gold and silver, when found in this country at all, are usually in combination with other metals, it became necessary to define the respective rights more clearly. In subsequent statutes the private ownership of mines was confirmed as regards copper, tin, iron, and lead, even when the mines contained gold and silver also. There was a right of pre-emption of the minerals by the Crown, which has long ceased to be exercised, and is practically a dead letter. And thus in England, private property in minerals, except gold and silver, is as firmly established as private property in land.

The origin of royalty must be traced to the regulation of the

Emperor Gratian above mentioned. Under it the worker of the mine had to pay to the State one-tenth of the produce of the mine. If the worker was not the owner, he had to pay a like proportion to the latter. Thus, as the payments were in proportion to the yield, they were on the same principle as existing royalties. In the earliest mining leases this condition has not been discovered, although it soon appeared. In Galloway's *History of Coal Mining* it is stated that the earliest coal leases known are those granted by the monks of Tynemouth about 1330, and that these were on the basis of a certain fixed annual rent, without any stipulation as to the quantity of mineral to be worked.

'But,' says this historian, 'the necessity of making the quantity of coal drawn from the mine bear a fixed relation to the amount of rent paid, soon became felt, and as early as the middle of the fourteenth century provisions were introduced for this purpose. At first this was effected by simply limiting the quantity of coal which might be worked. Thus, in a lease of five mines at Whickham, made by the Bishop of Durham in 1356, it was stipulated that the lessees might not draw from each mine more than one keel (21 tons) per day. The arrangement of limiting the quantity of coal to be worked was a plan usually adopted in leases until the introduction of the more improved modern method of having both a fixed and a sliding, or tonnage, rent, which makes the amount of rent to be in exact proportion to the quantity of coal worked.'

We have traced the origin both of private property in minerals and of what is called the royalty system. It remains now to consider that system and some of its accompaniments, and in this consideration we shall avail ourselves of the labours of Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell, and Professor Sorley of Cardiff, both of whom have thrown much light upon a subject which has always been somewhat obscure to outsiders.

Royalty may be regarded as a distribution of purchase-price over the term of production. That is to say, the mineral lessee pays to the mineral owner (landlord) so much per ton for the mineral as he works it, but not until he brings it to bank. It is a matter of bargain between two parties, each of whom may be presumed to

know his own wants and the conditions of current competition. But there are some other considerations which make royalty somewhat different both from deferred purchase and from agricultural rent.

In the first place, a mine becomes deteriorated by every ton of mineral removed, and therefore the royalty must be framed to protect the landlord against too rapid exhaustion. Again, as the lessee might deprive the landlord of income for a succession of years by not working the mine at all, it is necessary for the landlord's protection to charge, besides royalty, a certain fixed rent for the property. And lastly, a mine may be deteriorated by the contiguity of a mine belonging to another landlord but worked by the same lessee, and this necessitates the protection of what are called way-leaves. All three classes of payment may fall upon one mineral lessee, according to bargain, but they are so inter-dependent that we must consider them as all part of the royalty system.

Thus, the certain fixed impost, or 'dead-rent' as it is called, is not, unless as a comparatively small sum in exceptional cases, charged in addition to royalty, but in this way: The landlord calculates the minimum yield upon which he ought to obtain an income if the mine be regularly worked, and taking that minimum at the rate per ton agreed for royalty, defines the 'dead-rent' under the lease. This is the theory, but in effect, the landlord says, 'I must have so much per annum whether you work the mine or not.' If he names £500 a year as dead-rent, and the royalty be fixed at 6d. per ton, then the lessee pays no royalty for the first 20,000 tons he puts out, but he has to pay the £500 even if he puts out none at all. On the other hand, as soon as the quantity which covers the dead-rent is exceeded (20,000 tons), the landlord must be paid 6d. for every additional ton extracted in the year. It is usual to make provision in a mining-lease, that if the lessee does not extract enough in one year to cover the dead-rent, he may make up the 'shortage' by working the deficient quantity in another year without royalty. In some cases this privilege only extends to the next year; in others, 'shorts' may be made up in the next four or five years; and in others, they may be worked off in any subsequent year of the lease. In general, however, five years is about the

period allowed for covering 'shorts.' It should be said, also, that 'dead-rent' is sometimes so calculated as to do away with royalty altogether. Thus, in Cleveland, the practice is to calculate the dead-rent on the total productivity of the mine at the current royalty, divided by the number of years of the lease, and on the assumption that the mine will be exhausted at the end of the lease.

Royalty is estimated at so much per ton of mineral extracted. This is the practice in nearly all the coal districts, at any rate, but in South Yorkshire and South Staffordshire the custom is different. There the coal-fields are leased by the acre, on an estimate of the quantity of coal which each acre will yield. It is thus royalty by footage instead of by tonnage.

The tonnage royalty is the most common and the most easily understood. It varies according to locality, and is dominated by a variety of circumstances, such as the quality of the mineral and the thickness of the strata, the freedom from 'faults,' the accessibility of markets, and so forth. From the evidence laid before the Royal Commission on Trade and from other sources, it appears that the present royalty on coal in Northumberland is from 4d. to 4½d. per ton; in South Wales, about 9d.; in Staffordshire, from 6d. to 10d. On ironstone, in Cleveland the royalty is 6d. to 7d. as a rule, although in some mines a good deal less; and in Cumberland, on the rich hematite ores, it is now about 2s., although it has been as high as 10s., per ton.

The subject of wayleaves is rather complicated with the technicalities of 'instroke,' 'outstroke,' and 'shaft.' Waiving these, however, it may be said that wayleaves are payable when the way is granted over or under the surface of land which is not being mined, or through a mine which is being worked. To put it simply: a lessee pays no wayleave to the lessee of a property he is mining, but if he takes a lease of an adjoining royalty, and brings the mineral from that through the first mine, then he has to pay the lessee of the first mine a certain tonnage. The payment may be divided into 'instroke' for bringing the material through the barrier between the two mines, 'wayleave' for conveying it underground, and 'shaft' for bringing it up to the surface on the property of the first lessee. It is usual, however, to

combine the three payments in one sum, which in Northumberland collieries is said to average rather under one-halfpenny per ton. The exaction of these payments is justified on the ground that the removal of the barrier deteriorates the mine, and renders it liable to be invaded by water or gas from the neighbouring mine.

The payment often exacted for leave to convey minerals across or under ground which is not being mined, has not the same justification, and this is a species of wayleave which, although nominally a matter of bargain, is really at the dictation of the neighbouring proprietor whose property has to be traversed. It is often a very onerous burden on the mineral worker, and has sometimes been so onerous as to compel the closing of mines.

Besides some or all of these charges upon the mineral extracted, the lessee has usually to compensate the owner for use of, and injury done to, the surface.

The Royal Commission will doubtless ascertain with exactitude what has never been quite authoritatively stated—the total amount of royalties and mineral rents in the United Kingdom. Some estimates have, however, been attempted from time to time. Thus, Sir Bernhard Samuelson calculated that in the 37 years from 1850 to 1886, the Cleveland royalties on ironstone would be £2,900,000, and the coal royalties in the same district, in the same period, £2,450,000. But in 1886 the ironstone royalties are said to have yielded £120,000, and the coal royalties £100,000, in that one district and in one year alone. Then, in South Wales, the coal royalties have been estimated by Mr. W. Abraham at £600,000 per annum, on the basis of a royalty of 9d. per ton on an output of 16 million tons. Again, Mr. C. M. Percy, who two or three years ago published a pamphlet on 'Mine Rents and Mining Royalties' from a miner's point of view, estimated the whole coal royalties of the United Kingdom at £5,500,000 per annum, on the basis of an average royalty of 8d. per ton on a total production of 160 million tons; and the whole ironstone royalty at £500,000, on the basis of an average royalty of 9d. per ton on a total production of 16 million tons. These, however, are only estimates, although made by experts, and it is to be expected that the Royal Commission will obtain definite facts and figures.

Sir Lowthian Bell estimated a few years ago (see his work on *Manufacture of Iron and Steel*) that the total royalties paid before a ton of pig-iron can be manufactured,—*i.e.*, for coal, ironstone, and limestone,—amounted to 3s. 6d. in Cleveland, to 6s. in Scotland, and to 6s. 3d. in Cumberland. These rates were compared by him with 6d. per ton paid in Germany, 8d. in France, and 1s. 3d. or 1s. 4d. in Belgium. It is not certain, however, that this comparison is a fair one, because, although these figures represent approximately the State royalties of the countries named, the mineral workers of the Continent have often,—and to a greater extent than is commonly supposed,—to pay very much more to *concessionaires*, who have leased the mines from the Governments and sub-let them. This also is a matter on which the Royal Commission will be expected to throw new light.

The extent to which royalty enters into the price of the product is very ably discussed by Professor Sorley. The conclusion he arrives at is that, unlike agricultural rent, royalty does enter into price, although not to the full amount of the royalty as has been sometimes assumed. ‘The price of the product,’ he says, ‘depends upon the expense of production in the least advantageous circumstances,—in the worst mine, that is, which requires to be worked to meet the demand. Such worst mine pays a royalty, and this royalty payment enters into the expenses of production, and goes to determine price. Royalties on other mines of the same kind, so far as they exceed this minimum royalty (as it may be called), do not enter into the expenses of production, and therefore do not affect price.’

On this theory, the prices of coal and ironstone are only affected to the extent of about 4d. per ton,—which may be taken as the minimum charge,—by our royalty system. This may be so, but the subject has not yet been sufficiently investigated. And then, besides royalties, there are the wayleaves and other burdens which must to some extent affect prices, and which have not the same just basis as royalties.

We are inclined to think that the burden of present royalties upon our industries has been very much over-estimated, even if it be not so comparatively small as Professor Sorley argues. But

where the royalty is manifestly unjust,—and unjust, as may happen, to either party,—is in being measured by a fixed sum per ton of output, irrespective of price. In times of depressed trade such as we lately had, when the prices of everything became abnormally low, the royalties pressed most severely, and often ruinously, upon the mineral workers. On the other hand, in inflated times like 1871-3, the mineral workers were not paying to the owners a fair price in comparison with what they were obtaining. To be perfectly equitable, a royalty chargeable upon the output should be graded according to the selling price of the mineral at some agreed centre.

In France, Germany and Spain, the owner of the surface has not necessarily a claim to the minerals underneath. They belong either to the State or to some *concessionaire* of the State, who may perhaps be also the surface-owner. Anyone, however, may obtain a concession on reporting a mine, and he need not even be a citizen of the country. This was not the intention in France, at anyrate, when minerals were nationalised in 1789, although it has become the practice.

A *concessionaire* in these countries obtains full possession of the property. In France, according to an official report quoted by Mr. Sorley, 'An act of concession confers a right of perpetual property in a mine, and gives to the mine with its buildings, engines, pits, galleries, houses, materials, tools and utensils, the quality of real property.' In Germany, according to 'Reports on Mining Rents,' 'the permit, the so-called *Bergwerkseigenthum*, which issues from the leasing in conformity with the mining law, of the minerals taken away from the possession of the owner of the soil, conveys the absolute right, in conformity with the mining law, to work for the mineral mentioned in the license, within the prescribed area; and to erect, above and below ground, any apparatus necessary thereto. The right is, therefore, a peculiar one, and one differing essentially from the general conceptions of personal property, which should rather be classed as real property.' In Spain the law is similar.

Under a concession, the *concessionaire* has to meet certain charges made by the Government. Besides these, he has to bear the necessary expenses of marking off the claim and making out

the lease; and he has to recompense the owner of the surface for injury done to the land. In some cases rents have to be paid to the surface-owners, as in Anhalt, where the lessee has to pay the owner of the soil 6 per cent. of the gross produce, in addition to the royalty paid to the State. In France the landlord's dues are even more onerous.

As regards the payments to the State, those in Spain are the smallest, where the object is to attract capital to the mining industries of the country. The payment is not proportioned to the output, but is a small annual charge proportioned to the area worked. The State charge in France is a yearly rent of 10 francs per square kilometre, and a royalty of five per cent. on the net produce or profit of the mine. The State charge in Germany is 2 per cent. on the gross value of the output, but there is no royalty on iron ore. In Belgium, the State charge is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the profit of the mine.

The incidence of these charges was illustrated by Sir Lowthian Bell thus: If the selling price of coal in Germany be 6s. per ton, the royalty will be less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.; in France, if the profit of the manufacturer of pig-iron be 2s. per ton, the royalty will amount to less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ton on the coal and ore used; in Belgium, the royalty on coal is equal to about $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per ton, and on ironstone from $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 2s. per ton. The combined effect on the price of a ton of pig-iron made in these countries would thus be: in Germany, 6d.; in France, 8d.; and in Belgium, from 1s. 3d. to 4s.

But these are the State dues only, and this calculation does not take into account the charges of the surface-owners for rent and compensation. And then, as a matter of fact, these royalties are only payable by the original *cessionnaires*, and there is yet no evidence of what the working lessees in turn actually pay to the *cessionnaires*. Indeed, the Continental *cessionnaire* seems to be pretty much in the position of the English landlord, and extracts the biggest royalty he can.

A case which illustrates this was cited before the Royal Commission on Trade. It was that of one of the iron mines of the Bilbao district, a rich mine in which a royalty of something like 2s. per ton was being paid by a Company on the hematite ores

extracted. This was not paid to the Government, but to a *concessionaire*, who held the mine from the State for a mere nominal payment.

These are some facts which are not generally known, apparently, by those who support arguments for the nationalisation of minerals by appeals to the low State royalties of foreign nations. It has yet to be shown that the mineral workers of the Continent are really less burdened than the mineral workers of this country, and, indeed, it remains to be proved that royalty enters at all into the question of international competition.

While on these points it may be well to reserve judgment until the Royal Commission has reported, a word of warning may not be amiss. The demand for the total abolition of mining royalties could not be met, in any land whose code of morals includes honesty and justice, without compensation to existing owners. Compensation implies purchase, and purchase would involve an enormous amount of State money which could not be invested thus without return. In other words, the State would have to impose such charges as would probably exceed the present average of royalties paid to private owners.

But more than this. Supposing royalties could be altogether abolished without the re-imposition of any equivalent State burden on the mining industry, what would be the effect? It would be this: one section of the country would be receiving a bonus at the expense of another. Thus, for example, Wales would receive a benefit of 9d. per ton in her coal-fields, while Durham, Northumberland, and Yorkshire, would receive a benefit of only about 4d. per ton. This would imply the practical destruction of several of our most important coal-fields, and the complete dislocation of the whole industrial system of the country.

Since the foregoing was written the Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, presided over by Lord Northbrook, has issued Minutes of Evidence taken up to the 30th March, 1891. Needless to say that the testimony is somewhat conflicting, and a good deal may not be considered as supporting what we have advanced. A discussion of the evidence, however, is scarcely desirable

until the Commission have reported on it. They have not yet completed their inquiry in the United Kingdom, and have afterwards to examine into the terms and conditions under which mining enterprise is conducted in India, the colonies, and foreign countries. As to the incidence of royalty, however, it may be noted that one witness said that the lowest rate in Scotland is 4d., and the highest 10d., 'gross'—his own opinion being that the average will be from 7d. to 8d. per ton. Other evidence points to an average of 6d. This same witness, a Secretary to one of the Unions of Miners, expressed for himself and those whom he represented, the opinion that mining royalties ought *not*, in the interest of the workers, to be abolished altogether, although he favoured the transference of them to the State. A Northumbrian witness submitted a calculation showing that 80 per cent. of the Northumberland mines pay an average of 3·84d. per ton for royalty, 0·15d. for 'outstroke,' 0·08d. for 'shaft,' and 0·09d. for surface wayleave; in all, an average of 4·16d. per ton, which agrees pretty well with the estimate taken in the body of this article. It is but right to add that other estimates are a good deal higher. As regards the incidence of royalties upon competition between English and foreign coal, Mr. John Daglish, President of the North of England Institute of Mining Engineers, put in calculations to show that these imposts have really no effect on the selling price to foreigners.

BEN. TAYLOR.

ART. VI.—CERTAIN NATIONAL NAMES OF THE
ABORIGINES OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

Being the Sixth Rhind Lecture.

NOW that we have gone through a certain amount of detail, we are in a position to return to the further consideration of some of the most important national names associated with these islands. You have already heard something of Scots and Picts, of Ivernians and Cruithnians; but there were other names which were once widely spread, and one of them

makes its appearance in Ireland, in South Wales, and up here in the neighbourhood of the Forth. In the Welsh Chronicle, known as the *Annales Cambriæ*, and written in Latin, St. Davids, in the south-west corner of Wales, is called *Moni*, which is in Welsh *Mynyw*, made in Irish into *Muine* or *Kill Muine*. The traditional Latin, however, for *Mynyw* is *Menevia*, and not *Moni*, which was clearly a form derived from an old Irish source. Further, in the Welsh Chronicle it is not simply called *Moni*, but *Moni Iudeorum*, just as if it had been called after a settlement of Jews. That is, however, merely an accident, and I take the name to imply a native form, *Iudeu*, which appears as the designation, or rather one of the designations, of a people in these islands. A life of St. David describes a contest between him and a certain chieftain near St. Davids, called *Boia*. He is termed a *Pict*, and sometimes a *Scot*; he probably came, or his ancestors before him had come, from the south of Ireland, and he may well be supposed to have been one of the people who gave rise to the designation in the Chronicle for St. Davids, namely, *Moni Iudeorum*, the authenticity of which is favoured by the fact of its coming from an Irish source, as an Irish writer had less temptation to err, than a Welsh one, in respect of invaders from Ireland. In that island the name figures in literature as *Ith*, genitive *Ithe*, as in *Mag Ithe*, 'the Plain or Field of Ith,' a name applied to several localities in Ireland. They were usually supposed to be so called after a certain ancestor named *Ith*. Now, as all the peoples of ancient Erin were commonly regarded as descendants either of *Emer* or of *Erem*, there was no room left for him, but he was somewhat inconsistently allowed to remain as an uncle to the twin ancestors; several *Ithian* tribes figure in Irish history, and to them belonged the *O'Driscols*, whose territory consisted of the south-west of what is now the county of *Cork*. In Scotland we have the name of *Ith*, possibly in that of the Island of *Tiree*, which *Adamnan* calls *Terra Heth*, of which allied forms occur drawn from other sources. The name *Mag Ithe* enters into Irish mythography pretty largely: thus the first battle fought in Ireland, namely, between *Partholon* and his foes, took place on a *Mag Ithe*, and the contest

between the powers of light and the demons of the cold and the damp that blight the cornfield is also fought out on a *Mag Ithe*. So well known, indeed, seems to have been this name that it found its way into the literature of the ancient Norsemen, who plundered these islands in the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth centuries, for when the Eddic poem of the *Volospá* makes the *Anses*, after their grand disaster, reappear in a new order of things, the scene of their meeting is a place called the *Field of Ith* :—

‘ I behold Earth rise again with its evergreen forests out of the deep ; the waters fall in rapids ; above hovers the eagle, that fisher of the falls. The *Anses* meet on *Itha*-plain, they talk of the mighty Earth-serpent, and remember the great decrees, and the ancient mysteries of *Fimbul-ty*.’

The form implied in the *Welsh Chronicle* was *Iudeu*, and I mentioned that this name is also found associated with this part of the island, so a few words must now be devoted to it. It is right first to state, however, that it occurs in a *Welsh* poem called the *Gododin*, which is one of the most obscure compositions within the range of *Welsh* literature, so that nobody must be surprised at a very considerable difference of opinion as to the meaning of the passage in which the name occurs. The lines run as follows :—

‘ Tra merin iodeo trileo
Yg caat tri guaid fraidus leo
Bribon a guoreu bar deo.’

This has been rendered by *Mr. Thomas Stephens*, in his posthumous *Gododin*, thus :—

‘ While there was a drop they were like three lions in purpose ;
In the battle, three brave, prompt, active lions.
Bribon, who wielded the thick lance,’ etc., etc.

All that can be said in favour of this translation is that most of us have probably known lions of the kind described by *Mr. Stephens* ; but the fact that in order to render three lines of seven syllables each he gives us *English* ones respectively of 14, 10, and 8, is sufficient to raise a strong suspicion that the translator was hopelessly guessing the sense of a passage which he could not render word for word. It would, however,

be hardly fair to criticise another without giving one's own guesses: I make the passage to mean something like this:

' Over the Firth of Iodeo brave
In war thrice a raging lion
Bribon wrought the wrath of God.'

Without going into details, I may say that my rendering, such as it is, is literal, and makes the poet compare his hero to a raging lion, making three death-spreading charges on the ranks of his enemies: this he calls executing 'the wrath of God.' I take *merin* to mean *marina* as a late Latin word for an estuary or stormy frith, and Merin Iodeo would accordingly apply to the Firth of Forth, which is called in an old Irish document, quoted by Reeves in his *Culdees* (p. 124), Muir n-Giudan, the Sea of Giuda or Giude. But the genitive *Giudan* in that form was probably more English than Goidelic, and the whole might have been in the Latin of Bede *Mare Giudi*, for he has an *Urbs Giudi* situated in the Firth of Forth. Bede's *Giudi* is undoubtedly to be identified with Nennius' *Iudeu*, whether or not Bæda's town was the same as that which Nennius had in view. The latter speaks of it in connection with the war between Penda and Osuiu. The latter is compelled to give up the wealth which he had with him in the town called Iudeu to Penda, who distributed it among his allies, the kings of the Brythons; and this, says the writer, is *Atbret Iudeu*. That term would seem to mean the indemnity of Iudeu, that is to say the indemnity paid by Iudeu. All this agrees very well with the supposition that *Iudeu* meant some of the Picts; and then when the Brython spoken of by Aneurin, was wreaking 'the wrath of God' on his foes beyond *Merin Iodeo*, it means that he was fighting against the Picts beyond the Forth, and for *Merin Iodeo* we have only to substitute a name of the Firth of Forth well-known to Scotch history, namely, Scottis See and Scottewattre.* In any case Iudeu was a widely spread name, as we have already seen in

* So in the 'Description of Scotland' (A.D. 1165) printed in Skene's *Chron. of the Picts and Scots*, p. 136: it corresponds to an O. English nominative, *Scotta wæter*.

tracing it from Erinn to Menevia, to Tiree and the neighbourhood of the Forth.

The name Pict has already been unavoidably mentioned more than once in these lectures, but I wish now to devote a few further remarks to this national appellation of an ancient people of Britain. But this, perhaps, may seem to you to beg the question, for the question, or at any rate one of the questions, which the word Pict raises, is this: did any people call themselves Picts, or was it merely a nickname given by the Romans and the Roman provincials to a people whom they wished to indicate as *picti* or painted men? That question then resolves itself to this: is the word Pict the Latin word *pictus* or not? It is worthy of note at the outset that the word, whatever it may have meant, is hardly to be severed from the name of the Pictones of ancient Gaul, who have left their name to Poitou and Poitiers: in fact the Picts appear to have been themselves called Pictones.* But the name Pictones is not Latin, nor can it well be a Celtic formation from the Latin *pictus*, for the Pictones of Gaul were outside the Roman province when Julius Cæsar came there; and this was at a time when the Latinization of Celtic names cannot have proceeded beyond the limits of Roman sway. So the name of the Pictones and their city of Pictava were not Latin, and so far there is no reason to suppose that the probably kindred form which the Romans treated as *Pictus*, plural *Picti*, was Latin either. The word is familiar here in Scotland in its various forms, one of which I understand to be *Pecht*, and it is hard to believe that it is merely a term borrowed from Latin literature. We may go further and state that on the historical side, so to say, there is very good evidence that *Pecht* cannot have been derived from the Romans, and that is, the testimony of Norse literature. When the Norsemen approached the northern shores of Britain, they seem to have called Caithness and Sutherland the land of the *Pechts* or *Petta-land*, so that the sea washing its northern shores became to them the *Pettalands fiorth*, or the *Firth of the*

* See Windisch's article entitled *Keltische Sprachen* in Ersch & Gruber's Encyclopædia, xxxv. 136, and Müller's *Ptolemy* (Paris, 1883), i. 94.

Land of the Pechts; but when they proceeded towards the south, that is to the Hebrides, they came to what they called Scotland's fiorth, or the Firth of the land of the Scots, the land, that is to say, of the Dalriad Scots, who had extended themselves far north of Argyle by that time. Similarly, when on the east side, the Norsemen reached the Dornoch Firth, they may have come across Picts who had linguistically become Goidels, that is, in other words, ceased to count for them as Picts at all. Now, is it likely that the Norse pirates, approaching the extreme north of this island, came there knowing that the Romans had, in their own tongue, nicknamed the inhabitants of that portion of it *Picts* or painted men? It is far more probable that they learned the name of the Pechts from the islanders of the Faroes, the Shetlands, or the Orkneys, or else from the inhabitants of the mainland themselves.

The Pechtland, which the Norsemen made into Pettaland, is the name which has yielded the modern form Pentland, as applied to the sea on the coast of Caithness, and this must recall to you the name of the Pentland Hills; but the identity of form is a mere coincidence. At any rate, it is hard to believe it to be anything more; for it is very irregular to make Pettaland into Pentland, with an inexplicable *n* in the first element of the compound, so that it would be too much to ask one to believe this irregularity to have exactly reproduced itself at the two extremes of the northern kingdom. As to the name of the Pentland Hills, it occurs sometimes without the *t*,* and this probably brings us nearer to the original, which was possibly a Brythonic compound beginning with the word *pen*, 'a head, end, or top.' In that case the *n* belonged originally to the name of the Hills; and whether sailors from the

* For instance, in Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, as edited by Dr. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871), vol. i., p. 284; and at p. 292 he gives the spelling *Pentheland*. The *tl* of the present spelling probably got a footing in the name as a sort of representation of the sound written *ll* in Welsh, which Englishmen frequently imagine to be *thl*. The like is probably the history also of the *tl* in another name in these parts, that, to wit, of *Pencaitland*.

south of Scotland may not have made some such a form as Pettland into Pentland, thinking they had come across a name already familiar to them, I cannot say, as I am ignorant with regard to the later history of the name of the Firth. But we have here two fixed points, the Norse Pettaland and the modern Pentland, the former of which, involving Pecht, 'Pict,' reduced to *Pett-* by the usual Norse process of assimilating the consonants, proves that the Norsemen found the people of the northern extremity of the island called Pechts. The name applied, doubtless, in this instance, to the representatives of Ptolemy's small tribes of the Lugi, Smertae, Decantae, Cornavii, Carnouacæ, and possibly others; not that there is any reason to suppose that it was by any means confined to them. Moreover, the Norse use of the word serves to bring out clearly a distinction between the Pechts, who probably still spoke their own native tongue, and the Goidelicizing Scots, who had extensively spread their language along the western coast, and possibly across country to Inverness.

So much as to the historical impossibility of identifying the word Pict or Pecht with the Latin *pictus*: there is also a phonetic difficulty, which is still more decisive. Not only was the Norse word *Pett*, and the Early English *Pect*, but the Welsh was *Peithwyr* (in the plural), which occurs in the Book of Taliessin. This *Peith-wyr* is a compound, meaning literally Pict-men, and the syllable *peith*, which represents Pict, is to be found also in the *Gododin*, where allusion is made to *Wid*, son of *Peithan*. Now, *Wid* is a well known Pictish name, and *Peithan* seems to be a derivative from the word for Pict. The name *Peithan* also occurs in *Inis-Peithan*, 'Peithan's Isle,' a name given in the twelfth century manuscript of the *Liber Landavensis*, to a place in the diocese of Llandaff; and there we are probably to trace it to the conquest of the coasts of the Severn Sea by men from the South of Ireland. With this appearance of *Peith* in a man's name may be compared compounds such as *Pect-helm*, in which the Angles ruling over the Galloway Picts sometimes indulged. Lastly, some of the translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth into Welsh seem to prove that *Pictavia*, meaning the country of the Picts, had a Welsh

form *Peitheu*, or *Peithyw*, or, *Peithaw*, which they confounded, under the form *Peitaw*, with the Continental Poitou: the former, according to Geoffrey, was the realm of Melwas, whose subjects, if we follow his story, were the Picts of the North, though, in point of fact, the country whence they came must have been the South of Ireland, that is, supposing the Melwas story to involve a historical element. Now, the Welsh forms with *peith* cannot be derived from a form Pict: it must be Pect-, which is favoured by the Scotch Pecht, the Anglo-Saxon Peohtas, and the Norse Petta-. Though the Welsh form is utterly at variance with the Latin one *Pictus*, there is, as will be seen later, evidence of an Irish form with *i*; but whether you suppose the first syllable as heard by the Romans to have been Pict (Picht) or Pect (Pecht), the difference was scarcely so great as to have prevented them from identifying the word with the Latin participle *pictus*. Whether the same influence of a mistaken etymology is to be detected in the spelling of the name of the Pictones of the Continent is not clear; but the better spelling of that name is vindicated by the *oi* of the French Poitiers and Poitou; for this diphthong comes from an *ē* which is actually found in Ptolemy's Πηκτόνιον "Ἄκρον, a promontory somewhere on the coast of Poitou. On the Continent, then, the vowel proves to have been not an *i* but an *e*, which the Romans, following Latin analogy, would be led to lengthen before the consonantal combination *ct*. In the Brythonic dialects it remained short, so that here we set out from *Pect*.

The name was, as already surmised, owned by the aborigines of North Britain; but I fancy that I detect traces of it also in Ireland, namely, in the form Cecht with its *p* changed into *c*, which is known to have been done in a small number of borrowed words like *caisg* for *pascha*, 'passover or Easter,' and the like. Cecht, however, only occurs as part of the proper names Dian Cecht and Mac Cecht. The former, Dian Cecht, literally means the Swift one of Cecht, and it was borne by a remarkable character in Irish legend, which makes him the great physician of the Tuatha Dé Danann. The other, namely, Mac Cecht, whose designation means Son of Cecht, was the name

of one of the three kings ruling over Erin when the Milesians came and conquered them ; and it was Mac Cecht who had to wife the Queen whose name Fodla was mentioned in a previous lecture as a name forming part of that of Athole, in its older form of Ath-Fodla. Another Mac Cecht figures very prominently in the tragic story of the death of Conaire Mór, where he acts as his king's swift servant in all kinds of emergencies. The two Mac Cechts are not identified in any way in Irish literature, though it may be that at bottom the two stories are versions of one and the same event, whether of history or myth.

Unless I am mistaken, this vocable occurs in place-names in Scotland, namely, in the form of Keith (written also Keth, to wit, by Fordun), as in Dalkeith and Keith Humbie, on this side of the Firth of Forth, Inverkeithing (written *Inverkeithin* by Fordun) on the other side of it, and Inch Keith in the middle of it, also Keith Inch at Peterhead, Keith Hall at Inverurie, and the town of Keith in the county of Banff. The phonetic treatment of *ch* in these instances would be much the same as in *Alyth*, for the older form *Aleecht*, occurring in the Life of St. Modwenna. The Welsh form directly corresponding to Cecht is, as already suggested, Peith, liable to be made into Paith in Modern Welsh: two instances of it are known to me in Cardiganshire, one in Dyffryn Paith, 'the Vale of Paith,' and the other in Peithnant, 'Peith Brook,' one of the tributaries of the Rheidol; and possibly *Peithyll*, near Aberystwyth, may be of the same origin. These names suggest the question, who the Pict was that was here meant: was it the Pre-Celtic native of that district or an invader from the North? Probably neither, but the Pict from the South of Ireland who left his name to the Pict's Isle, called in Irish, *Inis Picht*, now corrupted into Spike Island, in Cork harbour. His was the race represented by Boia at St. Davids, and, on the other side of the Severn Sea, by such enemies of Arthur's as Melwas and his men, so far as they belonged to history. Besides the Cecht to which Keith and Peith seem to point, Irish glossaries give a vocable *cicht*, which they explain to have meant 'a carver or engraver.' This I take to be

another attempt to Goidelicize Pict or Picht, and I further gather from it that there was a tradition that Pict meant one who carves or cuts; but in what sense it would be hard to say, though I should suggest it to have been in that of 'a great slaughterer or mighty warrior.*' In any case, the name was doubtless meant by those who bore it, to be complimentary to them. This, though a mere hypothesis, will be found to explain two or three other important names to be discussed as we proceed.

Such are the reasons which compel me to give up the idea of connecting the name of the ancient Picts with the Latin participle, and in one respect I regret having to do so; for if, as you must see, we could accept the Latin etymology, then there would be no difficulty in answering the question what the name meant: it could not have been other than painted or tattooed, and one could at once quote Claudian's vivid description of the Roman legionary scanning the figures punctured with iron on the body of the fallen Pict at his feet: the lines are familiar to all readers of Latin literature:

' Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis
Quæ Scotto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exsanguis Picto moriente figuras.'

At first sight one might be inclined to suppose that the poet was representing a fact in his allusion to the tattooing, but unfortunately we are not warranted in supposing that he drew his inspiration from any deeper source than the popular etymology of the name Pictus, interpreted as a Latin word. If, then, Claudian's words are to be discarded in this way, what evidence, you may ask, is there left that the Picts habitually discoloured their skins? There is no evidence, so far as I know, that they did so, or did so to a greater extent at any rate than their neighbours, and this last qualification is of importance. For we know from Cæsar's Commentaries that the Brythons of southern Britain painted themselves with woad for battle; and

* This was perhaps the first meaning, and that of *carver* merely what it took in the hands of a glossary-maker influenced by the belief that the Picts were so called from their tattooing themselves.

from Pliny that their women painted themselves black as Ethiopians for certain religious ceremonies. Nay, one might add that, as late as the fifth century, there were Saxons who painted themselves blue—at any rate if we may trust Sidonius, bishop of Clermont. In all this there is nothing to surprise us, as there are Saxons even now, and Celts too, for the matter of that, who think it nice to have recourse to painting: our sailors adhere to the old custom of tattooing, while the fair sex show their superior taste in contenting themselves with a less glaring hue fixed less deeply in the skin. But the choice of red, of whatever shade, is not to be supposed modern or even comparatively modern, as the finding of pellets of a certain red pigment in some of the most ancient burial mounds of Britain is supposed to indicate. The friends of the departed dandy took care to provide him wherewithal to make a decent appearance among his peers in the other world, that other world being supposed to be much like the present one: the paint would be required there because, as it is urged, it was required in this.

One might, of course, be told that the Picts tattooed themselves, whereas the ancient Brythons of Cæsar's time only painted themselves for battle or ceremonial functions; or else that the latter having given up wholly the luxury of paint in the course of their imitation of Roman fashions during the Roman occupation, it was retained by the Picts, so that it became one of their conspicuous characteristics. All this would be intelligible, but where are the facts? I cannot think of any except one, and that is one which makes for the contrary view. I allude to the negative testimony of Gildas, who was, as already pointed out, a Brython who hated both Picts and Scots. He speaks of them as 'tetri Scottorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte dissidentes, sed una eademque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordēs, furciferosque magis vultus pilis, quam corporum pudenda, pudendis proxima, vestibus tegentes.' He remarks, as you will have noticed, on the hairyness of their faces, and he takes care to notice the absence of the breeks, still supposed to characterize Highlanders, but never a word does he say of paint or tattoo, though

nothing could have pleased him more than to expatiate on any trait or custom of theirs which would have enabled him to hold them up to ridicule or detestation. To my mind this silence on the part of Gildas, this negative evidence of his, is proof positive that neither Picts nor Scots were in the habit in his time of discolouring their skins to any greater extent than his own people and neighbouring nations.

The word Cruithne, which passes as the Goidelic equivalent of Pict, would seem to be a Celtic word, and a late Irish scribe explains it as identical in its connotation with the name Pict, according to his interpretation of the latter, for he says that the Cruithni were so called from the *crotha*, (plural of *cruth*, 'form') or forms of animals which they had painted on their bodies. This is probably based on the common interpretation of the other word Pict. It does not, however, follow of necessity that two names of one and the same people had one and the same meaning. At first sight Dugald MacFirbis might be thought right in deriving Cruithne from *cruth*, as it goes on all fours with the Welsh equivalent Prydein or Prydyn, meaning Scotland, or rather Pictland, and derived from *pryd*, 'form,' which is the exact etymological equivalent of the Irish *cruth*. But, in the first place, it by no means follows that Cruithne meant a man with the forms of animals delineated on his skin; for it might just as well be supposed, so far as this etymology goes, that it meant, for instance, a man of form, that is, of goodly form: let us say *formosus*. In the next place there is a preliminary objection of a grave nature to this etymology *in toto*, namely, that it accounts for too few of the elements of the word Cruithne, for it is in fact somewhat the same as if you explained the English word *tinder* by referring to the English word *tin*, whilst leaving entirely out of consideration the old verb *tind*, 'to kindle.' What, then, we want is an etymology that will take into account not the *cruith*, but the *cruithn* of the word *Cruithne*, and the corresponding Welsh *Prydein*. Unfortunately there is, so far as I know, only one Celtic word that could be of any help to us, and that is the old Irish word for wheat, namely, *cruithnecht*, now written *cruithneachd*, and *curnaght*, in Highland and Manx Gaelic respectively.

It probably means simply 'that which is reaped or cut,' and comes from the same root as Lithuanian *kertù*, 'I cut.' Old Bulgarian *chrütati*, 'to cut;' Sanskrit *kart*, 'cut, hew,' *kartana*, 'the act of cutting,' and *kartani*, 'a pair of scissors or shears.' If this, then, be approximately the etymology of the word, and if the term Pict involved a reference to carving or cutting, it is but natural to infer that *Cruithne* only acquired the force of a national name as a rendering into Celtic of the native name Pict. Further, in case the word *Scottus* be of Celtic origin, as I am now disposed to think, it is probably to be regarded as another translation into Celtic of the same Non-Aryan word Pict. It is no objection that both translations would have to be admitted as of very old standing, dating, perhaps, so far back as the time when first a Pict began to learn a Celtic language.

This is especially the case with *Cruithne*, for not only have we its correct equivalents in the Welsh, *Prydein* and *Prydyn*, but a trace of it also on the Continent, to which I must for a moment direct your attention. Now there is an Old High German manuscript containing glosses of the beginning of the ninth century: more exactly, the MS. is taken to date before the year 814. It is to be seen at Munich, and it is known to German scholars as the 'Wessobrunner Codex.' Among other things it contains a list of names of places in Latin with glosses in German, thus: *Hybernia* is explained to be *Scottono lant*, or the Land of Scots, *Domnonia* to be *Prettono lant*, or the Land of Brythons, *Italia* to be *Lancparto lant*, or the Land of Lombards, and *Germania* to be *Franchono lant*, or the Land of the Franks. But the items of special interest here are the following two: *Gallia* explained to be *uualho lant*, or the Land of the Welsh, for it was the custom of Germanic nations to apply the term Welsh to countries inhabited by Celts, subject to the rule of Rome, and to some countries where the Celtic element was not very conspicuous: but besides *Gallia*, we have another name interpreted as *uualho lant*, or the Land of the Welsh, and that is given as *Chortonicum*, whence it appears that *Chortonicum* was another name for *Gallia*, or a part of it, in the Latin author which the scribe was reading. The *h* in

Chortonicum is to be treated like the *h* in Franchono, as characteristic of the scribe's dialect, and *Chortonicum* meant a Latin Cortonicum, to be compared with *Celticum* as applied to the whole Continental domain of the Celts; but what is one to make of the adjective Cortonic which one extracts thus from the Latin author read by the German gloss-writer? The answer to this question was given years ago by one of Germany's greatest philologists, Pott, who died not long ago, highly respected on account of his marvellous learning: he at once perceived that Cortonic could be nought else than the Goidelic adjective Cruithneach, which one is wont to render 'Pictish,' and I have no doubt that he was right. In the language of the Celts of the Q group, the prototype of this word would be an adjective *Qurutanic-os,-a,-on*, into which some of the Pre-Celtic tribes of Gaul would seem to have translated their own national name of Picts or Pictones. Whether the corresponding name was current in the language of the P Celts of the Continent, we have no data for deciding: all we know is, that it was in the language of those of this country, witness the Welsh word Prydyn for the Pictland of North Britain.

This word affords me the opportunity of trying to place before you some very old facts in a somewhat new light. The word Prydyn has an optional form Prydain, written in Medieval Welsh Prydein, and in Old Welsh Pritein, also Priten. Now Prydein or Prydyn properly means the country of the Picts, and, more vaguely speaking, Alban or Scotland beyond the Forth, but Prydein forms a part also of the term Ynys Prydain, 'the Island of Prydein,' which means the whole of this island of Great Britain. It is curious that when the Welsh bethought them of an eponymous hero, deriving his name from this origin, they called him Prydein son of Aedd the Great, which points distinctly away from Welsh. For the name Aedd is not of Brythonic origin, whereas it was common enough as Aid or Aed among Scots and Picts, and it has yielded the derivative Aidan, so well-known as borne by the most active of the early kings of the Dalriad Scots. It is right to say that the eponymous hero, Prydein son of Aedd Mawr, can, so far as I know, only be traced as far back as the Welsh Triads; but it is

remarkable that it should point to a non-Welsh origin corresponding to the eponymous Cruithne or Cruithuechan of the Pictish Chronicle. The latter is given, it is true, a father bearing another name, but there can be no doubt that the Welsh version is derived from a genuine Pictish legend, though it would seem to have been lost. The Welsh Prydyn and Prydein may, one or both, have been plurals, meaning *Cruithni* or Picts; but as I am not aware of any evidence to that effect, I shall provisionally treat *Ynys Prydein* as formally meaning the 'Island of Cruithne' in the singular, as if it referred only to the eponymous Cruithne, the theoretic ancestor of the race.

The variants, Prydyn and Prydein point back to a difference of accentuation in the early Brythonic forms, which must have been adjectives, Prutanios, Prutania, Prutanion. *Prydein* and *Prydyn*, when used alone in Medieval Welsh, almost always mean the Pictland of the North, and one can never feel certain that the whole island is referred to unless the word *Ynys* is prefixed: thus, according to the Welsh translators of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Caithness is in Prydein, the rivers of Prydein flow into Loch Lomond, and the Orkneys become Isles of Prydein. The double application of the word to Pictland and to Britain was doubtless found inconvenient, and a distinction was sometimes attempted by making Prydyn mean 'Alban' and Prydein 'Britain.' The rhymes in old Welsh poetry have accordingly been sometimes tampered with, in order to thrust into the composition of ancient authors, a distinction which they had not expressed. However great the inconvenience arising from the two applications of the word Prydein in the middle ages, the usage results quite naturally from the meaning of the term as argued in this lecture: Prydyn or Prydein in the Middle Ages referred to the North where the Cruithni or Picts were still to be found, whereas the term *Ynys Prydein* must, so far as it concerns its early history, be referred to a far earlier time for its meaning, to a period when the whole island belonged to the Cruithni. As the Brythons invaded it after the Goidels had taken possession, they must have found the name given to it by the Goidels, whom they followed: in other words, *Ynys Prydein* is but the rendering into Welsh of

some such a Goidelic name as *Inis Chruithne*, 'Island of the Picts,' though that name is not known to Irish literature. It was discarded probably in favour of *Alba*, genitive *Alban*, which is no other than the Goidelic form of the *Albio*, *Albionis* of ancient authors. Pliny leads one to understand that *Albio* was even in his time an old-fashioned name for Britain: the Goidels, however, continued its use for many centuries later, for we find *Cormac* in the ninth century writing of *Glastonbury* as being in *Alba*. In fact, the name has not even yet been quite confined to Scotland proper, as I have learned from *Manxmen* who live in sight of the headlands of *Galloway*. Pointing to something like a huge mass of wall on the north-western portion of the horizon, I have often asked them what they called it in *Manx*, and received as the answer words meaning the Mull of *Alba*. This *Alba* is not associated by them at all with *Albin* 'Scotland,' and the distinction is probably of old standing, as *Galloway* cannot be said to form a part of Scotland in the older acceptance of the term. The fortunes of the name *Albio* or *Alba* may be said to have moved on much the same lines as that of *Prydyn*, in that the latter came at length to be associated with the northern portions of the island, and this was helped by the importance of the *Brythons* in the south. The *Brythons* are in Irish called *Bretain*, genitive *Bretan*, representing the originals of the Latin forms, *Britanni*, genitive *Britannorum*, so that the southern parts of Britain came to be described in Irish by phrases which may be rendered into Latin by *apud Britannos*, *a Britannis*, and the like, while the whole island is never called after them by any name meaning *Insula Britannorum*. Now, as to the relation of the name *Ynys Prydein* to the hypothetical *Inis Chruithne*, it would probably be this: the Goidels at first called this country the *Island of the Picts* or *Cruithne*, but when they were invaded by the *Brythonic Celts* and driven to amalgamate more with the ancient inhabitants, they learned to call it *Alba*; and this would mean that the latter name was that which the ancient inhabitants had been in the habit of giving it. It is needless, accordingly, to say that I make no attempt to guess the meaning of the word *Albio* or *Alba*, feeling, as I do, quite

satisfied for the present, if the hypothesis here suggested should prove to give a natural and unstrained account of the facts of the case.

The name Ynys Prydein has sometimes been explained as if the second word were identical with the word Britannia, which was in all probability a name made by the Romans from that of the people whom they called *Britanni*. The provincials of this country, however, might be supposed to have borrowed the name from the vocabulary of the ruling Roman; but that supposition can, on phonetic grounds, be shown to be inadmissible, for *ynys* 'island,' Irish *inis*, is a feminine, so that the word following it must soften its initial consonant, which would yield not Ynys Brydain, but Ynys Frydain (*f* is pronounced *v* in Welsh), which is not the case in good medieval Welsh. Similarly, Ynys before Prydain must become Ynys Brydain, though there is a tendency in modern Welsh to restore the radical initial, and so to make it again into Ynys Prydain. Thus, whether you write Ynys Brydain or Ynys Prydain, it is not the Isle of *Britain* literally, but of *Prydein*, a name which has already been shown to relate to the Picts as Cruithni, so that Ynys Prydein means the Island of Cruithne, or the Pictish race.

We are now in a position to examine to some extent the Latin and Greek ways of designating this country. Since the time of Cicero and Cæsar, Romans who did not wish to follow the Greek habit, gave it the name Britannia, which was a purely Latin formation from the name of the people of the Britanni, whereas authors who wrote in Greek sparingly used *Βερραβία*, a form suggested probably by the Latin *Britannia* and the Greek form of the name of the people of the *Βερραβολ*. Take, for example, Ptolemy's geography: he speaks of London as a town of Britain, τῆς Βερραβίας, by which he seems to have only meant the south of the island, as he prefers calling the island as a whole Ἄλβιον, or Alvion. Nevertheless, the ordinary editor makes him speak of the entire group of islands of which Britain was the largest, as αἱ Βερραβικαὶ Νῆσοι. Are we, then, to infer that he extended the sway of the *Βερραβολ* to Ireland? That seems highly improbable, and the explanation is

to be sought in another direction; for it is the later scribes and the more sterile editors that put the word *Βρεττανικαί* in the geographer's mouth. We have, in fact, to go back to our books and learn our lessons better: we have to spell them out carefully, beginning with the best manuscripts of Diodore, Strabo, and Ptolemy. What do we then find? Why, that the manuscripts do not agree among themselves in reading *Βρεττανικαί*: the word, whatever it was, is found to begin with π , not β , far too often, as pointed out by Prof. Windisch, for that variant to be regarded as a mere accident. Thus Carl Müller, the most recent editor of Ptolemy, has been convinced that he must admit *Πρεττανικαί* into his text as the best reading, which he finds established by the quotations made by the later geographer, Marcian, and the Byzantine writer Stephanus. Müller considers the case to be much the same with regard to Strabo and Diodore; for he finds the form with π in the best manuscripts of both authors, and, as regards modern editors, he is able to quote on his side the great name of Dindorf. Now Ptolemy, speaking of the whole island, called it *Ἀλουίων*, at the same time that he spoke of the whole group of islands as *αἱ Πρεττανικαὶ Νῆσοι*, while Strabo had a habit of calling Britain *ἡ Πρεττανικῆ*, and Marcian alludes to Britain and Ireland as the Two Prettanic Islands. This adjective had absolutely nothing to do, in point of etymology, with the name *Βρεττανοί* 'Brythons,' and *Βρεττανία* as the name of their portion of the island, in Latin respectively *Britanni* and *Britannia*.

Nothing, however, could be more natural than for the adjective mentioned as Prettanic to come under the influence of those names and to be inextricably confounded with them by the scribes, who found the means of giving their error expression in the spelling by substituting β for π in *Πρεττανικῆ* and *Πρεττανικαί*: in other words the substitution of β for π in these names was entirely due to the other names, *Βρεττανοί* and its congeners. But is that likely to have been the entire extent of the error? This raises another question, namely, that of the origin of the word Prettanic, as to which, however, there can I think be no serious doubt that it is derived from the same source as the Welsh word *Prydein*, Old Welsh *Pritein* and

Priten, and the Goidelic *Cruithne*: in fact, Prettanic is approximately the Gallo-Brythonic equivalent of the Goidelic adjective Cruithnech, later Cruithneach, 'Pictish, a Pictish man or Pict.' If that be so, one can have no difficulty in showing that even *Prettanic* cannot have been the genuine form, but Prütanic. At present, however, I am not aware of that form being attested exactly by any manuscript; the nearest approach known to me occurs in a verse of the Sibyline Oracles, composed, as it is supposed, in the time of the Emperor Hadrian. It reads thus (Book v. 200, Friedlieb's edition):—

Ἔσονται ἐν Βρύττεσσι καὶ ἐν Γάλλοις πολυχρύσοις.

'Among the Britons and the Gauls rich in gold will be,' etc.

Here the people of this country, or of the British Isles collectively, are referred to in a dative plural which seems to imply a stem *Brutten*, that is to say, subject to the correction of its consonants, a stem Pruten, corresponding not to the adjective, but to the noun *Priten* in Welsh, and *Cruithen*-tuath, 'Pict-land,' in Goidelic. To put it briefly, there is documentary evidence to force the best editors to correct the Βρεττανικαί of the ordinary editions of Ptolemy into Πρεττανικαί, and there is philological evidence that Πρεττανικαί should be further corrected into Πρυτενικαί, or some form of that kind. Subject to this explanation, the Welsh name Prydein of this island, and the cognate Greek names for it and its group, become facts of comprehensive import for the student of ethnology; for they teach him that the people represented by the names, Cruithne, Prydein, and Pict, were once considered by the Celts to have been the inhabitants *par excellence* of these Islands.

It may be worth the while mentioning that Welsh literature preserves two archaic designations of these islands. For not only is the largest of them called to this day *Ynys Prydein*, 'the Island of Cruithne,' but the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen* in the Red Book, a manuscript of the fourteenth century, speaks of the whole group as 'the Three Islands of Prydein and the three outlying Islands.' These last were, according to Nennius, those of Orkney, Man, and Wight, while the principal Island referred to as being also three, were probably Ireland, Man, and

Britain or Britannia in Ptolemy's sense, and Scotland (north of the Forth and Clyde), reckoned as a separate island. These islands of Prydein or Cruithne are virtually the *Πρωτανικαὶ Νῆσοι* of the Greek writers of antiquity. This is not all, for the Mabinogion of Branwen and Manawyddan, in the same manuscript, speak of Britain as 'the Island of the Mighty,' a term which has found its way into a version of one of the Grail Romances, and the Kulhwch story once calls the whole group 'the Three Islands of the Mighty and the Three outlying Islands,' with the same denotation doubtless as when Prydein was used in the other formula quoted from the Kulhwch. One thing is fairly certain, namely, that the archaic appellation of the Three Islands of the Mighty must be a translation of an older one, a fact which raises the question, what that was. Our Welsh data suggest no other than that of *Teir Ynys Prydein* 'the Three Islands of Cruithne'; and, in case I am approximately right in regarding Cruithne and Prydein as Celtic translations of the word Pict or Pecht in the sense of a cutter, hewer, or a mighty warrior, this appellation of the Islands of the Mighty must be admitted to be fairly suitable.

Here and there in the British Isles the old designation of the Picts may, in some form or other, be expected to have survived down to a comparatively late date. I have already spoken of it in connection with the Pentland Firth, and it has also been instanced from the other extreme, namely, from *Inis Picht* or Spike Island, in the South of Ireland. I may add a conjecture which I have made with regard to another island, namely, Man. A saint mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal is called Ruisen of *Inis Picht*, and naturally he has been regarded as connected with the Pictish Isle in Cork Harbour. I am, however, as yet unable to find any further information to that effect; but I detect the name Ruisen, well represented in the Isle of Man. It is written in Manx *Rushen*, and it occurs in the following place-names:—

1. The southernmost political division of the island is the Sheading of Rushen, and it contains the Parish of Rushen, which is called in Manx Gaelic 'Christ's Parish of Rushen,' there

being another 'Christ's Parish' in the Island. 2. The Castle, from which Castleton takes its name, is called Castle Rushen or Rushen's Castle. 3. Another place in that part of the Island is called Abbey Rushen or Rushen's Abbey. 4. Even if the two last mentioned names could be traced to that of the Sheading or the Parish, which does not appear probable, there remains another, which cannot well have been derived from either, namely, Glen Rushen or Rushen's Glen, a retired valley drained by a river which flows to the sea on the west, some miles to the south of the town of Peel. Here we have indubitable traces of a Ruisen and, among them, of a religious house: may we not suppose, then, that he was the Ruisen of Inis Picht? Should this conjecture prove well founded, we should have an instance of Man being termed in Irish the Isle of the Picts, which would indicate a time after that name had ceased to be applied by the Irish to any of the larger islands of our archipelago.

Precedence having here been given to the name Pict over that of Cruithne and of Scot, the question may be raised what would happen to it in the language of Celts of the Continent supposing them to have become familiar with it at a time anterior to their dropping the consonant *p*. There can be no doubt as to the result eventually. *Pict* must become *Ict*, and as nothing is known about the phonological phenomenon in question, except that it took place some time or other before Celtic names began to reach the authors of antiquity, there is no difficulty of date in the way of our supposing that the Celts did reduce *Pict* to *Ict*. In fact, there is reason to think that they did; witness the name of the Island of Ictis located by Diodore on the south coast of Britain, and to the Irish name of the English Channel, which was the Sea of Icht. This last enables one to make an emendation also in the name of Cæsar's port of embarkation for Britain; for the best reading of it (in the accusative) is *Portum Itium*, which I regard as representing an original *Ictium*. Thus *Portus Ictius* was simply the Ictian Harbour from which one was wont to sail across the Ictian Sea to Britain; but this extemporised and somewhat inexact name was, it would seem, destined to be forgotten by the Romans as

soon as they became more familiar with the northern coast of Gaul. Be that as it may, it appears, according to the conjecture suggested, that the earliest name known to the Celts for the Channel meant the Pictish Sea, or sea of the Picts, and that is by no means surprising when we bear in mind that the islands severed by it from the Continent were known to them by names which ascribed them likewise to the Picts as the race of inhabitants in possession.

After having made so much of certain names, I may perhaps be asked what is in a name. My reply is that there may be a good deal of history in a name, and that as the geologist can extract the story of the material globe from a study of the layers composing its crust, so can the student of language occasionally extract somewhat of the history of man from the names he has been pleased to give to himself and his surroundings. Here it will suffice to say that the fact of the ancient Greeks having heard these Islands spoken of in terms signifying the Cruithnian or Pictish Islands, and of the Welsh still calling Great Britain by a kindred name, leaves us in no manner of doubt, who, according to ancient Celtic belief, handed down probably from the days of the first Celtic invader's acquaintance with our shores, were the aborigines of Albion and Erin. It is true the testimony is not the testimony of the rocks: it is the testimony of facts of another order, and according to that testimony the aborigines must have been the eponymous descendants of Cruithne or Prydein, in other words, the Picts. Before the first intruder of Aryan stock had shewn his fair face and blue eyes in the west, the soil of these Islands had belonged for ages untold to the ancestors of the O'Driscols and O'Duibnes, of the Macbeths and MacNaughtons; and if I seem to have paid too much attention in this lecture to the non-Aryan element, it is because the Celt of Aryan origin is supposed to be better known. The Aryan, being now all the fashion, is always with us, and sometimes even a little more than enough.

As these remarks have of necessity been rather desultory and promiscuous, I may perhaps be allowed here to state briefly the purport of some of them, and one or two of the conclusions to which they point.

The non-Aryan names of Britain and Ireland respectively were probably Albion and Iverion: the latter has been retained in *Erinn*, and the former in *Alban*, which has, however, retreated from the southern portion of the Island to the North.

The principal non-Aryan name of the inhabitants of both islands was some prototype of the word Pict, and traces of its use occur not only in Scotland but also in Ireland and Wales.

The national name Pict was early translated into such Celtic names as Cruithne or Prydein, and Scot; also, perhaps, into other tribal names, the connotation of which has been forgotten.

These islands were called the Islands of the Picts, or names to that effect: that was the meaning of the Greek description, *Ἰστανναὶ Σφόρα*, and of *Ynys Prydein*, as applied in Welsh to Britain, and we seem to have a prehistoric proof of the use of the vocable *Pict* by Continental Celts in the name of the Isle of Ictis and in that of *Portus Ictius*.

Britannia is a name which was formed from that of the *Britanni*, as the Romans at first called the most important people of southern Britain, whom they afterwards learned, from the people themselves, to call Brittones. Britannia at first only meant southern Britain, and it has etymologically nothing to do with Prydein and *Ἰστανναὶ Σφόρα* except that its influence caused the latter to be distorted into *Βρετανναὶ*, so that the correct form disappeared from the manuscripts.

The non-Aryan inhabitants of a part of Gaul, including what is known as Poitou, were known by names closely related to those of Pict and Cruithne: witness *Pictones* and *Chortonicum*. So the pre-Aryan occupants of the Gaulish country in question, and those of the British Isles, must have been considered by the early Celtic conquerors to be of one and the same race.

According to the conclusions drawn by the students of ethnology and craniology, the skulls* of some of the descen-

* See more especially Huxley's article on 'The Aryan Question and Pre-historic Man' in last year's *Nineteenth Century*, pp. 758-61.

dants of those pre-Aryan aborigines of the British Isles belong to a type found also in the Basque country ; and I am inclined to think that in pre-Aryan times a neolithic race, which may be termed Ibero-Pictish, occupied Western Europe from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Pentland Firth and the Danish Islands of the Baltic.

The range of that race might perhaps be more exactly defined by reference to a map* showing the relative positions of the most remarkable megalithic erections of the West, sometimes called druidic. For anything known to the contrary, these structures may be regarded as monuments of the unaccountable energy of the Ibero-Pictish race, whose existence I have ventured to suggest.

JOHN RHYS.

ART. VII.—GOETHE'S FAUST AND MODERN
THOUGHT.†

‘GOETHE ohne Ende.’ There is no end of Goethe studies, **G** is the half apologetic commencement of nearly every new book, brochure, or pamphlet on Goethe's Faust which has appeared in recent times. The expression points at once to the endless multiplicity of works on the Faust now after a hundred years since its first appearance as a fragment. The fact furnishes its own explanation, which is the inexhaustible fund of profound and varied thoughts, which at all times, and amid the changing moods of the cultivated mind in this 19th century in particular, ever afford fresh matter for criticism and reflection.

* Such as the map appended by Fergusson to his *Rude Stone Monuments* (London, 1872) and ‘designed to illustrate the distribution of Dolmens, and probable lines of the migrations of the Dolmen builders,’ or that inserted in Krause's *Tuisko-Land* (Glogau, 1891), and described by him as the ‘Verbreitungslinien der megalithischen Denkmale in der alten Welt.’

† This paper is substantially the reproduction of a lecture delivered before a private audience at the request of Lady Lothian, at Blickling Hall, Norfolk.

In this country the works on Goethe's Faust have not been so numerous as to require such an apology. Shakespeare without end, was the expression of Goethe from which the above has taken its rise. But Goethe is not studied as carefully here as Shakespeare was then in Germany, which gave rise to the phrase, and papers, therefore, like the present, taking note of all the more important Faust criticisms which have recently appeared in that country, will not be considered superfluous, least of all by the countrymen of Carlyle, who revered Goethe with true hero worship, mingled with personal attachment. Carlyle's pronouncement on the Faust, as 'a work matured in the mysterious depths of a vast and wonderful mind; and bodied forth with that truth and curious felicity of composition, in which this man is generally admitted to have no rival,' and a work, 'where in pale light, the primeval shapes of chaos—as it were, the foundations of being itself—seem to loom forth, dim and huge, in the vague immensity around us; and the life and nature of man, with its brief interests, its misery and sin, its mad passion and poor frivolity, struts and frets its hour, encompassed and overlooked by that stupendous All, of which it forms an indissoluble, though so mean a fraction,' have not been as yet reversed, but confirmed rather by the studies of two generations since those words were written in the second number of the *Foreign Review* in 1828.

In this paper it will be our main purpose to consider the claims of the Faust, not so much as a German classic, but as a dramatic representation of nineteenth century thought, and as a world poem, facing the problem of life and offering a modern solution of it.

The first thought that strikes us in connection with this idea is Goethe's wonderful many-sidedness, which also is the characteristic trait of our own age. Its humanistic and scientific agnosticism, its divine discontent and stoical acquiescence, its naturalistic pantheism, its striving after some all-comprehensive theory of Monism to explain the universe, its ethical hedonism, and most of all, its pessimism, combined with desperate attempts at joyous performance of duty under difficulty, resolute to be optimistic, spite of appearances. in the

runder facts of existence, its determination to engage in altruistic philanthropies, and thus find consolation for disappointment in its baffled attempts to come to understand nature and solve the earlier problem of life and mind—its apotheosis of activity—‘Die That ist alles’—to which men run, foiled by speculation, even our modern socialistic tendencies, which are part of the same stream of thought, may be seen reflected from the pages of the *Faust* :—

‘The gospel that Goethe preached in his wondrous drama,’ writes Mr. H. de B. Gibbins, in the cultured journal of *Socialism in England*, now defunct, ‘is the gospel of our century, the keynote of our age, the pillar of certainty amid all our modern vagueness and weariness, and distrust of former creeds. It is the gospel of social endeavour.’

Again, Goethe, ‘the last Hellene,’ is above all things the prophet of culture, and the *Faust*, his great masterpiece, is but a poetical description of the process of self-culture.

We will dwell for a moment on the most important of these. As a scientist he was the precursor of the evolution theory. The story is told by Soret, how, on calling at Goethe’s house on the day when the news reached Weimar of the French Revolution in 1830, the latter cried out : ‘What do you think of this great event?’ Soret naturally supposed it was the political event that he referred to, and replied accordingly, but Goethe said : ‘We do not, as its seems, understand one another,’ and explained that the event he referred to was the quarrel of Cuvier and S. Hilaire, ending in the latter’s triumph in the Academy, *i.e.*, the triumph of the evolution theory as then understood. This and the fact that an account of this controversy by Goethe is his last work, show how deeply interested to the end he was in the scientific question of the day. We need not remind readers of this *Review* that the author of the *Faust* could lay claim to the title of scientific discoverer in histology, that he could enter the lists with specialists in optics and meteorology, and that his speculations on the morphology of plants form a no insignificant chapter in the history of science. It puts the *Faust* on a level with the poem of Lucretius *De Rerum Natura*. It rises above it, for it is the merit of Goethe to have restored spirituality to our modern concep-

tions of the Kosmos, which is one of the most important stages in the progress of modern scientific thought. This mystical view of nature throws light on the connection of two important passages, too, in the first part of *Faust*, which, as they stand, are not easily reconciled. In the first of them the spirit of the earth, *i.e.*, the spirit of nature, repels Faust, who invokes him and claims affinity.

‘Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst,
Nicht mir!’.

‘Thou’rt like the spirit which thou comprehendest,
Not me.’

Yet in the scene ‘Dreary Day’ there occurs the passage:—

‘Mighty, glorious spirit, who hast vouchsafed to me thine apparition, who knowest my heart and my soul, why fetter me to the felon-comrade who feeds on mischief and gluts himself with ruin,’

whilst the answer to this question is given in a former passage in the scene, ‘Forest and Cavern,’ which begins—

‘Spirit sublime, thou gav’st me, gav’st me all
For which I prayed,’

and after some very fine lines occur the words—

‘Thou gav’st the comrade, whom I now no more
Can do without.’

From which it would seem that with Goethe’s view of nature and her healing power, the spirit of nature had used Mephistopheles as an elementary spirit, instrumental throughout in the gradual elevation of the hero morally, that in short, according to the original plan of conducting the hero through various stages of self-development under the guiding power of the soul of the universe, we are here given to understand, in the character and functions of Mephisto, the truth that ‘There is a *soul* of goodness in things evil,’ that all the forces of the universe make for the regeneration and completion of man. And what is all this but a form of natural religion, a theism in its modern form?

In *Ethics* Goethe was a follower of Spinoza, whom he terms

'theissimum,' and it is strange, though by no means uncommon, to see the ethic of Goethe's work called into question, yet in the very fore front of the first part of *Faust* we have the doctrine of self-abnegation so popular in theory, perhaps because so distant from practice in this nineteenth century, 'Entbehren sollst du.'

This corresponds with the phrase in *W. Meister* to express the outcome of ethical æsthetical education, 'Alles ruft uns, dass wir zu entsagen sollen.' Realist as he was in this respect, it is most quite true what Karl Grün says of Goethe: 'Goethe was the ideal idealist the earth has ever borne; an æsthetic idealist.' True he fell short of his own ideal, as does the *Faust*, but ideal ethics, as the result of self-culture in all its branches, is his aim as it is that of the modern man of culture. Hence the hero who represents it, *Faust*, like his author, must pass through the refiner's fire of sin and suffering, the various experiences he encounters in the performance of active functions in *Vanity Fair*, and in the contemplative acts of vision of the classical ideal, including its combination with the romantic, and the sad experiences, too, in his philanthropic activities, to come out at last from the crucible, taught by the base facts of life, and noble fancies and vanishing truths, able in some measure at last—

'Im Ganzen, Guten, Schönen resolut zu leben.'

'To live resolutely in the whole, the good, the beautiful.'

But is this all, or the end of all perfection, and is the force of *religion* among the factors of man's moral education disregarded in the *Faust*? The close of the second part excludes this idea, for the finale is an act of grace, and this stamps it as 'a religious and philosophical poem,' to use the phrase of one of the most recent and most competent critics, Kuno Fischer; nor would it be difficult, if space did permit, to shew from two recently published books, one by Otto Harnack, on Goethe in the epoch of his complete development, and the other by Th. Vogel, containing a selection of passages, systematically arranged from Goethe's writings to define his position in relation to religion and religious questions, that the religious element formed a very important part of the mind of Goethe. And so,

too, the Faust, like the original on which it was founded, describes the struggle of a *soul*, in which the conflict between science and religion, faith and doubt, the unsatisfied thirst after the knowledge of ultimate facts, and the weariness produced by vain attempts to grasp the unknowable, are vividly representing the struggles of the human mind at the present juncture in the progress of thought. The phrase—

‘Die Botschaft hör’ ich wohl, allein mir fehlt der Glaube,’

expresses the yearning after, yet the impossibility of returning to, the simple religion of the ages of faith. Here we have the modern endeavour often baffled of reconciling ‘Wissen und Glauben,’ and the unwillingness to give up all Glaube because it is at times mixed up with the crude forms of Aberglaube. In old age, says Goethe to Eckermann, emphasizing the religious finale of the Faust, and denying that striving after perfection is all he wished to teach in it: ‘In old age we all turn mystics,’ and so the close of the Faust, by the confession of its author, reflects the religious mysticism of the age. It is because the poem thus serves as a mirror to our own generation, in which it sees all its yearnings, aims, and ideals, artistic, scientific, social, practical, ethical, and religious, reflected, that its profound interest lies, and because Goethe, as Hayward says, is ‘the most splendid specimen of cultivated intellect ever manifested in the world, his principal work most expressive of his own personal beliefs and feelings, is still the favourite study of the age of culture.’ The present attempt, therefore, it may be assumed, will prove welcome for this reason, and we proceed at once to consider, in the first place, since Goethe has told us himself that all his works are more or less fragmentary confessions of himself, how far the Faust may be regarded as a presentment of his own intellectual life, and how far he was ‘predestined’ by his own experience to describe in the Faust the modern development of Germanic thought, as the Faust saga on which it is founded expresses a former stage in its evolutionary progress. And here it has to be noted that the unity of the play does not, as recent critics have shewn, consist in one idea running through it all, but in the person and

development of its creator, who began it in his twentieth and finished it in his eighty-first year. True, it was interrupted by long intervals of time, thrown aside and taken up again at random, so that its several parts do not easily cohere, as they form parts of two distinct—some affirm four or five—plans, conceived at different times, not to speak of independent portions, like the *Intermezzo*, 'Oberon's and Titania's Golden Wedding,' now called 'Walpurgisnachtsdraum,' written in 1797 for Schiller's *Musen Almanach* in the first part, and the whole of the 'Helena' in the second, which really belongs to his oldest conceptions, though half a century elapsed before it appeared as 'Zwischenspiel zu Faust' in 1826. Hence some inconsistencies and more incongruities in matter and manner, which have been compared to the ruins of Heidelberg castle, whose diversity of style does not prevent harmonious effect, the changes in the Poet's views of life and literary style having been reproduced here, though some central idea, more or less clearly defined, was always before his own mind, as he assured his friends on more than one occasion. The time is passed for treating the Faust dogmatically as 'an absolute philosophical tragedy.' Modern criticism tries rather to explain and expound it by following the historical method, and in carefully tracing the genetical process of its various parts, so as to throw light on its general meaning, and to further elucidate some of the obscure passages. And so critics even talk and write about 'die neuere Faust Philologie.' The accidental discovery of a copy of the *Urfaust* about four years ago, by Erich Schmidt, in the form in which Goethe brought it to Weimar in 1775, and in the handwriting of the deformed Hof-Fräulein von Gochenhausen, has given a fresh stimulus to research. Passages have been hunted up in the Weimar archives, and phrases in Goethe's correspondence, perilepomena, reported conversations, and what not, to fix the date of certain portions of the Faust, displaying sometimes marvellous acumen, at other times a still more astounding temerity in scholastic guesswork. We have no room for these here. But a calm and cautious study of what has been said on one side and the other enables

us to give, without presuming to settle intricate questions of textual criticism, a much more lucid *coup d'œil* of the poem as a transcript of the poet's mind than could have been given a few years ago.

The seed sown in Goethe's mind, from which grew this mighty growth of the 'German Iliad,' was the first impression made on him, when still a child, on witnessing the performance of the Puppenspiel, founded on the Faust Volkspiel in his native city. The impression proved indelible, and circumstances in his own mind's history further on, suggested the Faust story as a theme for a drama. 'I too,' he says, 'had cast about for knowledge in all directions, and had soon been convinced of the futility of its attainment. I too had made diverse trials of life, and always came back more unsatisfied and tormented.' This spiritual affinity with Faustus was the prime motive force in the production of Faust. The two fresco paintings in Auerbach's Keller, keeping fresh the Faust legend in the city of Leipzig, as well as the scenes of student life there witnessed by the young Goethe, were suggestive of the well known scene, known by that name, in which his evil companion tries to divert Faust by sights of coarse revelry and sensuous amusement, which, however, is little to the taste of the 'Himmelsstürmer.' The illness which brings him back to Frankfurt and throws him into the society of Fräulein von Klettenberg, with whom he studies magic and alchemy, and by whom he is initiated into some form of mystical religion, brings him still nearer to the person of the great necromancer, half Faust, half Paracelsus, such as we see him in the study scene with which the modern play begins. But it was in Strassburg, to which Goethe resorted in his academical 'Wanderjahre,' where the minster, as the mighty survival of Gothic art, and the study of Shakespeare, the idol of the new romantic school and his own, produced in him, as in the other champions of that *Sturm und Drang* period in German literature, the creative impulse to embody the new revolt against formalism and tradition in poetry and philosophy, in a Faust drama. Dr. Faustus had been called the 'Speculator,' as the prototype of speculation freed from authority, what more natural than the

idea of modernizing him for the purpose of dramatizing the rationalistic spirit of the age of reason under his name. It is curious that 1590 is the date of the publication of the Faust story in England, or just 200 years before the publication of Faust, a fragment, in 1790. Bayard Taylor mentions 29 dramas or poems on the Faust during the 61 years during which that of Goethe was in process of elaboration. There really were some seventy attempts of this kind, though Goethe 'only saw what is typical and universal in it,' and by the law of the survival of the fittest, that of Goethe only survives. His unfortunate love-affair with Fredericka, the country parson's daughter, near Strassburg, and the abandonment of it, left a deep sore in his heart, and with the consciousness that he had well-nigh broken hers, produced the conception of Margaret—a reminiscence, dim and shadowy, of the Frankfurt Gretchen, referred to in the prologue, is not altogether excluded by this theory—as, indeed, she figures in nearly all the creations of Goethe's finer female characters. So, too, he introduces by way of doing penance himself in the betrayers of feminine heroines, such as the two Marys in the 'Goetz' and 'Clavigo.' The agitation produced by the parting, only added fuel to the fervid condition of his mind at the time, and to this and the subsequent experiences in Wetzlar, where he himself experienced something of the sorrows of Werther, though in a more heroic mood, all helped together to produce the titanic efforts of the period, the *Sturm und Drang* period of his soul, of which the Faust was the most important. The 'Uebersensch,' Goethe is toned down in Weimar. Here begins the second epoch of his intellectual development, the change from the romantic to the classic style contemporaneously with the calm stateliness attained in his inner and outer deportment under the influence of Frau von Stein and the repressive social forces of court life. Here, too, he gained the experience of high life, which furnished the mind with the materials of some portions of the second part of Faust, when Mephistopheles redeems his pledge of showing him the big as well as the little world. The travels in Italy, his 'promised land,' complete his conversion to classicism, and also give the

occasion to resume his work on Faust, though he finds it difficult to resume the thread of this 'barbaric' work of a 'pre-historic period' as he contemptuously speaks of it, his own changes producing changes in the plan which are the chief cause of rendering the first Faust such a puzzle to the critics. And it is this and not the second part which creates most difficulty. He writes on classic ground the Hexenküche—a sort of literary *lucus a non lucendo*, having been written in such a place—and, as is supposed by some, the remarkable and most important Monologue 'Wald und Höhle.' To his friendly intercourse with Schiller, on his return to Germany, we owe the further continuation of the work, always reluctantly recommenced, and its final completion to Eckermann. The personal experiences of the poet in the latter part of his life in the miniature Residenzstadt, are suggestive of the latter portion of the second part of Faust, where care slips through the keyhole and the sentiment of weariness comes over the hero, reflecting Goethe's own experiences as expressed in a well-known and often-quoted passage, to show the vanity of human life. When the 'rolling stone,' to which Goethe compares himself, comes to a resting point, the growing blindness, and the poet's own condition generally, after many efforts, baffled by intrigues and disappointments in the administration of some state offices, still entrusted to him in old age, form a remarkable counterpart of the end of Faust. They are still further illustrated by the lately published account of the three last days of the poet's life, which, by the bye, give a more literal and less ideal interpretation of his last words thus recorded, the famous cry for 'More light!' In this short sketch we have only given some of the leading events in the poet's life, which give colour and throw light on the drama, which is the work of his life, to show how 'it is,' as he says, 'flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone.' It shows, at least, how hazardous it would be to explain it in the abstract, starting from any one idea or theory. 'A fine thing, in fact, I would have produced if such a rich, multiform, and varied life, as is painted in the "Faust," had been strung together by me on the line of one consecutive idea!' These are his own words.

We proceed next to consider Goethe's indebtedness to the Faust legend, itself a reproduction or unconscious adaptation of similar legends taking their rise in different epochs in the history of Christian thought and life, when the Christian faith was assailed by contemporaneous antagonistic tendencies of the *Zeitgeist*. Considered in this light the Faust saga is a popular rendering of the struggle between the Renaissance and the Reformation. So, too, Goethe's Faust, considered as a 'religious fable,' reflects the antagonism between *Aufklärung* and authority. In the sixteenth century Faust is expressed the popular abhorrence of free thought and free inquiry into the arcana of nature and the mysteries by which human life is surrounded, as also the introduction of heathen philosophy in the age of humanism to throw light upon them independently of the light of divine revelation. In the *historia* of the 'Erzzauberer Doctor Johann Faust' we have an 'Anti-Lutheran Magus,' who is none else but the descendant of Simon Magus, whom the Gnostics extolled as the great power of illumination. In his union, too, with the Greek Helen he represents the antagonism of Hellenism and Hebrew Christianity, for, as K. Fischer remarks on this head, the gods of Greece are human ideals, and their religion the religion of art and culture, *i.e.*, pure humanism. Next in order in the direct line of descent comes Cyprian of Antioch, the 'wonderworking Magus' (*el magico prodigioso*) of Calderon—a work unknown to Goethe at the time of his composition of the first part of Faust—who also was attracted by the same fascinating heroine of antiquity which led to his apostacy, from which, however, he recovers, and gains the crown of martyrdom in the end. This, during the epoch when Christianity fights the battle against neoplatonism, with its mysteries and magic, as represented by Apollonius and Pythagoras, round whom gather Hellenic legends similar to the Faust saga. Next in order comes Theophilus of Adana, the 'mediæval Faust' of the sixth century of Anglo-Saxon origin, and here the diabolic character of magic comes out more prominently. In Heine's preface to a parody on Faust—both he and Fischer in his third part of Faust, though admirers of

Goethe, have been guilty of such productions—written at the request of Lumley, for a ballet in Her Majesty's theatre, which, however, was never put on the stage, propounds a theory that on it was founded the *mystère* of Theophilus by the Troubadour Rüteboeuf, used with the *Faustbuch* by Marlowe in his *Faustus*. Here we find the same idea of the compact with the evil one, at the cost of a soul, to gratify the thirst after forbidden knowledge, and the lust after unhallowed passion by means of occult arts, in an age when alchemy and astrology were the only kind of science. All these legends express the dread of the popular mind—a sentiment by no means extinct in the present day—of free scientific research—a pious shrinking from a full and unfettered share in the culture of the age. It arises from an indistinct apprehension of its secularizing tendencies and the danger to morality arising from a loosening of the bonds of religious assent. Even John Sterling, writing to Carlyle five years after Goethe's death, in spite of his admiration, speaks of Goethe's as a thoroughly, nay, intensely Pagan life, in an age when it is men's duty to be Christian. 'I therefore never take him up *without a kind of inward check, as if I were trying some forbidden spell.*' Even J. Sterling had not learned quite the truth which leaders of religious thought are slowly beginning to recognize with Goethe that *Wissen and Glaube*, science and religion, 'are not substitutes, excluding, but supplements of each other.' As the age of the renaissance, with its return to classical humanism, produced the rather wearisome *historia* of *Dr. Faustus*, so the modern renaissance of which in Germany Lessing was the harbinger, produced the modern Faust. Lessing's own attempt in this direction was left incomplete, but it was he who threw out from the first the hint of the *Rettung*, the redemption of the soul of Faust. 'Dr. Faust,' he said, 'has a number of scenes which only a Shakespearean genius could think out,' and that genius was Goethe. The universal cry, 'return to Nature!' was re-echoed from France to Germany. The object of the first part was polemical, to give effect to this, to re-introduce nature into literature.

There was also the cry for liberty and individual freedom ;

and was not the Faust legend in its conceptions originally an embodiment of the Protestant rebellion against the Roman tyranny over thought? To what extent the Weimar magician moulded his raw material in accordance with the artistic, literary, and philosophical exigencies of the case so as to give the ancient saw a modern form, and to transform the ideas of a bygone age into new forms of thought to suit his purpose, only those can fully understand who are prepared in detail to compare the old *Faustbuch* with the modern tragedy. We have only room for one or two instances by way of illustration. Thus the three 'Bacchical portents' of the legend are all welded into one in the drinking scene in Auerbach's Keller. The creation of *Homunculus* is due to Paracelsus, and not to the Faustus of the legend at all. In the monologue with which the Faust begins we have a reminiscence of Marlowe rather than the *Faustbuch*, the puppet play founded on the play performed by English actors in Germany, forming the intermediate link between the English and the German Faust, divided by two centuries. But the tragical end in both is discarded by Goethe, though for stage effect re-introduced by Mr. Irving in the Lyceum performances of Faust. Yet the two leading ideas alluded to already occur both in the old and the new Faust, namely, the titanic revolt against the limits of knowledge and the determinate break with tradition, in search after truth, the effort of Individualism in its good as well as in its evil tendencies. Of the Faustus, the legend says, that 'he took to himself eagles' wings to explore the finality of things in heaven and earth,' and his apostasy was nothing else but proud and desperate vanity, daring temerity like that of the giants of whom poets tell that they carried mountains together, and made war against God, even like the evil angel who set himself against God.' Teleological problems are discussed, too, in the *Faustbuch*, and a *Weltfahrt* with its accompanying conjuring up of Helen and a 'poor maid from the country,' figures in it as well to make up a correspondence of the lower and higher motive in both. But the striving in order to attain to a higher life is modern, the work of Goethe's Faust, who, in spite of relapses,

is saved at last 'as by fire,' and in saving others fulfils life's destiny. The Dualistic character of Don Juan and Prometheus, which critics have exposed in the modern Faust, is not without its counterpart in its ancestor, where, too, originality and charlatanism, high-flying speculation and sensuality, are mixed and merged in the same hero. But what is essentially new in Goethe's conception and execution is the morphological process, or, as we should call it, the evolutionary formation of character by a natural process of self-culture, until after many wanderings and errings he is raised to the highest level of human perfection, and after many vacillations and oscillations finds rest at last in the higher spheres. The mixture of noble aspirations and helpless despair, power, and weakness, love and earnest search after truth, side by side, with vain pursuits, of a mind submerged in utter worldliness, and pessimistic cynicism—these are features of the Modern Man, with his own peculiar strength and weakness, which still make the Faust a true portraiture of the age we live in, and for this reason it has been called, not inaptly, 'the greatest poem of modern times.'

As such, we may view it from two standpoints, from the standpoint of the present century, when, like Goethe, it was still young, and take up the first part of the Faust, regarded in the light of the Soul's Odyssey, with its wayward wanderings into new paths of scientific truths and speculations, its conflicts with opposing forces, and its determinate onward march in the push and progress era. Again, taking the standpoint of the latter part of the century—remembering in each case that poetic divination is far in advance of the age—when, to some extent, restfulness is attained, not unmixed with somewhat of weariness and disappointment because all the great anticipations raised at its beginning are not fulfilled at its close, we may take up the second part of the Faust when Goethe has reached old age, and the sage succeeds the youthful seer, and the self-determined pursuit after the ideal has been nearly reached in the course of self-development and complete mastery over nature, art, and life. In this sense the allegorical setting of the second part of Faust may be compared to a

Modern Pilgrim's Progress, a 'legendary spectacle,' in which the soul's wanderings end in the haven of calm self-possession, and its warfare in final victory over self in the last and crowning act of self-sacrificing devotion to public beneficence. Then cometh the end. From this will appear the necessary continuation of the Faust, because it represents the continuity of human life as well as its fragmentary nature. For Faust, thus becomes a type of humanity, and in its perfection and faults of style alike, its incoherences, and its symmetry, its artlessness in some and its perfection of art in other of its constituent parts, the inconsistencies of our life itself, its very subjectivity are painted by a modern genius, whose greatest charm is his own subjectivity here imparted to this most subjective of writings, as well as its self-conscious incongruities, which must be at all times the experience of man living in an age of advanced civilization.

The distinguishing trait of the first part is its exuberant naturalness, the vigour of its youthfulness, its intellectual spontaneity, its depth of feeling. Let anyone take up the newly discovered Urfaust and read the thrilling dungeon scene in prose, with its harrowing truthfulness and tragic force, and he will see what we mean by this. The pure naturalness of Gretchen, again, the chief figure in the first part, as compared with the classical Margaret, the Helena of the second part, illustrates the same truth. Here, too, we have the virile effort of the fresh mind in its vicious headlong course, even, rendered interesting by stirring and vivid flashes of the inward consuming fire, its vehement onslaughts on the fortress in which knowledge is imprisoned and yearning to be released, its ruthless iconoclasm of forms and time-honoured impediments of human achievement in art and literature, its mutinous materialism only saved by religious sentiment as it is expressed in the confession of faith by Goethe when catechized, to use Mephistos' phrase, by Margaret, which amounts to a sensuous worship of the universe identified with God, not unlike that of Strauss in the *Old and New Faith*, culminating in

'Gefühl ist alles,' 'Feeling is all,'

its natural vehemence when dwelling on the world's sorrow,

as when Faust exclaims, on being overwhelmed by grief at the sight of his lost love in prison,

‘ Mich fasst ein längst entwohnter Schauer ;
 Der Menschheit ganzer Jammer fasst mich an.’
 ‘ A shudder, long unfelt, comes o’er me ;
 Mankind’s collected woe o’erwhelms me here,’

its baffled attempts to solve the enigmas of existence, issuing in the cry, not in the *Urfaust*, be it noted :

‘ O wär’ ich nie geboren !’
 ‘ O that I had ne’er been born !’

In all this we see the nineteenth century in all its healthy vigour of youth and its feverish malady reflected as it mirrored itself in the mind of Goethe, both its forcefulness and effeminiacities, its fervours of feeling and its fretfulness in complaints, its *Werther* and *Wilhelm Meister* moods, portrayed with all

‘ The keenness and the glow
 Of full impassioned being.’

But the time arrives when passion has spent itself, and because it was as regards the age as well as the man, in the ebb tide of its pulsing life that the first part of *Faust* was completed, it remains what Schiller has termed it the ‘*Torso of Hercules*,’ whilst its power and genius unmistakably bear the traces of the great master. Nothing is complete in it except the *Gretchen* tragedy, and the hero’s fate is left in suspended uncertainty, hence perhaps the cold reception it met with at the time. It failed to do poetic justice, and it failed to put a finality to the speculations it had raised. But its very weakness on the score of incompleteness was its real strength morally considered. *Faust*, though steeped in sensuality, yet by no means so debased as was supposed until later discoveries, laying bare the whole plan, or rather various plans, of Goethe, left only partly executed, have come to light, never reaches the nadir of Marlowe’s hero. In the latter we have unbridled passion, in all its elementary force, unredeemed, as in Goethe’s *Faust*, by effort and endeavour to escape the fate of becoming the destroyer of innocent virtue. True, the

man who has learned to despise reason and science because they fail to satisfy his thirst of knowledge, takes up the cup of pleasure and, in his wild individualism, determines to absorb in his own soul and being the whole world, yet does he not throw himself entirely into the arms of cynical self-indulgence.

'Tis not of joy we're talking.

I take the wildering whirl, *enjoyment's keenest pain,*
Enamoured hate, exhilarent disdain.
 My bosom, of its thirst for knowledge sated,
 Shall not, henceforth, from any pang be wrested,
 And all of life for all mankind created
 Shall be within mine inmost being tested :
 The highest, lowest forms my soul shall borrow,
 Shall heap upon itself their bliss and sorrow,
 And thus, my own sole self to all their selves expanded,
 I, too, at last, shall with them all be stranded !'

Pleasure, such as it is foreseen to be mingled with pain and self-absorption, is complemented by a yearning of the individual soul to be merged with the fatal destiny of the universe. He may be carried away by passion in spite of his better feelings, but from the lowest depth he can rise again in spite of himself, over-sensitiveness and that excess of sensibility which is so nearly allied to minds aglow with the fervour of intellectual excitability, indeed, becomes the occasion of his fall, but he also, as by anticipation, loathes sensuous delights and feels beforehand in the first act of the first part, what he expresses so pregnantly in the fourth act of the second part—

'Geniessen macht gemein,'

'To enjoy is to grow common,'

and thus there is a predetermination to spurn the mean and contemptible in selfish indulgence, which prevents his falling beyond recovery. In Marlowe's finale, impressive as it is, and more correctly following the Faust legend as it does, the soul of Faust is lost, but lost in the ocean of infinity :

'It strikes ! it strikes ! Now, body, turn to air,
 Or Lucifer will bear thee quick to hell !

[*Thunder and lightning.*

O Soul, be changed into small water-drops,
 And fall into the ocean ; ne'er to be found !'

In the cry, 'Henry! Henry!' which sounds like an *ex-profundis*, but suggesting a possible revival—it is the soul's redemption wrought in the second part of *Faust*.

Here we have the migration of the soul after a natural restoration by supernatural powers, passing through the several stages of experimental purging and spiritual progression, a cultured, refining process, and perfection attained in acts of beneficence, finally leading up to the assumption of the soul into the higher spheres. As Harnack, in the work already referred to, puts it, the two leading tendencies in the first part of *Faust* are a thirst for knowledge and contact with the supernatural, with a wilful endeavour to get the mastery over mundane affairs. But as each of them is pursued separately, failure ensues, the longing after truth ends in intellectual indifference, since he cannot have all knowledge he will have none. So, too, the active tendency is checked and clogged in his first attempt in the medical art; accordingly, he gives up the hope at once of ever succeeding. His expectations are pitched too high, hence effort is lamed in these activities of a practical nature which some disappointments lead him to think will all end in failure; he despairs of human nature being capable of redemption, and has an overpowering sense of his impotence to effect a complete cure, and so he relinquishes the attempt of lessening human misery. It is, in short, the measureless desire of the undisciplined soul, the absence of reverential reflectiveness, which leads *Faust* to underrate the value of life, because he fails to see in it the reflex and shadow of an existence beyond. This unsatiableness of unlimited desire and aspiration produce a catastrophe which proves almost fatal. What Harnack, whose views we have given here in substance though not in form, does not see, or at least does not express, is the still deeper truth that here we have the portraiture of modern thought in its transition from mechanical and materialistic views of life, with their laming efforts on moral progress, to a fairer spirituality and a nobler conception of altruistic duty. Like *Faust*, in the first part, as if by magic and mephistophelian matter of fact cunning, it, too, is plunged into an ocean of splendid materiality, yet leaving its unsatiable thirst after higher things unquenched.

'So tummel ich von Begierde zu Genuss
Und im Genuss verschmacht ich nach Begierde,'

says the 'Uebersinnlich-sinnliche' Faust, and in this lies the kernel of good which, dissatisfied with the sensuous enjoyment, yearns after better things.

This brings us in the next place to the consideration of the second part, the Pilgrim's Progress of the Modern Man as described by Goethe, the 'Secretary of his age,' the process of the soul's spiritual culture towards perfection. Such was Goethe's intention clearly expressed in 1827, on the occasion of publishing separately his *Helena*, actually begun in 1778, under the title 'Helena, classical romantic Phantasmagoria.' It was intended to form the culminating point, or the *Gipfel* of the second part, and Schiller encouraged his friend in this. The original intention was not carried out, the incidents connected with the liberation war in Greece, and Byron's share in it produced a diversion in favour of the latter, who figures as Euphorion, the child of Faust and Helena sprung from the allegorical union of the classic and romantic ideals. In the second part of Faust the hero is wavering still, though not weak, the adage still holds good :

'Es irrt der Mensch, so lang er strebt.'

There are errors and departures still from the line of resolute moral sternness belonging to the 'straight man.' The Epicurean element still predominates, the classical hedonism, raised, refined, sublimated, but not yet reaching the sublime. Goethe himself was painfully conscious of this as, indeed, both in himself and his hero, and what is the second Faust here but his *alter ego* in a later stage of his own development. Pisgah glances of the highest ideal are not wanting, and a yearning for permanent possession of the promised land.

'Ein guter Mensch in seinem dunkeln Drange
Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst.'

'A good man, through obscurest aspiration
Has still an instinct of the one true way.'

And so we find Faust first engaged sometimes in dubious transactions connected with the masquerade of high life repre-

sented symbolically in the first act of the second part, an adaptation of the old legend for modern purposes, and we can clearly see the Geheimerath Goethe in the picture, conscientiously performing his official duties as the *meneur des plaisirs* of the Weimar Court. Even here as 'Grandmaster of social amusement and follies,' striving to acquit himself well in this new sphere,

'Der Kreis der meine Wirksamkeit erfüllt.'

Here the symbol of the ruling spirit of state activities, Victoria, the 'Göttin aller Thätigkeiten,' useful activity, keynote of modern politics, economics, ethics, and philanthropy, stands in the forefront as it pervades the whole atmosphere of the second Faust. Then follows the conjuring up of the classical ideal, or æsthetic idol and its vanishings, together with the falling back of the hero, amid the captivating allurements of sense, even in the pursuit of abstract beauty. For, as Bayard Taylor truly says: 'Helen represents in fact the abstract sense of beauty, the informing spirit of all art, the basis of the highest human culture.' . . . 'Faust loses something of his strong human individuality by coming under the control of ideas instead of passions.' And thus 'Goethe gives a moral, even a saving power to beauty.' In the fourth and fifth acts, we see him plunge headlong into human interests; one can see, snarls his demon companion, that he has just come from 'heroines;' he defends the imperial power as against the usurper; he reclaims land from the ocean for a happy race of mortals. Here we have 'the gospel of salvation by deeds,' the doctrine that by striving and unremitting labour, 'the service of man,' we can attain to perfection, in spite of failures, even in this province of human activity as a means of higher culture.

'Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der täglich sie erobern muss.'

Here, at last, we have a satisfactory solution, or something approaching it, though even here the happy moment is marred and the blessedness of the work destroyed by error and sin, by conscious deceptive arts, and unconscious infliction of

suffering on the innocent old couple, and downright despotic injustice. Even this last and greatest effort for the common good, which, as Düntzer shows, is part of the one original plan, is poisoned—'Verpestet alles schon Errungene.' But Faust is saved at last, yet not by his own power, but by those 'ministers of grace' who come to the rescue; still of the conditions of his deliverance they speak thus, as they carry away the 'immortal part of Faust':

' Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,
Den können wir erlösen.'

The striving may end in partial failure, but it is thus

' That men may rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.'
' Gerettet ist das edle Glied.'

At last the two souls in his breast, of which he speaks, bemoaning the inner conflict, in the first part, are harmonized and inner union restored by a separation of the carnal and the spiritual, accomplished by divine love.

' Kein Engel trennte
Geeinte Zwienatur
Der innigen Beiden
Die ewige Liebe nur
Vermag's zu scheiden.'

Still there remain carnal appendages of a lower state.

' Freudig empfangen wir
Diesen *im Puppenstand*,'

say the perfected angels, and we are left to infer a final perfection or purification process awaiting him yonder. 'In the Faust itself,' said Goethe, 'we have gradually a higher and finer activity until the end comes, and then love coming from above. This is throughout in harmony with our religious conceptions, according to which we are not saved through our own power, but are aided by divine grace.' And so five years before his death, March 19th, 1827, he said: 'Let us work on until the Universal Spirit bids us return to the ether! Then may the Eternal not deny us the gift of pure activities, similar to those

in this our state of probation.' The contest ends in the triumph of good over evil, as adumbrated in the prologue, the long, and at times doubtful, contest ends in the discomfiture of Mephistopheles. 'Die Menschheit ist ein Wesen um das sich Gott und der Teufel streiten,'—'Humanity is a being over which God and the devil fight,' Luther had said. Here we see the end of the conflict, and a restoration to harmony, the soul's evolution, through a dialectical process, resulting in ultimate purification, the apparent chaos of inconsistencies, ending in a final and complete reconciliation.

Here we stand on the threshold of the mystery which the Faust, as a world poem, strives to solve, and, in so doing, becomes a Theodicée, adapted to the exigencies of modern thought, the *μυθός* enfolding the religious thought of the nineteenth century. Mr. Lewes tells us that its creator 'was a poet whose religion was beauty, whose worship was nature, and whose aim was culture.' From what has been said already this must, apart from what we shall have to say further on, be taken as an epigrammatic exaggeration. On the other hand, Superintendent Cludius, a diligent and devout student of Faust, in his 'Plan of the Play,' full of happy *apperçus*, tries hard to prove that all Goethe intended to teach in it is the insufficiency of the worship of nature and the beautiful, that evangelical religion, in the last instance, can alone satisfy the conscience and the intellect; in fact, 'Goethe has bequeathed to us in the Faust his best, *i.e.*, his confession, though imperfectly stated, of belief in the Gospel.' And it is not uninteresting to follow the course of his ingenious reasoning, though here there is only room for the most salient points in it. In the first part of Faust, he tries to show that a separation of religion from morality, brings about the destruction of the noblest character in the tragedy. In the second part we see how a man striving after the highest ideal, may plunge from one error into another, and yet, over such a restless life, the bow in the cloud, over a soul still retaining its early beliefs, may rise, speaking of divine forgiveness. Then follows a detailed exposition of each act, which may be thus summarized. In the first act, poetry, the leader, is misled by the demonic

power of mammonism, and thus ministers to refined lavishness in luxurious living. In the second act, the hero is confined again to the narrow walls of his Gothic cell in search of scientific lore, which prepares us for the pursuit of the classical ideal in the next following acts, for learning and scholarship introduce us to the classical ideals. Here, too, he is diverted from the right path, and the æsthetic ideal becomes a phantom. In the fourth act he engages in political activities, and is scarcely, free from blameworthy errors; and in the fifth act the social state is built on sandy ground, whilst the destruction of the little chapel which stands in the way of carrying out the scheme, is in the opinion of our Protestant divine, as also in that of the Ultramontane critic of the Faust, emblematical of the antichristian tendencies of the modern man. Goethe, like Bismarck, repents himself of his *Culturkampf*, but with the last chiming of the tolling bell, which is so obnoxious to him, the light of his own eyes is extinguished; care, blindness, and death make their appearance. Faust then discovers that Helen, the ideal of sensuous perfection in Art, as well as Manto, his phantom guide in the subterranean regions of the occult origin of all things, and Homunculus, the creation of Wagner, the 'Pure Reason of Kant,' or the cold Humanism of the age, are all untrustworthy leaders to the hidden sources of knowledge. The hero in passing through the lowest stages of Greek Eudaimonism to the highest appreciation of æsthetic rapture, is yet a long way off from a restoration of the soul's sanity. His search after the mystic source of all being leaves him in the mire of a mystified pantheism. In short, we have here, according to our author, nothing less than a condemnation of Greek naturalism, a solemn warning against the idolatry of pure reason and 'the pale rational types of ideas in their historical development,' the schemes and shadows of a bygone age, the abstract idea of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. Liberty and Equality have a great attraction for the mind of Faust, but Politics and Socialism, with their misleading aims and questionable methods, become a snare to him, their antichristian character is indicated, since pity for human suffering is left out of ac-

count ; and at last, like a Prodigal Son, the hero returns to the Everlasting Arms, and so 'Faust is an apagogic mirror of Christian truth, as the second part especially shews to what errors and wrongs he is driven, who turns away from it. Very ingenious, we say, but far from true. The real truth lies somewhere between Lewes and Cludius. In more than one pregnant passage, Goethe expresses his firm belief in the moral government of God and the intimate connection between Ethics and Religion. He even accepted in some sense the authority of the Bible according to his own admirable simile like the impression of the Lord's image on the handkerchief of S. Veronica, the grand picture of the sacred writings had impressed itself on his own mind, he thoroughly knew and loved his Bible, owned its great value 'if accepted with feeling and docility,' but 'doing harm if used dogmatically and phantastically.' He had an unbounded reverence for Christ and Christianity, refused to be called *anti-Christian*, though he might be *unchristian*, and 'so I framed myself a *Christianity for my own private use*.' He is mentioned by Professor Nippold in his *Modern Church History* as 'one of the heroes of modern culture, who most strenuously maintain the Christian idea of God.' But it must be added that, writing to Jacobi in 1813, he says, 'as poet and artist I am Polytheist, as Naturalist I am Pantheist, one as necessarily as the other. If as a moral being I require a God for my own personality, this, too, is provided for.' As to the question of 'Das Drüben,'* there is the same

* 'Das Drüben kann mich wenig kümmern ;
Schlägst du erst diese Welt zu Trümmern,
Die andre mag darnach entstehn.
Aus dieser Erde quillen meine Freuden,
Und diese Sonne scheineth meinen Leiden ;
Kann ich mich erst von ihnen scheiden,
Dann mag, was will und kann, geschehn.
Davon will ich nichts weiter hören,
Ob man auch künftig hasst und liebt,
Und ob es auch in jenen Sphären
Ein Oben oder Unten giebt.'—*Part I.*

'Nach drüben ist die Aussicht uns verannt,
Thor ! wer dorthin die Augen blinzend richtet,

vagueness and uncertainty ; but even as far back as 1818, he speaks of the impossibility of man getting rid of the thought that he is 'a citizen of that spiritual kindgom, faith in which we are neither able to get rid of or give up.' All this has to be noted if the *Faust* is to be regarded as the *Theodicée* of Modern Christianity.

Having premised this much, we may now compare the *Faust*, as a *Theodicée*, with other world poems purporting to solve the problem of life, for instance, the Book of Job. In this 'Oriental *Faust*,' where, to use the fine simile of Quinet, we see Scepticism, like a serpent of the desert, hidden in the Holy of Holies, we note the influence of the age on the writer. That age was the age of Humanism and Hebrew free thought, which also is *mutatis mutandis* the case of the modern poem. Hence the adaptation of the story of Job in the Prologue. In it, too, we see something of the trials and triumphs of faith in an epoch of speculative inquiry and spiritual conflict. Here we see the human conscience in conflict with the justice of God, an endeavour to account for the disharmonies of fate and desert, and a revolt against traditional views on the subject unsupported by the facts of life. There is this important difference, however: the hero of the modern poem is, to begin with, imperfect, and passes through various stages, reaching at last a higher level of purified existence. Job falls from a higher state of ideal patience when tried to the utmost, but finally returns to his high vantage ground of faith, whilst the agent of Evil becomes the instrument of bringing about a consummation contrary to his designs, though able to bring about a fall in the one case by means of trials and sufferings, and in the other by means of sensuous enjoyments. Thus, as a cultured Jewish Rabbi, in a lecture delivered a few years ago, before a mercantile association in Darmstadt, and since published, puts it, the two books are a supplement of each other, whilst 'the redemp-

Sich über Wolken seines Gleichen dichtet,
 Er stehe fest und sehe *hier* sich um ;
 Dem Tüchtigen ist *diese* Welt nicht stumm.'—*Part II.*

However, compare close of second part throughout.

tion of both the heroes is effected by one and the same power—love.' The final lesson in the religious parable of the East is that of Resignation, that of the Western sage is the duty of unremitting striving after higher attainment. Nothing remains but to submit, concludes the author of Job; nothing remains but to perform the 'daily task' with cheerful acquiescence, says the author of Faust. Both agree in this, 'there are problems which cannot be resolved, which must be passed over . . . the march of the world is enveloped in darkness, but its direction is Godward.' There is a crisis, or more than one crisis, in the career of each hero, when apostasy is imminent, yet both recover, and in this way Job and the Faust are universal types of human struggles, the one of a moral and religious, the other of an intellectual and spiritual struggle, neither ending in tragic fashion, but each full of solemn interest and incident throughout. In the Aryan poem the human interest predominates, in the Semitic the Divine. God is just, for he is all-powerful, such is the close of Job. 'We touch heaven when we touch the human body,' the words of Novalis, occur to our mind when the angels carry away the precious part in 'this mortal coil' of what remains of Faust. But though the salvation of the soul is effected finally in both cases, the complete solution of the problems put is not found, so as to leave a sense of disappointment behind. 'Do not expect a solution' ('Aufschluss'), writes Goethe to Reinhard, after sealing up the final revision of the Faust MS., 'as in the case of the world's history and that of Humanity, the last solution of a problem always reveals another yet to be solved in its place.'

The Prometheus has been called the Job of heathenism, and the play in which his trials are depicted ends like the Book of Job, in a thunderstorm. Elihu has been called the Hebrew Wagner, as Hermes in the Prometheus has been compared to the old bachelor in Faust. Prometheus, as the son of Themis, or law, is in conflict with the arbitrary decrees of Jupiter. These are points of contact which have more than once suggested comparisons between the Hebrew and the Hellenistic preachers of righteousness in their respective

dramas. The unfinished Prometheus of Goethe, as well as his Satyros, Mahomed, and The Wandering Jew, all belong to that period of *Sturm und Drang* which led to the first conception of the Faust as a 'Himmelsstürmer.' They have the same leading idea in common, that of alienation from, or antagonism against, the higher powers, man's proud, self-conscious strength, measuring itself with the deity, enduring reverses without flinching, and pressing onwards in a forlorn cause, restlessly and resolutely to the bitter end, with self-sufficient pride and vain presumption, and failing accordingly in its Titanic effort. The Æschylean formula, 'Pain is gain,' is more akin to Job's mode of reasoning than that of the 'German Titan.' In both the Hebrew and Greek poems we have the same questionings in the current controversies, ethical and religious. But the resemblance between the modern and ancient dramas is closer if we compare the idea of an 'all-pervading destiny' in the latter with something like the doctrine of 'scientific necessity' in the former. Again, the authors of the Faust and the Prometheus are both doctors, skilled in mantic and magic arts, and use the poetic art metaphysically 'in a mystery.'

'All arts for mortals from Prometheus spring.'

Goethe, too, brings the light of modern enlightenment from Olympian heights, but his Faust is not caught in 'Até's net,' but in the network of his own passions and self-created surroundings. We do not know the real end of the Prometheus of Æschylus, the portion of the trilogy which contained it having been lost. Nor do we know the end intended for Goethe's drama under that name: it breaks up with a complete revolt in tone and tenor, like the curse in the first part of Faust, upon which follows the remarkable passage most akin in spirit to the Greek Prometheus, and given, in translation, on p. 159, *supra*.

'Mein Busen, der vom Wissensdrang geheilt ist,
Soll keinen Schmerzen künft'ig sich verschliessen,
Und was der ganzen Menschheit zugetheilt ist,
Will ich in meinem innern Selbst geniessen,
Mit meinem Geist das Höchste und Tiefste greifen
Ihr Wohl und Weh auf meinen Busen häufen,

Und so mein eigen Selbst, zu ihrem Selbst erweitern,
Und, wie sie selbst, am End' auch ich zerscheitern.'

The struggling of the individual soul and the idea of the man merged in humanity is a new idea introduced by Christianity, inter-penetrating the Aryan mind. The further development of Faust in the second part is more in keeping with the idea expressed somewhere by Æschylus: 'Calm wisdom gained by sorrow profits much.' But the final solution, by an act of divine love, to unravel the 'tangled web of human life,' is entirely due to the effect of Christianity on modern thought.

The intermediate link between the ancient and the modern modes of thought on the problem of life we have in Dante's 'Divine Comedy,' still cast in mediæval form, but standing on the threshold of the new world and the new learning, in which the classic and Christian ideal are finally united. It has been called by Dr. Döllinger 'a sacred poem,' a name scarcely applicable to Goethe's Faust. Yet there are many points of comparison, though we are told in the Prelude the order here pursued is the reverse of that in the Italian masterpiece,

'Vom Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle,'

which was the intended course of action in the first part of Faust by Goethe, as he told Eckermann in 1827. Both poems resemble each other in this, that the earlier are by far the most powerful portions from a literary and artistic point of view, but chiefly because they give the 'history of a human soul,' and the history of the soul's struggles in the respective authors. What Döllinger says of the 'Divina Commedia' is true exactly of the Faust:

'Dante develops his work into a Theodicée, representing the divine economy of the world's story within the bounds naturally of contemporary knowledge. . . . Dante sets himself forth as a man who has sinned much, but also has loved much, and who, through repentance and purified love, has merited forgiveness.'

The need of pardon is greater in the Faust, and we somehow miss in it that deeper consciousness of guilt on which the severe Florentine dwells. But if we do not hear the refrain of

mediæval *misereres* and groans of purgatorial agonies with which Dante's poem abounds, we have a more vivid picture of the *gloria in excelsis* at the close, which with all its faults of studied art, resorting to what Fischer calls contemptuously 'stockkatholischen Bildern,' compares favourably with the pale splendours of the white light in the 'Paradiso.'

Dante lived and thought at the dawn of the Renaissance, Shakespeare under the noon-day blaze of its inspiration, and as Goethe himself has pointed out, he moreover feels the breath of the Reformation. In Hamlet, which is the nearest approach to Faust, we have the result on mind and heart of the complete break with mediæval conceptions of religion. The effect of this at first is appalling, the new scepticism makes the head reel and the heart grow sick under the deep sense of human woe, unrelieved by divine consolation. Hence the bitter irony and sarcasm in which the wounded spirit vents its grief when robbed of its simple faith, hence the wistful questioning whether it is worth while to live since human life and its ideals are but illusions. Here we have, again, the 'maddened rage' of reason rebelling against the conditions of existence, the struggles of the individual soul like that of a caged bird, striving to free itself from its confining limits, and sorely wounded, bleeding itself to death. Polonius and Mephisto are not unlike in their sordid humour; Gretchen and Ophelia in the sorrow which unhinges the mind's balance. There is a further resemblance in the minor characters of Horatio and Valentine. The mysterious machinery of this superstitious past are to be found in both, the spirits, witches, and hobgoblins, move more freely on the stage than in either. The free thought of the Renaissance and the critical spirit of the Reformation find their expression in Hamlet as the new natural revival and the new 'Protestantismus' of the eighteenth century are apparent in the Faust; Goethe like Shakespeare, with the magician's aptitude, turning ancient mysteries to modern use, attaching new meanings to old saws, satisfying the exigences of a stage in providing popular amusement, and, at the same time, satisfying the intellectual requirements of the cultured few. But the essential difference between the two poets is the scientific

spirit which pervades the Faust, not only, as Quinet says, producing intellectual fatalism and despair because of what it cannot tell us, a contempt for 'Vernunft und Wissenschaft,' which is only a temporary phase of thought—the passage referred to was written in 1791—but also a firm resolve we miss in Hamlet to make use of mechanical appliances for practical ends, so as to increase the well-being of our species, and thus to make the experiences of life serve the purposes of self-development, in short, moral evolution by a natural process, in accordance with the forming and healing laws of nature. Religion, in all its varying forms, according to Goethe, is nothing else but an expression of this healing force in nature. This introduces the religious motive, which comes in in the first part, where Faust is saved from self-destruction by the first sounds of the Easter hymn, and again at the beginning of the second part by a moral lustration performed by the elves, and at its close by the choirs of angels and supernatural agency. It is, therefore, an over-statement of Scherer and Grimm, as representing the philosophical critics on the one hand, to say that in the Faust we have the gospel of human beneficence or the salvation of manly activity, by which the hero is saved, and of the religious expositors on the other, *e.g.*, Rieger at the close of his sensible treatise on Goethe's Faust, in its religious bearings, when he speaks disparagingly of the Goethe cultus of the present day, which regards the great poet as a kind of aesthetic-ethical world saviour. In the Faust itself, unless we are determined to read into it what is not there, from fear or predeliction, neither human activity nor the pursuit of the ethical and aesthetical ideal in themselves, or taken together, bring about the final redemption. Piety is regarded by Goethe as one of the essential requisites of the highest culture and intellectual productivity, he says, and is peculiar to religious minds, imitation and repetition being characteristic traits of the irreligious. Moreover, he seems to consider all self-culture only as a means to an end for the great '*Entelechie*' to make ourselves here what we would be hereafter. But granting this, another scruple may rise in some minds. Does not Goethe take things too easy in this matter of purification? Is there no laxity in his plan of sin and forgiveness,

and the laws of moral sanitation, which a Roman Catholic writer has characterized as a 'shallow unethical naturalism?' and an attempt to 'set up the statue of Venus in the place of the Cross on Calvary,' does not recover by means of biological experiment in the *Faust*, which has become the second bible of Germany, lack that serious sense of guilt and retribution even to be found in the old tragedians, and so produce by its seeming moral frivolity a moral shock, which reacts unfavourably on finer minds, and is apt to disturb the ethical equilibrium of the unstable? We must not apply theological standard measures to a work like the *Faust*. We cannot expect here to find a clear exposition of the doctrines, *de congruo et de condigno*, defined as clearly as in the treatises of the Pater Seraphicus, who figures in one of the scenes concluding the poem. Goethe would have made a sorry figure in the godly company who framed the XXXIX. Articles or drew up the Westminster Confession. But there are some expressions in the bulk of his writings which plainly show that he had a very sound idea of guilt and its consequences, and the whole tone and tenor of the *Faust* reads like a confession, as it expresses a deep sense of wrong and need for divine forgiveness, and this nothing but prejudice or inexcusable carelessness can fail to find or read between the lines. What can express more forcibly the painful consciousness of imperfection and failure in noble attempts, and sinking below his own high ideals, than the single phrase—

'Es irrt der Mensch, so lang er strebt!'

But is the author of the *Faust* a Christian, and his poem a religious poem from the Christian's standpoint? Düntzer, his most faithful commentator, denies this. Others are equally strong in the assertion of the contrary. We will answer in Goethe's own phrase: 'There are Christians among the heathen, such as the Stoics; there are heathen among Christians, such men who only live for this life' ('Lebemenschen'); and again in conversation with Kanzler Müller in 1830 he says, and this ought to be conclusive evidence on this head: 'You know how I esteem Christianity, or perhaps you don't know. Who is a Christian now-a-days such as Christ would have him be? Perhaps I only, though all of you may

consider me a heathen.' Beyond this we need not pursue the question. But if Christianity is the manifestation of divine love, as in the Easter scene, which brings about a restoration of soul where we read :

'Die Liebe Gottes regt mich an,'

or in this finale of the Faust, in the couplet

'Das Ewig weibliche
Zieht uns hinan,'

where we have the untranslatable expression of the power of divine eternal love—then we say the Faust cannot be considered in any other light but as a religious poem, in the words of the Pater profundus

'So ist es die allmächtige Liebe
Die alles bildet, alles hegt,'

the love of God for man is the final cause of man's recovery and the soul's redemption, 'the conclusion of the whole,' as K. Fischer puts it, 'is not the last act of a moral development, but a work of divine machination.' So long, therefore, as man's struggle with the powers of evil and deliverance from the opposing forces to his moral and intellectual development, within and without, continue to remain the most profound of problems to be solved by humanity, so long Goethe's Faust is sure to retain its high place in the estimate of cultured minds, and secure for Goethe the position he prophetically though unconsciously claims for himself in the words which fall from the lips of Faust in anticipation of success in his humanizing efforts—

'Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdenthagen
Nicht in Aeonen untergehen.'

M. KAUFMANN.

ART. VIII.—LAURENCE OLIPHANT.

Memoir of the Life of Laurence Oliphant, and of Alice Oliphant, his wife. By M. O. W. OLIPHANT. Two volumes. Edinburgh and London, 1891.

MRS. OLIPHANT has written a singularly interesting, and indeed fascinating, biography of her distant kinsman. That it is also picturesque need hardly be said. It was scarcely possible that the biography of the author of *Haifa* and *Episodes in a Life of Adventure* could be otherwise, especially when proceeding from the hand of so skilful and sympathetic a writer as the author of the *Lives of Edward Irving and Principal Tulloch*. The story of his outward life, of his wanderings and adventures in almost every quarter of the globe, Mr. Oliphant has himself told us in several charming and delightful volumes, and in others he has given us hints and indications of the mysteries of his deeper and hidden life, and sometimes large passages in which he has unveiled them more or less distinctly. It is with this latter side of his nature that the present volumes are more particularly occupied. Comparatively little is said of his travels and adventures, and very little of his writings. The Memoir is for the most part taken up with unfolding the growth and development of that inward and spiritual side of his life which made him so strangely incomprehensible to the majority of those who were acquainted with him, and to all appearance, notwithstanding the many favouring circumstances with which he was surrounded, wrecked a career which bore every promise of being exceedingly useful and brilliant. There are many things in the volumes which are singularly perplexing. Mrs. Oliphant owns her inability to explain them, and most readers will in all probability do the same. Yet it is the passage in which these same strange and enigmatical things occur, that give to the Memoir the main part of its piquancy and attraction. They are wonderfully suggestive, sometimes startlingly so, and present us with a series of psychological puzzles, to which at present there seems to be no adequate solution.

Laurence Oliphant was born at Cape Town in 1829, where his father, Anthony Oliphant, the second son of the Laird of Condie, was Attorney-General. His mother was Maria Campbell, the daughter of Colonel Campbell of the 72nd Highlanders. Both the father and the mother were in their way notable. The latter, we are told, was 'full of the vivacity and character which descended to her son,' while the father is said to have been 'a man of much individual power and originality, an excellent lawyer and trusted official.' Both of them were devoutly religious, much given to self-examination and self-reproaching, and though obliged from their position to mingle in the gaieties and seductions of the world, abhorring them, and often rebuking themselves for the agreeable manner in which they found them appealing to their social instincts. Laurence was their only child. Both of them were passionately attached to him, and their chief anxiety was to train him in the way of godliness. In 1839, the home at Cape Town was broken up. Sir Anthony was transferred to the Chief Justiceship of Ceylon, and his wife and child sailed for England, partly on account of Lady Oliphant's health and partly for the education of Laurence. A letter written soon after this, when the Chief Justice had settled down to his new duties and had had time to look about him, gives us a charming glimpse into his character and of the relations existing between him and his son. In it, the Chief Justice writes to his ten year old child almost as if he were an equal, tells him of his loneliness and of his longing to see 'Lowry' and his mother—of his backslidings, how he had become careless in his speech, and had used bad words thoughtlessly—how he had found a friend in 'an officer who was tall and thin, like Robert Baillie, of the 72nd,'—and how the letter is written 'for my son's welfare, and that mamma may know that there is somebody here who will love and take care of papa when she is far away.' All this—and there is much more in a similar strain—is scarcely what we should expect a Chief Justice to write, but there is a charming simplicity and frankness about it. It reveals the character of the boy's father, and the intimate relations which already existed between them. Lady Oliphant's letters to little Lowry about the same time, when he was absent from her at Mr. Parr's school

at Durnford Manor, near Salisbury, are interesting for similar reasons. In one she asks him to speak to her as he used to do, and to tell her his besetting sins, and he replies: 'One of them is my not saying my prayers as I ought, hurrying over them to get up in the morning because I am late, and at night because it is cold; another is my hiding what I do naughty, and keeping it from Mr. Parr's eyes, not thinking the eye of God is upon me, a greater eye than man's; and another, my cribbing things from other boys, which is another word for stealing—not exactly stealing, but leads to it.' And then leaving his religious introspection, he goes on to say, with a touch of very natural vexation: 'I am such a horrid sumer (arithmetician); it is that that gets me down in my class so much. I was perfectly beaten last week, for they brought me down from top to bottom.' But the chief thing with Lady Oliphant was the state of his conscience. From his infancy he had been surrounded with an atmosphere of religion, and trained to turn his thoughts inward and subject himself to a careful moral scrutiny. This, together with the predisposition which he inherited from his parents, who both practised the methods of the Evangelicalism of the time, must have had a great influence in determining much of his subsequent career.

In 1841 Lady Oliphant joined her husband in Ceylon, and left her son with Mr. Parr, who had removed to Preston, in Lancashire, where he had accepted a living. But neither she nor the Chief Justice could endure the strain of separation from him, and orders were soon received in London for him to be sent home with a tutor, to carry on his education. There is a tradition that the telegraphic summons was, 'Send out the kid at once.' But Mrs. Oliphant sets this aside as 'a fond invention of a later day,' chiefly for the very good reason that there was then no telegraph. Out, however, Laurence went, accompanied by two boys, the sons of Mr. Moydart, a neighbour at Colombo, and by Mr. Gepp, now vicar of Higher Easton, near Chelmsford, whom Major Oliphant, the boy's uncle, had selected as a tutor for him. 'By that time,' says Mrs. Oliphant, 'Lowry had developed out of the early stage of childhood into an active and lively boy, eager for new experiences, and all the novelty and movement that were

to be had. . . He was between twelve and thirteen, with all his faculties awake, and his whole being agog for novelty and incident, when he set out to join his parents in the late winter of 1841.' The journey, of which he has himself given an account, lasted between two and three months, and was not without incident and adventure. There was then no P. and O., and the voyage was frequently interrupted by breakdowns and pauses for repair. One accident led him to Mocha, the first of the many then unfrequented spots which he was afterwards to tread.

At Colombo young Oliphant settled down to his lessons with Mr. Gepp and the Moydart boys, and to that close companionship with his mother which was to occupy so large a share of his thoughts, and to have so considerable an influence upon his life. The direction of his education she appears to have taken wholly into her own hands, or rather to have placed it in a larger measure in his. 'She was still a young woman—"there were but eighteen years between us," he used to say—and though Lady Oliphant loved to be obeyed, yet she had from his infancy placed the boy—the "Darling," as his father invariably calls him, with a little affectionate mockery—in a position of influence and equality not perhaps very safe for a child, but always delightful between these two; for the quick-witted and sharp-sighted boy had always a chivalrous tenderness for his mother, even when, as happened sometime, he found it necessary to keep her in her proper place.' In illustration of this Mrs. Oliphant relates the following incident. It 'happened one morning when the tutor's scheme of work appearing unsatisfactory to Lady Oliphant, she came into the schoolroom to announce her desire that it should be altered. To do this before the open-eyed and all-observant boys was, perhaps, not very judicious, and the young preceptor was wounded and vexed. There was probably a sirocco, or its equivalent, blowing—that universal excuse for every fault of temper in warm latitudes—and a quarrel was imminent, when Lowry rose from his books and came to the rescue. "Mamma, this is not the right place for you," said the heaven-born *diplomat*, offering her his arm, with the fine manners which, no doubt, she had been at such pains to teach him, and leading her away—no doubt half amused, half pleased, half angry, with the social skill of the boy.'

The incident is amusing enough ; but did not promise much for the authority of the tutor or for Lowry's education.

Of really serious education, young Oliphant, in fact, got little, perhaps none. He did pretty much as he chose, and the direction of what little training or discipline he got was mostly in his own hands. His influence over his parents was remarkable. Their intentions were good ; his welfare was their chief anxiety, and they fully purposed to complete his education in the usual way. With a view to this, some time after the incident above related, he was sent again to the care of a tutor in England to be prepared for the University. But before he had entered at the University, or had even well settled down to work, Sir Anthony unexpectedly arrived in England on a two years' leave of absence. The upshot may be told in the words of the son. 'I was on the point of going up to Cambridge at the time,' he says in his *Episodes in a Life of Adventure* ; 'but when he announced that he intended to travel for a couple of years with my mother on the continent, I represented so strongly the superior advantages from an educational point of view, of European travel over ordinary scholastic training, and my arguments were so urgently backed by my mother, that I found myself, to my great delight, transferred from the quiet of a Warwickshire vicarage to the Champs Elysées in Paris ; and, after passing the winter there, spent the following year roaming over Germany, Switzerland, and the Tyrol.' It was in 1846 that this new scheme of education, developed in the fertile brains of young Oliphant, and strongly advocated by his mother, was adopted, and 'the boy,' as Mrs. Oliphant remarks, 'turned once for all into the "rolling stone," which he continued to be for the rest of his life.' He himself, when moving about from place to place, and indulging in all the excitement of travel, used to wonder, he tells us, 'whether I was not more usefully and instructively employed than labouring painfully over the differential calculus ; and whether the execrable *patois* of the peasants in the Italian valleys, which I took great pains in acquiring, was not likely to be of quite as much use to me in after life as ancient Greek.' Perhaps it was, but the question is one which is not easy to answer. It is permissible

to believe, however, as Mrs. Oliphant remarks, that 'the ancient Greek and the profounder culture might have saved him and the world from some wild dreams of after life, without diminishing the force and originality of his being.' At anyrate, it was an experiment worth trying, and one almost feels disposed to regret that the common sense of Sir Anthony, who seems to have opposed this new method of education by contact, was compelled to give way before the vagaries of his son. The world might have lost some degree of originality and brilliancy, but the chances are it would have been more than recompensed by its positive gains.

The journey was full of incident and enjoyment, at least to the youngest member of the party. They crossed the Alps and entered Italy. Just then Italy was seething with excitement, and Oliphant records the 'salient features' of his stay there as 'indelibly stamped upon my memory.' He had a singular knack of finding out adventures, and when anything more than usual was going on in his neighbourhood, he was sure to be found in the thick of it. One night, we are told, he was in the middle of a 'yelling crowd' who were holding a political demonstration, pulling at the ropes with which the arms in front of the Austrian Legation at Rome were being torn down and dragged along to a bonfire. On another, he was roused from sleep by the murmur of many voices, and looking out of his window saw a dense crowd moving beneath. To rush into his clothes was the work of a moment, and in another instant he found himself 'one of a shrieking, howling mob, at the doors of the Propaganda, against which many blows were being directed by improvised battering rams.' 'I remember the doors crashing in,' he says, 'and the mob crashing after them, to find empty cells and deserted corridors, for the monks had sought safety in flight.' All this might be very exciting to a rash and impetuous youth, but had it been known that this young abettor of revolution was the son of a distinguished British official, things might have taken a very awkward turn. 'However,' to use the words of Mrs. Oliphant, 'no harm would seem to have come of it, unless, indeed, this first taste of the sweetness of excitement, and the fire of the multitude in motion awak-

ened the latent spark in the mind of one destined to see so much of such movements in after-life.'

At the termination of this extraordinary attempt at education, 'the remarkable substitute for Cambridge which had commended itself to the Oliphant family,' father, mother, and son returned to Ceylon. Here Laurence was appointed secretary to his father, and was soon advanced to the position of a barrister, pleading before the supreme courts, and transacting a good deal of very serious business. In the family circle, we are told, nothing could be done without him. 'He was everywhere, in the centre of everything, affectionately contemptuous of papa's powers of taking care of himself, and laying down the law, in delightful ease of lone and unquestioned supremacy, to his mother.' When not occupied with business, or writing to Lady Oliphant at Newera Ellia among the hills, or taking her place at 'papa's dinner parties,' he was seeking adventure in extensive rambles or shooting expeditions, in which he sometimes ran considerable risk.

A singular destiny, however, seems to have been against his settling down to anything or anywhere. He had not been long in Ceylon before an unusual and interesting visitor touched at it on his return to India from England. This was the Nepalese Minister, Jung Bahadour, who seems to have produced no less a sensation in Ceylon than he did in England. After a few days' acquaintance, young Oliphant was invited to accompany him to Nepaul. The promise of adventure which the invitation held out, was too strong for one in whom the instinct of the traveller and adventurer was already so well developed, to resist. Remonstrances seem to have come from some of the friends of the Oliphant family against allowing him to go on so wild an expedition; but his own wishes carried the day, and he left Ceylon with his new friend in December, 1850. Of his adventures he has himself given a vivid sketch, but quite as interesting are the letters which he wrote to his mother during the journey. Here he writes, more freely, recounting his flirtations, asking his mother to write him 'a letter of good advice, as I want it now, and certainly shall by the time I shall get it.' In one letter he startles her with the question, 'How

would you like a Roman Catholic daughter-in-law?' In another he intimates with much delight that of the assembled party he alone could 'polk.' He re-opens a third to describe a hunt. In one he says, 'I have taken to making love furiously, as I know I am going away immediately.' In others, and even in the same, notwithstanding their fun and gaiety, he turns to more serious matters, evidently induced to do so by his mother's inquiries after his spiritual condition. In one, he writes: 'It is difficult to practise habits of self-examination riding upon an elephant, with a companion who is always talking or singing within a few feet, but it is otherwise in a palkee, which is certainly a dull means of conveyance, but forces one into one's self more than anything.' The conclusion he comes to about himself is that his great weakness is 'flexibility of conscience, joined to a power of adapting myself to the society into which I may happen to be thrown.' He then goes on to give the following account of its origin: 'It originated, I think, in a wish to be civil to everybody, and a regard for people's feelings, and has degenerated into a selfish habit of being agreeable to them simply to suit my own convenience. I think I can be firm enough when I have an object to gain, and have not even the excuse of being so easily led as I used to think. I am only led when it is to pay, which is a most sordid motive—in fact, the more I see of my own character, the more despicable it appears, as being so deeply hypocritical that I can hardly trust myself; hence arose a disinclination even to speak about myself. How blind one is to one's own interest not to see that, putting it on one's own ground, it would pay much better to be an upright God-fearing man than anything else! Fortunately religion is a thing that one cannot acquire from such a motive, or I am sure I should have done so before this.' Confessions of this kind would doubtless be pleasing to his parents, more especially to his mother. They were evidently sincere. He ends by hoping 'there is no humbug in it,' and says 'it is honest as far as I know, but don't believe in it implicitly.' In another letter, on the other hand, he is disposed to defend his 'flexibility of conscience.' As to his tendency to be agreeable and sympathetic, he tells his mother, 'I inherit it from your side of the house evidently. But

the tendency I see to be bad in fact.' Here and there, too, in these letters there are chance references to his father, who is still 'papa to the home-loving adventurer.' 'There is no such travelling companion,' the young man says, 'as his papa. The men of his own age are as nice fellows as can be, whom he delights to emulate in every bodily exercise, to win a genial triumph over either in the elephant-hunt or the new polka, making a friendship for life out of a ball-room rivalry; but, after all, there is nobody like his father for real companionship.'

This rapid and brilliant rush through India was the beginning both of his life of adventure and of his literary career. On his return he found it impossible to settle down in Ceylon to the routine of official existence, and before many weeks had elapsed he and Lady Oliphant were on their way to England: he to take up the study of law, and his mother to await the period fixed for her husband's retirement from his Chief Justiceship. On their arrival in London Oliphant appears to have lost no time in beginning his legal studies. Lincoln's Inn was selected, mainly it would appear, on the ground that he had been assured that in consideration of his previous studies and practical experience in Ceylon, he might there be very speedily called to the Bar. There is not much evidence, however, that he was animated by any serious desire to fit himself for his profession, or that he was much in earnest. He hoped to get through somehow, but with as little labour as possible. 'I think,' he says, 'if I get up the two or three books necessary for acquiring a proper knowledge of mercantile law, including bills of exchange, together with the law of evidence, pleading and real property may take care of themselves.' One part of his studies, that which consisted in eating so many dinners, he thoroughly enjoyed. In a letter dated November 24th, 1851, he gives an amusing description of his first:

'I have eaten some stringy boiled beef at Lincoln's Inn Hall in company with three hundred others, not one soul of whom I had ever seen before; but I unhesitatingly talked to my next neighbour, and soon, by dropping in an unconcerned manner remarks upon a tiger I knocked over here, and a man I defended for murder there, talking learnedly about Ceylon affairs, etc., etc., incited the curiosity of those whose reserve would not otherwise

have allowed them to notice me, too much to let them remain silent. Still I felt rather verdant on first entering, and was only saved from sitting down at the table appropriated to barristers by hearing one man remark he was not going to sit there, as so-and-so was his senior ; so I concluded that if he was *his* senior, he was most certainly mine, and choosing the youngest-looking man I could find, I seated myself next to him.'

His brilliant conversational gifts soon made him a favourite in society. He grew enamoured of life in London, and boasted of its advantages. 'It will require no common inducement,' he said in one of his letters at the time, 'to make me ever return to Ceylon. Life is not long enough to waste the best part of it by living away from all the advantages which civilisation affords, to break up all the ties one may have formed, and which can never be re-united, to be destitute as well of the means of improvement as of common information upon every-day topics.' Among other things he took to politics, became 'a friend of the people,' and began to give a hand in the benevolent work which was then going on in the slums of Westminster. But Lincoln's Inn moved much too slowly for him. Before he had been a year there he resolved to try the Scotch Bar, and by the summer of 1852 he had taken up his quarters in Edinburgh, and was busy 'cramming.' He continued, however, to eat his dinners in Lincoln's Inn, and when in London returned to his missionary efforts in the slums.

In 1852 he set out on his journey through Russia, and made his famous visit to the Crimea. The success of his first venture as an author, which had lately appeared, had made him ambitious for further, and he began to be on the outlook for 'something to write about.' At the same time he was in quest of sport and adventure. He decided therefore 'to go to some out-of-the-way place and do something that nobody else had done.' 'The only part of Europe within reach fulfilling the required conditions,' he tells us in the *Episodes*, 'seemed to me to be Russian Lapland, for I had heard from an Archangel merchant that the Kem and other rivers in that region swarmed with guileless salmon, who had never been offered a fly, and that it would be easy to cross over to Spitzbergen and get a shot at some white bears.' But when he and his companion, Mr.

Oswald Smith, reached St. Petersburg, the Russian officials interposed, and instead of offering flies to the guileless salmon of Russian Lapland, the two young men sent home their sporting equipment, and turned their steps southwards. They visited Moscow, attended the great fair at Nijni Novgorod, and embarked on the Volga, and sailing down it, disembarked at Tsaitsin, on its right bank, not far from Astracan. They rode thence through the country of the Don Cossacks to the Sea of Azof, and crossing over this entered the Crimea, and made their way to Sebastopol. The Crimea was then an unknown country, and Sebastopol a mysterious city, of which many legends but no definite information had reached the world. At Odessa the young travellers left Russia and returned home by the Danube. Little sport had been obtained, but the purpose of getting 'something to write about' had been triumphantly achieved, as the following year proved when the experiences of the journey were laid before the public in the *Russian Shores of the Black Sea*. 'I owed the Russian authorities at St. Petersburg,' he says in the *Episodes*, 'a debt of the deepest gratitude for the journey thus forced upon us in default of a better, as the book which I wrote describing it, and especially the Crimea, appeared at the moment that war was declared by England against Russia, and a military expedition, which should have for its objective point the Tauric peninsula, had been decided upon.' One, perhaps the main, result, so far as he himself was concerned, was that he was introduced to the notice of the Government. 'In the early part of the year 1854,' he says, 'I was startled one morning by the clattering of a mounted orderly, who reined up at the door of my modest lodging in Half-Moon Street, and impressed my worthy landlady with a notion of my importance which she had not hitherto entertained, by handing her a letter which required an immediate answer.' The letter proved to be from Lord Raglan's chief of the staff, asking him to repair at once to the Horse Guards. On his arrival there he was introduced to the presence of a number of generals, and interrogated by Lord de Ros, Sir John Burgoyne, and others, as to his knowledge of the Crimea and Sebastopol. His information was of course of the utmost value, and was readily given, and with that facility and

self-confidence which appear to have characterised him all through in such matters, he also developed before the council his ideas of what ought to be done.

The immediate prospect of war in the East led him to abandon his legal studies once for all. Mr. Delane offered him the post of *Times* correspondent with the expeditionary force, but he was anxious for employment in the campaign under Government, and Lord Clarendon seems to have undertaken to send him out as soon as opportunity arose. Meantime Lord Elgin, on his appointment to the Washington Mission, offered him the post of private secretary, a post which he accepted, he tells us, 'in the hope that I might be back in time to find employment in the East before the war was over.' Contrary to expectation in America the Mission was soon over, and was 'tremendously triumphant.' 'We have signed a stunning treaty,' Oliphant wrote, though its opponents were afterwards in the habit of saying that 'it had been floated through on champagne,' a statement, it would appear, not altogether void of truth. From Washington Oliphant accompanied Lord Elgin to Canada, where he was appointed Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, much to his own surprise, and not without strong opposition both in the Canadian press and in the service. The post, however, was not permanent, and notwithstanding his youth and inexperience, he managed to discharge its duties with considerable success.

All during his absence he was, of course, in frequent communication with Lady Oliphant, who followed him with the utmost anxiety as to his spiritual welfare. His letters to her are full of gaiety, and charmingly frank. Now and then her questions touch him to the quick and he falls into a state of despondency. 'Lord Elgin,' he tells her, 'says he never knows what I am at, at one moment going to the extreme end of gaiety, at another, to disgust and despondency. . . . He sees my twinges of conscience, and asked me the other day whether I was going to lay all the sins I seemed so much oppressed with at his door?' At another time, Lord Elgin said to him: 'All these comments of yours upon our proceedings distress me very much. After all, we are only amusing people, and if you have got anything to repent of, I wish you'd wait and do it on board ship?' Lord Elgin, in fact, seems

to have been greatly perplexed, perhaps partly amused and partly irritated, by the changeful moods of his young secretary. If he was, it is not to be wondered at. Oliphant's letters at the time are a curious mixture of gaiety and pious meditation. Here and there one comes across an odd bit of casuistry. After exclaiming: 'Flesh and blood can't stand the temptation of such hosts of charming girls,' an outcry which Mrs. Oliphant tells us, was not at all intended to be humorous—he goes on to say: 'There is a class of sins which are very difficult to resist, because you cannot put your finger upon the exact point where they become sins. Now, for instance, a certain degree of intimacy with young ladies is no harm; and it is difficult to define where flirting begins, or what amount even of joking and laughing, though perfectly innocent, is not expedient, and one gets led imperceptibly on without feeling the harm that is being done to both parties until it is too late. As I told you before, I am not in any degree involved in anything; but I daresay I should be if I stayed; or, as an alternative, become more utterly heartless in these matters than I am already.' The point is a nice one and deserves discussion, but here it is apparently discussed only to be set aside, for he immediately turns to a lively description of the setting in of a Canadian winter.

The year 1855 saw Oliphant in England without employment and proposing to Lord Clarendon that he should be sent on a mission to Schmayl, for the purpose, if possible, of concocting some scheme with that chieftain by which combined operations could be carried on, either with the Turkish contingent, which was then just organised by General Vivian, or with the regular Turkish army. What Lord Clarendon thought of the proposal we do not know. He seems, however, to have been unwilling to commit himself, and to get rid of both of the project and its author, hit upon the plan of sending the latter to Constantinople with a letter to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. This letter Oliphant imagined authorised the ambassador to send him to Daghestan, where Schamyl had his stronghold; but Lord Stratford de Redcliffe seems to have thought otherwise. Instead of sending him off to Daghestan or even mentioning the project Oliphant was so eager to carry out, he invited him to go with him

to the seat of war, whither he was then on the point of starting in his yacht; and when at last a mission to Circassia was resolved upon, he sent not Oliphant, but Mr. Alison, one of his own staff. All the same Oliphant managed to get to Circassia, not however as an agent of the British Government, but as the companion of the Duke of Newcastle, and with the vanguard of the force sent thither under Omar Pasha. While there he saw some fighting, had one or two narrow escapes, and enjoyed himself immensely. But his delight was a little tempered by compunctions as to his mother's alarms. His letters to her are as frank as ever. He comforts her by saying that his letters to the *Times* bring him in 'lots of tin,' and while recounting his adventures, tries to minimise the dangers to which he has been exposed as much as possible. He is at the greatest pains to assure her, that he has no intention of being a soldier, and that, though surprised into warlike acts and often taking great delight in them, he always acts with the greatest prudence. 'I hope you give me credit for prudence now,' he writes, after telling how, in about three hours, he had thrown up 'no end of a battery' within a few hundred yards of the enemy, 'and will trust me. I assure you I was in a horrible fright at getting shot, entirely on your account, and I don't recommend a man to come to fight if he has got anybody at home who loves him. I don't think he can do his duty. If it had not been for you, I should have taken an active part in the affair. Altogether, though it was in some respects a horrible experience, I am glad to have seen it.' His 'flexibility of conscience' still stuck to him. From Sugdidi he wrote: 'I am very jolly here—such a pretty place—only we can't plunder. It is a great temptation. I don't wonder at soldiers going to all lengths. One does not feel it is a bit wrong. I put a fine cock in my pocket this morning. I would have given his owner anything he asked if I could have found him; but if we don't forage we get nothing but rice and biscuits to live on. I should not plunder anything but food, and that I don't call anything.' 'I am not sure,' he goes on to say, 'that I am not happier occupied as my mind is now. It is when I have time to think much that doubts arise. When I just say my prayers and read a text earnestly, and then go and gallop about

and am in hard healthful exercise, I feel much better in mind and body. I feel my mind much more innocent and less bothered and perplexed; but I am afraid this is wrong, and that one's occupation ought to be God's work, and not what papa calls playing one's self.'

At the conclusion of the war he was again in London, waiting on fortune, impatient of his want of progress, and ready to go anywhere. During the summer of 1856, he went with Mr. Delane of the *Times* to America; and when the business, which he does not describe, but speaks of as likely to put a thousand pounds in his pocket, was over, he turned his steps to the Southern States. At New Orleans he 'accepted a free passage to Nicaragua, in a ship conveying reinforcements to Walker's army' of filibusters. Fortunately for him, when the said ship came to the mouth of the San Juan, it was stopped by 'a British squadron lying at anchor to keep the peace,' and boarded by one of the captains. A chance remark of Oliphant's discovered his nationality, and he was incontinently transferred on board the 'Orion' to give an account of himself to Admiral Erskine. As usual, he fell on his feet. Admiral Erskine and he turned out to be distant cousins, and instead of suffering for 'his wild and unjustifiable undertaking, he found himself in comfortable and amusing quarters.'

In the beginning of 1857, Lord Elgin, who had been appointed head of the mission to China, asked Oliphant to return to the post of private secretary to him. The position was, as before, temporary. He was not recognised as a servant of the Foreign Office, nor as a member of the diplomatic staff. Still, the position gave him employment, and carried with it the prospect of better things. It is soon after this that we begin to hear of his spiritual and mystical notions. He began to talk of them, we are told, to the young men who were in attendance upon the Minister, as they lounged about the deck with their cigars, under the soft tropical night. What these notions were does not precisely appear. There is no trace of them in his letters. Another change is at this time also to be noted in him. According to Mrs. Oliphant, it would seem that during the interval between this and his former secretaryship

he had 'completely burst the strait bonds of his mother's evangelical views, then holding him lightly,' and 'come to something like a tenable foundation for his personal belief—which differed much from that in which he had been trained, yet which he was very anxious to prove to be a most real rule of life.'

Of his adventures while accompanying this mission, so brilliant and important, he has himself written in one of his most readable and entertaining books. His letters, especially those to Lady Oliphant, while bright and picturesque as usual, are much fuller of religious views and feelings. All manner of theological topics are discussed in them. He describes his doubts and difficulties, and the conclusions he has come to, and gives expression to his indignant disapproval of the different types of Christianity with which he was acquainted. His chief guide in theology appears to have been Theodore Parker, and in philosophy, Morell. Singularly enough, too, 'he finds a pleasure in Longfellow which Tennyson does not convey.' His preference for Parker and Longfellow, and the time at which the change took place, would seem to show that his early association with America had much to do with his severance from the theological opinion in which he had been trained. Anyhow, from the beginning of the China Mission onward, his first and last thought appears to have been religion, and the letters written after his departure for the East show that his mind was 'seething with dissatisfaction and eager desire after a better way.' The philosophy in which he indulges in these letters is somewhat curiously unphilosophical, and one begins to see that, after all, a course of study on the old-fashioned lines might have proved more advantageous than 'education by contact.' At the same time, while pouring out his religious reflections and confessions, he does not fail to sprinkle here and there in his letters, accounts of the other side of his life. From these it is clear that he was still the same 'versatile, delightful, gay, adventurous young man, who was ready for everything—the ball-room and the council-chamber and the smoking-room,' that whenever anything exciting was on the way he was always in the front, and that, notwithstanding his desire to be credited with prudence and caution, Lady Oliphant's alarms were not without cause, nor her gentle

reproofs unneeded. In reply to a letter in which he is blamed for exposing himself unnecessarily at Canton, he allows that he was wrong, and then amusingly defends himself by saying: 'But it involves a greater act of self-denial than any I know to refrain from going to see anything approaching to a fight, and though in principle I utterly disapprove of war, when it comes to, "Away there, second cutters!" human nature can't resist jumping in, whatever good resolutions one may have formed to the contrary.'

The China mission ended, he accompanied Lord Elgin to Japan and then returned home, to find his mother a widow. In reference to his father's death, Mrs. Oliphant tells a curious story, which is not without parallels. 'It was, I think,' she says, 'at one of the ports of Ceylon—a place so associated with him—that Laurence received the news. Sir Anthony's death was entirely unexpected, and occurred, I believe, at a dinner party to which he had gone in his usual health. I have been told that, being at sea at the time, Laurence came on deck one morning and informed his comrades that he had seen his father in the night, and that he was dead—that they endeavoured to laugh him out of the impression, but in vain. The date was taken down, and on their arrival in England it was found that Sir Anthony Oliphant had indeed died on that night.' Sir Anthony's death made the union between mother and son more close and all absorbing than ever, but it did not quiet the restlessness of the latter nor keep him in England. The spirit of adventure, however, was not altogether to blame for this. He hoped to establish himself in the diplomatic service near home, but no appointment coming, and impatient of waiting, in 1860, when the Italian revolution broke out, he took part in it, in the hope, it would seem, of becoming an important agent in the movement, and always in pursuit of 'something to write about.' At last, when an appointment did come, and he went out to Japan as First Secretary of Legation, some unlucky and serious wounds, which he received when the Legation at Yedo was attacked, compelled him to abandon his post after he had been at it but ten days, and to return to England. On his recovery, he resumed his wanderings. At Vienna, in 1862, he met the Prince of

Wales and his suite on their way to the Holy Land, and was invited to accompany them as far as Corfu. From Greece he passed to Herzegovina, and thence to Italy. In 1863 he saw something of the Polish insurrection, and was subsequently present at the battle which settled the fate of Schleswig-Holstein. In 1864 he returned home more or less 'for good,' apparently with the intention of entering Parliament. He coquetted with several constituencies, and at the election in 1865 was returned by the Stirling Burghs, which he had already unsuccessfully contested during his father's lifetime. This for a time brought his wanderings to an end. He settled in London, and along with Sir Algernon Borthwick and others started the *Owl*. It was during the same period also that *Piccadilly* appeared in *Blackwood*. In Parliament Oliphant was a failure. His only achievement was to assist in forming the Tea-Room Cave, the object of which was to pass the Reform Bill introduced by Mr. Disraeli at all hazards.

Meantime he was preparing for that decisive step which completely altered his career and made him so great a mystery to his friends. In 1867 he became a disciple or dupe of Harris, an American impostor, and went over to Brocton, where he surrendered himself and his property into the hands of the 'Father,' in order to learn how to 'live the life.' But here we must let his biographer speak:—

'The next communication I had from Laurence,' says Mrs. Oliphant, 'was dated from Liverpool. He was just about to sail for America, having given up everything that had previously tempted him—his position, his prospects, politics, literature, society, every personal possession and hope. A universal cry of consternation followed this disappearance, expressed half in regret for the deluded one (who was so little like an ordinary victim of delusion), and half in scorn of his prophet, the wretched fanatic, the vulgar mystic, who had got hold of him by what wonderful wiles or for what evil purposes who could say? A man who thus abandons the world for religious motives is almost sure, amid the wide censure that is inevitable, to encounter also a great deal of contempt; yet had he become a monk, either Roman or Anglican, a faint conception of his desire to save his soul might have penetrated the universal mind; but he did not do anything so comprehensible. He went into no convent, no place of holy traditions, but far away into the wild to "live the life," as he himself said, to work with his hands for his daily bread, giving up everything he possessed; in no

tragic mood, from no shock of failure or disappointment, but with the cheerfulness and light-heartedness that were characteristic of him, and that sense of the humorous which in living or dying never forsook him. He knew what everybody would say,—the jibes, the witty remarks, the keen shafts of censure, the mocking with which his exit from the world would be received by those whom he left behind. He saw, indeed, so to speak, the fun of it in other eyes, even when he felt in his own soul the extreme seriousness of the step he was taking. He disappeared, as if he had gone down for ever in the great sea which he had traversed to reach his new home and new life. The billows closed over him as completely; and for three years he was as if he had never been.'

A more extraordinary step it is difficult to conceive. The change in his mode of life was complete. He was set to clean out a large cattle shed or stable, and for days and weeks was kept wheeling barrows of dirt and rubbish from morning to night in perfect loneliness. Often after his day's work was finished, and he went to his rude lodging at nine o'clock dead beat, he was sent out to draw water for household purposes for a couple of hours, or he was kept up all night casting out or 'holding' against 'the infernals,' with which some member of the Brocton community was supposed to be 'infested.' Later on the brilliant conversationalist and accomplished diplomatist, who had been summoned to Windsor and consulted by statesmen on grave questions of foreign policy, was driving a team, cadging strawberries or doing business in Wall Street in the interest of his spiritual adviser and 'Father.' After three years of this, he was permitted to return to Europe. He came back 'with his head high and his eyes full of keen wit and spirit as of old,' telling the tale of his incompetence as a farm-labourer, and taking no pains to hide his satisfaction at having finished his probation and obtained release. At the time the Franco-German war was going on, and though liable at any moment to be summoned to America at the caprice of the 'Father,' he went over to France as the representative of the *Times*. In 1872 he married Miss Alice le Strange, who had already become imbued with his own faith and surrendered the whole of her property unreservedly into the hands of Harris. Shortly afterwards they set out to join the community at Brocton. There the marriage had been at first strenuously opposed, and then reluctantly assented to. From the moment of

their arrival the treatment they received at the hands of the community, or rather from Harris, was extremely harsh. The object of it was to destroy their mutual affection, and, if possible, nullify the marriage. At last the idea was propounded that it was not a true marriage of 'counterparts,' and therefore could have no reality or sacredness. The two were separated and sent to distant parts. Their faith in Harris, however, though shaken, continued. After a while the 'Father' deemed it politic to treat them with more consideration, and the two returned to Europe. In 1881 Oliphant returned to Brocton to satisfy himself as to the health of Lady Oliphant, who also had joined the community, and, in order to learn how to 'live the life,' had been chiefly occupied in washing pocket-handkerchiefs. He found her in broken health, and troubled in heart and faith. The poor lady did not live long, but the revelations she made to her son respecting the 'Father' were such that his eyes were at last opened to the extent to which he had been deceived. The discovery affected him almost more powerfully than Lady Oliphant's death, the approach of which neither he nor she could then believe to be possible. He passed through a period of suffering and mental conflict which had no parallel in his previous life, but in the end both he and his wife were emancipated from the long and strange tyranny to which they had voluntarily submitted in the hope of learning to 'live the life.' Neither of them, however, cared to return to their old ways. After a short stay in London, they went to Constantinople, where *Altiora Peto* was written, and took part in the movement then going on for the settlement of the persecuted Jews of Wallachia and Galicia in Palestine. Towards the end of 1882, they settled at Haifa, 'a small bright Syrian town lying on the western edge of the Bay of Acre,' which has since become so closely associated with their name. Here, on January 2nd, 1886, five years after the death of his mother, death deprived him of his wife. 'He, too,' says Mrs. Oliphant, 'was stricken with the fever which had killed her, but not enough to give him the happy fate of going with her to the eternal shores. The terrible blank which we have all to bear fell upon Laurence for a few brief but awful days. He lost her from his side, her helping-hand from

his, her inspiring voice. But only for a few days. One night, when he lay sick and sorrowful upon his bed in the desolate house at Haifa, a sudden rush of renewed health and vigour and joy came upon the mourner. The moment of complete union had come at last : his Alice had returned to him, into his very bosom, into his heart and soul, bringing with her all the fulness of a new life, and chasing away the clouds of sorrow like the morning vapours before the rising sun.' Two years later, he married Miss Rosamond Dale Owen, and died a few weeks later.

The character of Laurence Oliphant is exceedingly difficult to account for. As exhibited in his letters, more especially in those which he addressed to Lady Oliphant and his intimate friends, it is laid open without reserve. The same remark is true of the passages in his writings in which he speaks of himself. That he posed, or was vain, or ever consciously attempted to represent himself otherwise than he was, or felt that he was at the time of writing, are suggestions that may be set aside as without foundation. His openness and sincerity may be regarded as perfectly unquestionable. Opener or sincerer souls are rare. The difficulty is not to describe his character, but to account for it. Its different elements are obvious, but how they came to coexist in the same mind is the puzzle. He was sharp, shrewd, clever, a keen observer of others, quick to discern their faults, foibles, and even pretences, and a remarkably capable man of business, and yet in some respects he was extremely credulous. In fact, he had two natures, neither of which was penetrated or controlled by the other. To all appearance they were completely separate, as completely separate, that is, as it is possible for any two sides of one and the same being to be—a separation, it strikes us, which the methods of the evangelicalism in which he was brought up have always a tendency to produce. The versatility and strength of his intellectual, or what we might call his superficial or ordinary self are obvious. Had he brought the same shrewdness and penetration to bear upon the matters of his deeper and religious life that he exhibited in Wall Street or in most of his business transactions elsewhere, things would have gone very differently with him ; but this was precisely what he failed to do. In matters of religion he trusted, at least during

the later part of his life, when he had broken away from the faith in which he had been trained, wholly to his intuitions. They were unquestionably very high, and of the noblest and most unselfish kind; but he forgot that before they can be acted upon, even the best of intuitions require to be subjected to the most careful scrutiny and revision. Hence his unfortunate relations with Harris and the Brocton community. There can be no doubt that he was perfectly sincere, and that he was thoroughly convinced that he was only doing what was right; but the use of a little of that worldly wisdom of which he made so conspicuous a use in many other matters of less concern, would, in all probability, have made him pause before placing himself, and still more before inducing Lady Oliphant and his wife to place themselves so completely in the hands of a man so utterly irresponsible and with so few credentials to trustworthiness as Harris. When he did begin to use it, and saw his mother's ring upon the hand of one of the 'Father's' household, his eyes were opened, and he at once broke with him. Some of his idiosyncracies, both of conduct and character, may be attributed also, at least in some measure, to his highly wrought sensitiveness, to the want of a more rigid discipline in his youth, and to his habit of self-examination. His subjection to his sympathies, or to speak in the language of the sect, his sensitiveness to magnetic influence—which, after all, is only the influence of one mind over another more sympathetic and impressionable than itself—was almost uncontrolled. The impulse of the moment was everything with him. Arising out of a nature singularly pure and unselfish, they as a rule kept him right; but however pure and unselfish one's motives may be, they are not sufficient for the conduct of life. Common prudence is requisite, and the neglect to use the faculty of looking behind and before, or to act without due consideration of the issues involved, or the warnings which reflection holds out, even though they wear something of the aspect of selfishness, is sooner or later avenged either in extravagance of conduct or in something worse. Good motives are excellent, but before they can be implicitly trusted or raised to the highest efficiency as guides to conduct, they require to be mixed with common sense and the purest light of reflection and judgment. Unfortunately of that

rigid and often extremely unpleasant discipline by which a man learns to control his sympathies, to look behind and before and to act only after considering his motives from a practical as well as a moral point of view, Oliphant had little. His habit of introspection led him at last to distrust his moral judgment entirely, and to feel the need, as he put it, of some one to 'bully' him. His subjection to Harris, however, was not without its value. It was his training and discipline—and to some extent it remedied the defects of his early training; but not wholly. That, we imagine, was impossible. His nature was noble, unselfish, aspiring, but out of joint. With all his shrewdness, versatility and earnestness, he was viewy, impulsive and impatient, discontented with old and established methods, and anxious to force the hand of Providence and make things move quicker than they will. We are hemmed in on every side by laws, and he who sets them at naught or attempts to over-reach them has a serious penalty to pay. It was Oliphant's fault that he did not always reckon with them. That his life was a failure we should not like to say, and indeed, are far from saying. But it may be said of him with a larger truth than of most, that his life was not what it might have been.

ART. IX.—THE SCOTCH PLOUGHMEN'S UNION AND
ITS REFORMS.

THE programme of reform now being advocated by the leaders of the Ploughmen's Union invites the attention of all who have an interest in the future of Scotch agriculture, and in the condition of those who are with their own hands actually engaged in the agricultural labour of the country. Scotch farmers in many districts have now for some time been in a position to sustain their opinions by that added weight which comes of solidarity and combination. The promoters of the Ploughmen's League endeavour to secure the same weight for the expression of opinion from the labourers in husbandry, as that already secured by its capitalists. Their aim

has been to find out the truth of the matter about farm-labourers, and to say and do for these what these are not in a position to say and do for themselves. The result has been that not only is the condition of agricultural labourers all over Scotland thoroughly investigated, but that even the obscure and only half-appreciated wants of the class have found an effective voice, and strenuous efforts are being made to secure for the labouring agricultural population the same advantages that the handicrafts derive from their Trades' Unions. Further than this, the agitation has had the effect of awakening the minds of this class to a perception of grievance where none was previously felt. It has, as might be said, opened the eyes of ploughmen to the existence of wrongs hitherto unperceived, and has drawn up a sort of Ploughmen's Bill of Rights which must become written or unwritten Law before the leaders of the Union will express themselves satisfied. It is upon some of the desiderata of this Bill of Rights that I wish to make a few comments.

And first, I would remark that there are peculiar dangers which beset the promoters of any form of Agrarian agitation. Here, more than in any other sphere of labour, there is requisite in the agitator, first of all, a minute and thorough acquaintance with the practical details of the subject. Here, more than anywhere else, are economic theories sure to lead him into absurdity and blundering, unless his ideas are continually checked by an explicit understanding of how things actually stand, and a clear perception of all the consequences of whatever change he advocates. The subject is that which touches the most stable source of wealth in the country, and it is one which, in its broader aspects, is already seamed with theories of all colours. The agrarian reformer has to confront these theories, and confront further the fact of that continual stability in land which puts all questions affecting agricultural interests outside the category of ordinary economic or mercantile speculation. Any agitation which shakes this stability and brings land into the open market as an exchangeable commodity, subject to all the rapid and precarious fluctuations of ordinary market values, which tends, in other words, to

throw land into the hands of speculators, and make it like mines and railroads an item on the Stock Exchange, will inevitably issue in disastrous consequences to the entire agricultural interest, and will most heavily affect those who are at the foot of the ladder, viz., the working agricultural population. There is further to be considered the fact that agricultural labourers, from the very nature of their employment, partake of the same character of stability which belongs to the land itself. They are not brought into contact with the whirling movements which agitate the lives of city artizans. Fluctuations on the Stock Exchange do not affect them. Banks may collapse, factories may be locked out, iron-blasts damped down, ship-building yards closed, whole counties of miners out on strike, and ruin spread far and wide among both employers and employed, both middlemen and investors, but seed-time and harvest come and go as if nothing of the kind were happening. The ploughman is outside the immediate range of all this risk and excitement. Great commercial crises do not strike him immediately: they only affect him indirectly after a long interval.

This immunity from concern in the daily and weekly bustle of the great labour marts similarly affects his temper and intelligence. There is no healthier life possible for body and mind than that of the country; but it is not a life of itself conducive to rich and varied intellectual activity. The agricultural labourer's range of ideas is extremely limited, and within this limited range his mind moves in a very leisurely way. He has little time to read, and, as a rule, little inclination. He seldom gets more than a glance at a weekly newspaper. He seldom interests himself in any of the stirring questions of the day, and he is not in a position to encounter those who might awaken and sustain such an interest. Ideas which are the common property of every mechanic come to him as novel and strange. He is at a loss to form personal convictions for lack of a basis on which to form them. Added to this, there is usually a laudable and deep-seated diffidence in the ploughman's mind in expressing opinions. Knowing the insufficient opportunity he has had of seeing the whole question, he there-

fore feels, as it were, that he has neither sufficient ability nor sufficient right to propound conclusions. He is aware that, compared with 'book-learned men,' he is simple, unlettered, unsophisticated. Any one who has mixed with the agricultural classes, knows that, so far from being keenly alive to the miseries of the masses in our large cities, they are, as a body, hardly conscious of the rights and wrongs of their own existence. Even when they are conscious that something is not as it ought to be, this consciousness rarely amounts to more than an occasional vague feeling of discontent which they do not allow to prey upon their minds. They know they have a hard time, but they take it for granted, and make the best of it they can. For there is not a more healthily ingenuous class in the country than the class of agricultural labourers, and no class is so far removed from sympathy with the mere tricks of the stump-orator and the agitator.

It is therefore all the more imperative that those who seek to organize for the amelioration of the agricultural labourer's condition should first of all make themselves thoroughly and minutely acquainted with every phase and feature of the agricultural labourer's life. For ploughmen and field-workers are by the circumstances of their lives, incapacitated from organising, of themselves, a combination which will enable them to speak as one man. They may know their own sore places, but they cannot agitate with effect: their incessant and partially isolated toil prevents them. They cannot call meetings and speak in public. They cannot, with few exceptions, write to the newspapers. They cannot draw up Bills of Rights. In matters of organisation, union, and discussion of grievances, they have to depend upon extraneous activities and upon the guidance of men who are not ploughmen at all, many of whom never have been ploughmen, nor mixed, except in the most casual way, among an agricultural population. Now, the fact that ploughmen, as a class, are unable to organise and work out their own remedies, offers both an incentive and a justification to others to come forward with a sympathetic hand. Certainly the ploughman's lot of incessant toil in the earth, year after year, until the joints are stiffened and the back

bowed, without a prospect of release except death, dependence, or the poorhouse, is hard enough to elicit sympathy even among those who are accustomed to the foul anguish of city-slums; and it is commendable that men with active brains and generous sympathies should busy themselves in the effort to achieve something which may lighten the burden and relieve the weariness of the ploughman's life. But such an effort, like every other philanthropic movement, is exposed to the double danger of intrusion, from sentimentalists on the one hand, and theorists on the other. Sentiment is good and theory is good, each in its own place, but the practical reformer will at once shut his ears against fanciful woes, and turn his back upon fanciful remedies; and this is a course of action which the promoters of the Ploughmen's Union have not followed. I do not say that they have conspicuously fallen victims to the twaddle of sentiment, but they have not made themselves masters of their subject, and they have in too many respects run into the advocacy of merely fanciful remedies. More than this, some of the remedies which they advocate are out of all consistency with the true interests of the ploughmen's cause, and can only be presumed to proceed from a very superficial acquaintance with what husbandry requires, and what the ploughman's life is.

The extent of this ignorance and perversity will best be indicated by a consideration of a few of the reforms advocated. Let us take first the question of bothies. In particular cases there is much room left here for improvement. Bothies often stand too near the stagnant filth of the farm-steading, if they do not actually form part of the farm-square of buildings, and so occupy a site which cannot be quite sanitary. Let the Union by all means stir up the County Councils to order that all bothies shall at least be built in a place where sanitation is possible. But when reformers come forward with highly-coloured pictures of the evils of the bothy-system, and advocate its total abolition, they merely take us beyond the scope of practical reform altogether into a parade of ignorant sentimentalism. Any one who understands farm-life at all knows that for many reasons the bothy system cannot be abolished.

If it were, farmers would have to employ only married men or provide housing accommodation of another sort for the unmarried. In the former case young ploughmen would be induced to marry much earlier in life, in the latter they would be housed either with the farmer himself or most likely with the married ploughmen, an arrangement implying a restriction of personal freedom to which the men would be the first to object. It would mean more inconvenience and less comfort for both parties concerned. When we reflect that a ploughman's house is small, that he has a wife and presumably a family by his fireside, we can realise what a curtailment of domestic freedom a strange lodger would imply. And in winter and wet weather the all-round discomfort and annoyance would be quite intolerable. If moralising reformers would condescend to examine the merely practical side of the bothy-abolition in its simple details, they would find themselves confronted with an array of inconveniences and impracticabilities which no ploughman or farmer would think of facing.

Another point on which there is displayed a deal of practical ignorance of what farm life means, is the advocacy of shorter hours and greater leisure for farm servants. Let us first see what a ploughman's day means. During the winter he rises, let us say, at 5.30; and then he has at least half-an-hour's work in stable before he yokes. He is out of the stable as soon as he can see, and works till 11.30. Returning to the stable he has to attend to his horses, and has little more than time to take his dinner when he must yoke again. From one o'clock he goes on as long as he can see. In the stable he has again his horses to unharness and attend to. If late-suppering is the order, he has more work at eight o'clock: if not, he has this additional work of grooming and bedding at five. When the month of February comes there is the fixed ten hours day, apart from all these other items of yoking and unyoking, grooming, feeding, cleaning the stable, etc. There is again a different arrangement for harvest time, and for this each place has its own usage. I may add also that if the work be of the nature of carting, the hours of yoking and unyoking

are, as nearly as can be arrived at, those of what is called master's time, *i.e.*, yoke and unyoke at six. But if the work be ploughing, it is understood that the men go to the field in the master's time and come home in their own time. Reckoning these extras as work, we find that a ploughman has about ten hours' work during the short day, and eleven-and-a-half hours or more during the long day.

Those who advocate a reduction of these hours propose to abolish late-suppering and to institute a weekly half-holiday for ploughmen. Late-suppering is almost the universal rule in winter: it entails a good deal of extra labour: and for some months of the year it may be said to prevent the ploughmen from having a free evening. But if the horses were groomed and suppered at five o'clock, the stable door would be locked, and there would be no further need for the ploughman to see his horses until about six next morning. Ploughmen themselves will readily acknowledge that this is too long an interval for a stableful of horses to be without responsible oversight. They know also that in winter when the horses arrive wet and muddy at the stable, early grooming is impracticable, because the horses are not in a condition to be groomed. In summer the conditions are entirely different. The reformers seem to forget that a ploughman's tools, if I may call them so, comprise living animals, which cannot be thrown aside like a mason's mallet whenever the day's work is done. In view of the facts, it is difficult to see how late-suppering in winter can be dispensed with, except at serious risk and even detriment to the interests of the farm, and those who advocate its abolition seem to be either ignorant of farm life or wilfully regardless of its elementary necessities.

Similar considerations apply to some extent to the outcry raised for a weekly half-holiday for ploughmen. There is no doubt that it would be highly acceptable, and, if it were feasible, it would certainly be a good thing. It would enable married men to attend to their gardens, or to do bits of odd work in their house. To married and unmarried alike it would be a relaxation after the hard week's work. But any sensible ploughman knows that at certain seasons of the year, the thing

is a practical impossibility. So far as farm operations are concerned, the half-holiday might be granted for about half the year without serious inconveniences or detriment. About the first of June the busy spring work is past, and the pressure of harvest does not come on till about the middle of August. During this season the horses are usually in the fields, and require less attention. Again, after the crops have been gathered, there is a period of comparatively easy time up to about the beginning of March. During these periods the Saturday half-holiday would not interfere as a hindrance to farm operations, and if special arrangements were made for attending to the horses, it could reasonably be observed without much inconvenience. But during the rest of the year, during the pressure of seed-time and harvest, I cannot conceive of intelligent and conscientious ploughmen, for a moment, contemplating the half-holiday as within the range of serious consideration. The question becomes complicated in its details not merely on account of the seed-time and harvest, but also on account of the animals which require attention, and a margin would require to be left to be settled between the parties concerned. The cattle present a greater difficulty than the horses. Those philanthropic reformers who clamour for a ploughman's half-holiday, seem to simplify their position by the somewhat extraordinary process of ignoring the difficulties of detail with which it is surrounded. They are satisfied with their formula:—'The trades get a weekly half-holiday all the year round, why not also the ploughmen?'—a formula which leads them into much grosser absurdities and much more dangerous ground than this.

Another of the proposed reforms, for example, by which ploughmen shall be put more on a par with the trades, is the abolition of feeing-markets, and the institution of registration or of advertising instead. It is thought anomalous that ploughmen should assemble at a market once in six months to hire out their services to a master: perhaps the reformers may even think it degrading or savouring somewhat of a slave market. They themselves certainly do not think so, and are fundamental on the subject. If feeing-

markets were abolished, what would take their place? The only possible substitutes are : 1. Private Agreement, 2. Advertising, 3. Registration.

1. *Private Agreement* is quite fair, but it gives neither ploughmen nor masters a broad enough chance to look after their own interests. Masters and men would not have sufficient opportunities of meeting one another. Every fresh attempt at an engagement would necessitate another journey on one side or the other, with only the one chance open at the time. In a feeing-market a master may approach a dozen men before he is suited, and a ploughman may decline a dozen offers without stirring many yards. If there were nothing but private agreement, both parties would be so much hampered that the market would very soon block itself for want of scope.

2. *Advertising* has the apparent advantage of greater publicity. But the publicity would be somewhat too great to be serviceable. The number of advertisements appearing, say, in a weekly paper, would come from too wide an area to be of practical service. Besides, advertising is both troublesome and expensive, and for the majority of ploughmen is a method of operation quite unsuited to their conveniences. It would necessitate a considerable amount of correspondence in the writing of applications and of answers, and ploughmen, as a rule, have neither the leisure nor the inclination for that kind of thing.

3. *Registration* is equally unsatisfactory. There is the fee to pay, and there is the same attention to be given to applications. The negotiations would have to be either by letter or by personal interview, and more time and trouble would be required than the ploughmen could afford to spare.

For both in advertising and in registration the applicant's attention must be on stretch for weeks on end and distributed over a large variety of chances. This would occupy much time and would cause much mental worry, both in looking for and in thinking over suitable vacancies, as well as in practically attending to these by way of writing or making personal application. An agreement, moreover, would hardly ever be come to by means of letter only : there would require to be a

personal interview. A farmer might select half-a-dozen applicants to meet him at a certain place, and only one of these could be successful. The others would have given time and trouble for disappointment, and might have to go and repeat the same process several times before they managed to engage. This would be felt by the ploughmen to be unfair. It would disgust them. They would not take the time nor the trouble to look after their own interests in the matter as they ought to do. And, indeed, they would be in a measure so constrained, for the farmers would have all the cards in their own hands. They have the leisure and the opportunities and the access to information, and the advantage which always belongs to the employer over the individual employee. In a very short while this method of engagement would re-act as a means of reducing ploughmen's wages, and, as men born and bred to the plough cannot readily turn their hand to anything else, the ploughmen would be unable to help themselves.

There remains only the *Feeing Market* where all of these disadvantages are disposed of. The whole trouble that there may be is confined to one day. There is no prolonged anxiety and uncertainty. There is no bother about arranging meetings and keeping appointments, none of that wearisome walking backwards and forwards with its necessary disappointment for most. In the *Feeing Market*, both masters and men can have many chances in the course of the day before they decide. They have plenty of time to look about, and abundance to select from before they make their bargains. They can even stave off an engagement and come back upon it again before the feeing is over.

More than this: the maintenance of Feeing Markets would not prevent parties from coming to an agreement by any other process. As a matter of fact, many engagements are made even now quite apart from the market.

But the furthest-reaching and the most dangerous of all the so-called reforms now being advocated by the leaders of the Ploughmen's Union, is that relating to wages. Certainly, if ploughmen as a body combine to stand out for this item of their suggested Bill of Rights, and are successful in carrying

it, they will take a step which they will very soon bitterly regret. It is a proposal which can only have emanated from men, either utterly ignorant of the peculiar status which ploughmen now occupy, or utterly regardless of any advantages which that peculiar status at present affords. It is seriously proposed by these would-be friends of the ploughmen to make ploughmen entitled by law to weekly or monthly payment of their wages, and it is further proposed that ploughmen should not receive payment in kind, but have money for all. I cannot imagine such a proposal coming from any but an irresponsible theorist: if it ever came from ploughmen themselves, they must emphatically be of the least intelligent of their class.

How are ploughmen's wages paid? To estimate this we must divide ploughmen into three classes:—

1. First-class men with charge and superintendence.
2. First-class men without these.
3. Men who from want of experience or for other reasons are considered inferior.

One of the first class gets about £30 in money wages; one of the second class about £26; and one of the third from £18 to £22. In addition, they all get house accommodation and payment in kind, and here a distinction is made between married and unmarried men. The former are provided with house, and almost always garden attached. The latter have, instead, bothy accommodation, with fire, light, and bedding. Payment in kind is as follows. Every hired man gets 6½ bolls of meal a year, and one pint of sweet milk a day. Married men get a load of potatoes in addition, and an extra half pint of milk a day in summer. In some cases they get coal, but this is exceptional. Calculating, then, meal at 15s. a boll; potatoes £1 15s.; milk 4d. a day; and housing, etc., £3 10s.; we find a first class man's pay amounts to from £45 to £50 a year. The other classes correspond less the difference in money ways.

If this payment in kind were converted into one entirely in money, the ploughmen would be plunged in difficulties which would make their life an intolerable burden. They would have to purchase everything. They might purchase meal and milk

from the farmer; but the farmer might not find it convenient to supply them. They would have to go seeking for these elsewhere, possibly at great inconvenience, perhaps at greater expense, and at all events, at their own trouble and in their own time. They might live less on milk and meal than they now do, and take to tea and loaves. Their *modus vivendi* would in that case become less healthy and undoubtedly more expensive. They would further be dependent on bakers' and grocers' vans, or would have to go to the shop to make their own purchases. As it is, they are saved all this trouble and expense. It is the farmer's business to see that the men are provided for in respect of the necessities of life. If they are content with their milk and meal, they need never have a moment's trouble about a single diet. It is true that a distinction should be drawn in the case of married men. It is not to be supposed that a man with a wife and family can meet his household requirements without a certain command of ready money. These, therefore, might be legally entitled to weekly or monthly *part-payment* of their wages. Unmarried men have less need; and if they require extras, it has now become usual for them in many quarters to keep a running account with the travelling van. If weekly or monthly payments were instituted, this credit would be denied them. If money were paid them for all, hardly a tradesman would trust a ploughman to the extent of a shilling. This might not be a disadvantage in every sense, but it would be an inconvenience, and it would be a reproach. It may be asked, wherein lies the disadvantage of getting weekly wages to pay as they go, and getting credit from a vanman? One disadvantage, and it is undeniable, is the encouragement the former gives to improvidence. About this there can be no question whatever. Young unmarried ploughmen who are in the habit of getting 'sub,' as it is called, are found upon experience to be invariably the most intemperate, the most improvident, and the worst payers of accounts: they are generally the worst men about a place, and the worst clad. The value of the money is little esteemed, because they can get more when what they have is exhausted; and commonly it goes as it comes. Yearly or half-yearly payments,

on the other hand, have in general something of the effect of a Savings' Bank on the ploughman's wages. His money is kept together for him. He gets it entire, goes and settles his accounts, and lays the rest securely past.

A further point may be noticed. The quantity of meal a ploughman is entitled to is far more than will supply any single man's wants. He could not use $6\frac{1}{2}$ bolls of oatmeal in a year, though he fed on nothing else; and now that conveniences are so great for getting other things, ploughmen are less inclined to live on oatmeal than they used to be. The ploughman is therefore obliged to dispose of a quantity of his meal, commonly half of his allowance, and he may do this as he pleases or finds convenient. It is usually found most convenient to dispose of it to the farmer himself. He gets the full price for it, and there is no trouble given. There can be no reasonable objection to this arrangement; but it would be a very different thing if the ploughman were not entitled to the meal at all, and had to depend upon getting it from the farmer as a favour.

Another, and the main, objection to this proposed change in the payment of ploughmen's wages, is the fact that such a change would put ploughmen on an entirely false footing. Such a change would completely revolutionize farm-life, and speedily deprive ploughmen of all the solid advantages they now possess. In this proposed reform we observe more clearly than elsewhere the drift of the whole agitation. It is an agitation proceeding from Trades' Unionism, and inspired by all the common principles of Trades' Unionism. The trades have their half-holiday: why not the ploughmen? Workmen do not have Friday markets, and why should ploughmen go like so many serfs to a market to barter and bind themselves? Workmen are paid extra for extra time: why should not ploughmen have the same privilege, or have their evenings to themselves, like mechanics and mill-workers? Tally is illegal among the trades: why should ploughmen submit to receive payment in kind? Workmen are paid money in full every week or fortnight, and why should not ploughmen be also paid money in full every week or month, so that

they might go to whatever market they pleased and buy what they pleased? All of this is simply a rigmarole of ignorant sophistry. Trades Unionism is an excellent institution for workmen, but ploughmen are not, and never have been, in the same position as other wage-earning men, and it would be an immense pity for ploughmen themselves if their status were altered so as to put them in the same position. At present the ploughmen of a farm are part and parcel of the farm-establishment, and rank more in the character of domestic servants than of men working for day's or hour's wages. They do not directly participate in the profits of the farm, but in other respects they form part of the establishment, and come next in importance to the farmer's own household. Formerly they were lodged, in many cases, in the farm-house, and were not allowed to quit the farm, night nor day, but with the farmer's permission. At present they are provided in food and lodging without a question of cost. If they are disabled through accident or illness from going on with their work, the former is bound to send for medical assistance, and to pay a doctor; and meanwhile for a reasonable time, six months at least, their wages, meal, and milk, go on as usual. Put them on the footing of weekly-wage men and you deprive them of all these privileges; you oblige them to provide their own food, their own doctor, and perhaps, also, their own home accommodation, like ordinary workmen—from whom they so entirely differ that every tool they work with belongs to their master, and they are not even obliged to purchase their own whips. Such a change would have more serious consequences than temporary inconvenience. If feeing-markets were abolished, and weekly or monthly payments instituted, notice to quit on either side would quickly follow, and farmers would hold themselves at liberty to treat their ploughmen in the same way as masous or joiners. If farmers had to pay monthly, they would hold themselves at liberty to engage monthly and dismiss at a month's notice. When the month of May came round, and the turnip-seed was sown, the farmer could if he liked, without serious inconvenience, pay off nearly every man on the place, hire women to thin the turnips at one shilling and sixpence a

day, and engage no more men till harvest. Ploughmen would quickly cease to have the same interest in their places and in their work; and instead of their condition being improved or made more independent, the breach between master and men would be widened, and class-distinction, already only too prominent, would be confirmed into a positive burden.

There is much to be said also, on the subject of allotments and small holdings for ploughmen, but that must be reserved for another occasion. The foregoing criticism, which is in substance that of intelligent ploughmen themselves, may help to show how dangerous it is for agitators to tamper with what they know little about. In their ardour to be reformers they not uncommonly turn out to be bungling meddlers.

J. G. Dow.

ART. X.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (April, May, June).—The first two items in the table of contents for the first of these three numbers are, respectively, the continuation of Herr Theodor Fontane's serial, 'Unwiederbringlich,' and the closing instalment of Herr W. Henke's paper on 'Conscious and Unconscious Movement.'—These are followed by an essay in which Herr Karl Woermann traces the development of portrait painting in the 16th century.—The next contribution has for its subject the conversion of the Emperor Constantine.—A wider and more living interest attaches to the article in which Herr Paul Reichard reviews Major Casati's book on *Æquatoria*. In so far as it is a summary of the explorer's work, English readers need not linger over it. Neither will they greatly care to learn that the German version appears to have been hurriedly and badly done. It will interest them more to learn that the German critic pronounces the book to be fascinating, and accepts, as being of the highest value, the materials which it supplies for a history 'of the great drama in the *Æquatorial province*.' But, he says, the real enigma of it is not solved, even by Casati; he is wanting in political insight, he is too much under the influence of his feelings and sentiments. He further objects that Casati is too severe upon Emin, and that the promise

of the preface, in which the book is said to contain a rehabilitation of Emin, is not fulfilled. He concludes by expressing the opinion that, even after reading Casati it is not possible to arrive at a decisive judgment concerning the history of the province, for the reason that the chief witness of the revolutions which have taken place in it has not yet spoken.—In an article extending through two numbers, Herr W. Lang gives a sketch of one of the secondary characters of the French Revolution, Karl Friedrich Reinhard, a Suabian schoolmaster, who became a French diplomatist. The period more particularly dealt with is that of his stay in Hamburg, from 1795 till 1798, as representative of the French Republic.—The well-known name of the novelist, historian, and egyptologist, Georg Ebers, appears above a most interesting paper, entitled 'The First Cataract.' Besides giving a most vivid and interesting description of the whole district, the writer indicates the immense advantage which would be derived from the construction of a canal to facilitate navigation.—The May number brings another African article. In this case it is also a review; but whilst summarizing Dr. Peters's account of the German Emin Expedition, the writer finds opportunity to say a good many hard things of the English, on the score of the obstacles which their officials placed in the explorer's way.—In the same number Herr Th. Gomperz devotes an able article to a *résumé* and appreciation of the recently discovered treatise of Aristotle.—Microbes have had a very hard time of it lately. One scientist after another has discovered them here, there, and everywhere, but only to hold them up to general execration first, and, then, himself as a benefactor of the human species for having found a means of destroying them. But a champion has at last arisen. Herr Eduard Strasburger, in a most able and most instructive paper, takes up the cudgels for the microbes. He shows that those of which Pasteur, Koch, and their colleagues have constituted themselves the detectives and executioners, are nothing better than the criminal classes, but that there are countless millions of others which are not only harmless but absolutely indispensable.—The remaining articles, which it is sufficient to indicate by their respective titles, are, exclusively of fiction and continuations, a technical paper by Admiral Batsch on 'Naval Fallacies,' and the reproduction of an academic address on the 'Doctrine of Conscience.'—The June part contains one contribution of high and special interest, consisting of eleven letters from Darwin to Professor W. Preyer of Berlin, one of his earliest disciples in Germany. Apart from considerations of space, the fact that they are translated from English into German would deter us from attempting a version which could

not hope to reproduce the original with the literal accuracy which would alone give them any value. It must suffice to point them out, and to express a hope that Professor Preyer may give them to the English public, together with a translation of the explanations and other details which accompany them here.—The same number brings an interesting sketch of the career of Niels Gade, a Danish composer, whose death occurred in December, 1890.—Of the remaining contributions, it may suffice to mention an essay on Juvenal, and a short notice of Count Moltke.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (April, May, June).—Even more than the usually large amount of space has, this quarter, been given to those descriptions of countries and cities which are a special feature of this magazine, and might almost justify its assuming as an epigraph the well known verse descriptive of the wanderings of Ulysses. In the first number, Herr Georg Schewinfurth concludes his reminiscences of a journey to Socotra, and Herr Max Jacob gives the first instalment of a sketch of Cairo. Besides the continuation and conclusion of it, the May part has the commencement of a most interesting description of the peninsula of Mount Athos, and of another entitled 'I Castelli Romani,' both of which run into the third number for the quarter. All these papers are profusely and excellently illustrated. Of Cairo and its neighbourhood alone, for example, there are nineteen views, whilst Athos has the full score and a map as well.—Fiction is represented by three instalments of a new novel bearing the signature of Ossip Schubin, and entitled, 'Gräfin Erikas Lehr und Wanderjahre;' by a short story, 'Juno,' contributed by Herr Langk; and by a novelette which Herr Wilhelm Berger calls 'Lottchens Erbschaft.'—Going back to the April number, we have to notice as the most generally interesting paper, that in which Herr Max Geitel gives an account of the immense iron-works at Magdeburg-Buckau, of which the specialty is the casting of steel plates for the protection of war-ships, turrets, and forts. The article has twenty illustrations, including a portrait of Herr Gruson, the founder and head of the works.—A very readable and instructive article by Herr Felix Dahn, shows the important part played in the mythology of the ancient Germans by the four elements—fire, water, air, and earth.—A short contribution from Frau Lily v. Kretschman embodies her grandmother's reminiscences of Ottilie von Goethe, the poet's daughter-in-law.—Finally, Herr A. Schober gives, in a pleasing and popular form, a considerable amount of useful and instructive information concerning trees.—Another article of a similar nature appears in the May number, under the heading 'In the Garden.'—The only

other item in this part is a sketch of Eduard von Bauernfeld, an Austrian playwright of considerable popularity in his own country.—Of the papers not already mentioned in the June number, the most important is a sketch of the Court Theatre of Weimar under Goethe's management. It is accompanied by a facsimile of the first play-bill. It is dated May 7th 1791. The piece acted was Iffland's *Jäger*; it was preceded by a prologue composed for the occasion by Goethe himself. It may be noted that the performance began at half-past five, and that the prices ranged from 12 Gr., about fifteen pence English, down to 2 Gr.—Besides this, there is a short sketch of the life and works of the late French novelist, Octave Feuillet.—Finally, Herr Tottman closes the quarter with as much about the history of music as it was possible to get into a dozen pages.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (April, May, June).—A very considerable part of the April number is devoted to a subject which has already been pretty thoroughly discussed in this country, the MacKinley Bill. The writer, Herr Rosenstein, also examines the condition of labour and the influence upon it of the trusts.—The remaining contents, which are not of the widest interest, consist of a paper entitled 'Livland as a Member of the German Empire from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century;' of a sketch of Karl Hermann Scheidler, a Professor of Philosophy at Jena about fifty years ago; and of an article in which Dr. Justus Thiersch points out the danger and the injustice of allowing unqualified practitioners to attend patients entitled to medical assistance under the new insurance law.—With the next number a new departure is made by the introduction at the head of the table of contents, of the first instalment of a translation of George Duruy's 'The End of the Dream.'—This is followed by a paper which does not appeal to many outside German military circles—a sketch of the origin and development of Rastatt as a fortress.—In a short paper which he entitles 'Die Beweglichkeit der Einkommensteuer,' Dr. Bungler advocates a fixed and immutable income tax, and points out the disadvantages which must, in his opinion, arise from a varying one.—A review by Herr von Hartmann of Nietzsche's 'New Ethics,' a sketch of the Berlin art exhibition, and a short obituary notice of Moltke, make up the remaining contents of the number.—Of the four items which, exclusively of the unusually lengthy political review, appear in the table of contents of the June number, two are continuations of Duruy's novel and of the history of Rastatt respectively.—Between the two we find a literary essay on Childe Harold, and a paper setting forth and lamenting the want of dwelling-houses in Berlin.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Viertes Heft, 1891). Professor A. Schlatter, of the University of Greifswald, opens this number with an elaborate article on 'Eupolemus as a Chronologist and his relations to Josephus and Manetho.' The principal dates in connection with Biblical or Jewish History, furnished by Josephus, and those given in the fragments that have been preserved to us of the works of Eupolemus and Manetho, are carefully compared, and examined in the light of all that is otherwise known as to them, so as to determine the writers' relations, and test the accuracy of their statements.—Herr Pfarrer Schwartz, of Binau, follows next with an excellent exegetical study on James ii., 14-26. This passage—the crucial passage in respect to James' teaching as to the relations of 'Faith and Works,'—was the subject of a special study two years ago in this magazine by Herr Pfarrer Usteri, but Herr Schwartz regards it as in some respects unsatisfactory. Most critics, he thinks, fail to see the force of the words in v. 14, 'If a man say,' or realise their true relations to what follows in the sentence. Yet the true sense of the passage hinges on them. The meaning is not that a faith that is not accompanied by works is a useless faith, for James nowhere recognises the existence of such a faith. It is the *assertion* that affirms that such a faith exists that is worthless and contradictory to fact. If any man says he possesses such a faith the man is talking nonsense. Such a faith is a vain dream. Faith, according to St. James, cannot be without works. If faith exists it must produce works. It is, and ever must be, 'das Prinzip der Werke.'—Herr Pastor Knaake, of Falkenberg, treats of the life and writings of Johann Pupper v. Goch—one of the reformers before the Reformation.—Dr. A. Knoke has a short article on 'Theoduls Ecloga—Hartman Beyers biblische Historien.'—Dr. Kittel reviews Professor Riehm's 'Introduction to the Old Testament,' and his 'Old Testament Theology,' and Dr. Ziegler, Professor Kuhl's 'Die Heilsbedeutung des Todes Christi.'

R U S S I A.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—Russian Opinion (March, April, and May).—In these three numbers 'Poetry' is more fully represented than usual, Mr. Th. Korsh giving us five short pieces, of which 'The Poet,' 'The Poet and his Muse,' and 'Her Departure,' are the most noteworthy, while Mr. D. L. Michalofski, Mr. V. L. Velichko, Mr. L. I. Palmin, and A. V., each give us one piece only.—'Money' is the title of a romance, translated from the Swedish of Ernst Ahlgren, by V. M. S., of which the six chapters given occupy 114 pages.—'Foreign Review,' by Mr. V. A. Goltseff, alludes to the difficulty between France and Ger-

many caused by the Empress Frederick's recent visit to Paris; the death of Herr Windhorst and of Prince Napoleon; the relations between Russia and France; Signor Crispi's article in the *Contemporary Review*; the affairs of the Balkan States and Macedonia, with a glance at the attitude of Austria in the same connection; and to the English agreement with Portugal on African matters.—'Home Review' alludes to the appointment of the new Governor-General of Moscow, the Grand Duke Serge Alexandrovich, who is now a grandson of England; the session of the Finnish Diet; new conversion of old State debts; death of the Grand Duchess Michael (Olga Feodorovna) and of the Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaievich; speeches of Messrs. Arsenieff and Spassovich; and other matters of domestic interest.—In the 'Bibliographic Division' we have reviews and notices of ninety-eight works.—The March and April numbers contain a continuation of 79 pages of Mr. Karonin's novel, entitled 'Life's Teacher;' an anonymous paper of 51 pages on the State Commission of 1872, known as 'Valooefskahyah Kommissia,' under the direction of Secretary P. A. Valooeff; a Review by Mr. A. A. Koodriatseff of Heinrich von Eiken's 'Geschichte und System der Mittelalterlichen Weltanschauung;' a continuation in 53 pages of Mr. V. Th. Miller's 'Excursion in the domain of Russian Epochs;' two papers under the head of 'Scientific Views,' one by Mr. A. V. Pogozheff on 'The fourth meeting of Russian Medicos in Moscow,' the other an anonymous essay on 'The Black Sea in its physico-geographical relation;' and a thoughtful series of chapters entitled 'Literature and Life,' by Mr. K. K. Michaelofski.—The March and May numbers contain 80 fresh pages of Mr. A. I. Ertel's equally fresh novel, 'Smeyna;' and the usual theatrical comments under the head of 'Contemporary Art.'—The April and May numbers give us the first eight chapters of a new romance 'At the Palace of the Medici,' by Mr. Karl Berkoff; and the first thirteen chapters of an historical novel by Mr. P. V. Bezobrazoff, entitled 'The Emperor Michael,' a story of the Byzantine era.—Of matter special to each month the March number contains: A sketch (so called) of 47 pages, by Mad. Julia Bezrodni, entitled 'The Encounter;' the conclusion of Mr. G. A. Thierry's light romance, 'Sabelli;' the continuation of M. N. R's 'Pictures of the Old World,' giving us specially 'Cleopatra;' the completion of Mr. G. I. Oospenski's 'Letters on Emigration;' 'Young Germany,' a short humourous sketch from 'Die Literatur des XIX. Jahrhunderts;' and the conclusion of Mr. E. S. Nekrasoff's essay on 'National Journals.'—The April number contains: 'A Glance at the Problems of the Labour Conference in Berlin,' by Count

L. A. Kamarofski; 'The Idea of the Holy Roman Empire,' in review of a book on the H.R.E. by Mr. Brice; and another instalment of Mr. N. V. Shelgoonoff's 'Outlines of Russian Life,'—The May number gives us the first fifteen pages of what is probably a short picture of country life, entitled 'Sizif,' translated from the Polish of Clemens Eunosh by V. M. L.; 'Landowners and Landworkers,' an essay by Mr. V. V. Biryukovich; an essay on 'Instruction of Galician Russniaks,' or Austrian subjects of Russian race, by Mr. A. Koniski; the first half of a clever anonymous 'Hypothesis concerning the nature [or essence] of the Historical Process,' an abstract enquiry well suited to the Russian mind; a significant 'History and Statistics of the Urban Proletariate of Russia,' by Mr. Vladimir Obsin; 'Character of the Reform [in the relations] of the Nobility and Peasantry of Tver,' an historical enquiry of the last thirty years, dedicated to Alexie Michaelovich Oonkofski by Count A. Djanshieff; 'On Beneficence,' an article (so called) by Mad. Emily Chevalier; 'Successive Nationalities,' the first half of a Review of Mr. N. Zlatofratski's collected writings in two volumes, Moscow, 1891, by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff; 'The Labour Association [Artel] of Kiachta,' the Russian trading station on the Chinese frontier, by Mr. V. V. Ptitsin; 'Speech of Mr. V. D. Spassovich,' referred to above in the 'Home Review'; the first half of a gossip paper, 'From Athens,' but taking in a very large surrounding, by Mr. M. I. Venyukoff; 'Necrology,' containing the death of Messrs. N. V. Shelgoonoff and P. A. Kozloff, literary contributors to *Rooskayah Mysl*; and a 'Letter to the Editor,' by Mr. A. O. Kovalefski.

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions Philosophical and Psychological, second year, No. 2).—Professor Grote, the editor, opens the number by replying to attacks which have been made upon the journal, and the aim it professes to have in view. He observes that certain organs of the press have insisted upon tendencies and aims which are foreign to the true character of the journal and the aim it has in view, viz., to follow the ideal it has set before it to be a philosophical journal, and to follow, accordingly, a metaphysical method. He points out that he and his fellow-labourers, were they inclined to depart from the course they have entered upon, the committee chosen by the Psychological Society, which is in the last references, the judges to decide upon the course of the journal, would certainly not permit that the journal should enter upon any of the courses imagined for it. It is clear, from the decided way in which the editor speaks, that he has been annoyed by the one-sidedness, the intolerance, and the

bitterness which some of his censors have shown because he presumes to follow the course which he and his fellow-labourers consider to be the proper one for the journal to follow.—The second paper is a lengthened one, consisting of no less than sixty-seven pages, bearing the designation of ‘Morality and Natural Science.’ Professor Beketoff, the author, is, we believe, a botanist, and though he believes in development and the Spencerian philosophy, yet he altogether differs in the higher phases of his view of development from Spencer and Darwin; holds that the struggle for existence, and the consequent mutual war and destruction, do not occupy the place assigned to them by their English adherents. He holds, on the contrary, that Christian love and the highest altruism in morals may be evolved, yea, that a higher type of religion may be attained to, than has yet been reached; that as knowledge increases and science, so will man grow up into nobler conditions, a nobler state and aims. The problem of natural science, he concludes, is to aid the great purpose of God, the Creator, by the power of nature working forward in order to lead man on to perfection?—The article next in order is a continuation of the correspondence between Professor Kozloff and an adherent of Count Leo Tolstoi, as to his recent book on *Life*. Prof. Kozloff sums up his differences from Count Tolstoi, as follows—(1) The Count recognises only the existence of the external sciences subject to the conditions of space and time, and occupying themselves about external objects, but he denies or ignores the sciences connected with the life of the human spirit as logic, ethics, and psychology. (2) The Count differs from the general opinion as to the comparative clearness of truths of a mathematical and mechanical nature also of a physical nature, because these are in point of fact more objective. (3) Though we must go to the immediately given data of our consciousness as the chief source of our self-knowledge, yet we must go to the biological, historical, and social sciences as the chief means of correcting our illusions and mistakes.—On this follows a paper on the physical law of the ‘Conservation of Energy,’ in which the author, M. Strachoff, illustrates the metaphysical process by which such discoveries are made. First discovered by Mayer, and noted in 1842 in the chemical annals of Liebig, it scarcely excited any attention, though he published a second *brochure* in 1845. Re-discovered by Helmholtz, and afterward by Joule, for whom Tait claimed a priority of discovery, which was not well-founded. Joule seems, however, to have hit on the final form of expression in naming it the law of the Conservation of Energy. M. Strachoff shows, finally, the way in which this discovery illustrates how the

physical sciences are used in researches into the constitution of Nature. Up to the date of this discovery there were expectations about the discoveries of new forces, and while mechanics was the science that dealt with the laws of motion, physics was occupied about its *causes*; and it was supposed that new forces in nature might be discovered in addition to the six—attraction of gravitation, attraction of cohesion, chemical affinity, heat, electrical and living forces. But after the discovery of the conservation of energy, this talk ceased, and physics was contented to take up its true place, as a terrestrial mechanics in contradistinction to celestial mechanics or the laws of the heavenly bodies.—Passing from this paper we come to the last of the present number. Prince Sergius Trubetskoe's continuation of the series on the 'Nature of Human Consciousness.' Looking forward to the end, for the present is the last paper but one, he strives, in vain, to gather up the vast sum of things that centre in that which philosophers, from Socrates and Plato to Victor Cousin and Herbert Spencer, have striven to fathom and understand, much less to lay down its laws and conditions. He dwells mostly in this paper on the fact that consciousness is dependent upon organization, and not only on organization but on the complex organization which influences the last of the series, and which is made the subject of examination. He says truly it presupposes feeling, bodily organization, and it has at the same time an independent, ideal element. In the present number he deals mostly with the conditions of its organization, and we must finally confess our inability to sum it up without translating the whole.—The rest of the number is occupied by reviews of books, bibliography, and correspondence.

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions Philosophical and Psychological, second year, No. 3).—The number opens with a paper by M. P. A. Kalenoff on the doctrines of the German poet, Schiller, on 'Beauty and Aesthetical Enjoyment.' The poet felt himself called upon to take a lively interest in the philosophical question as to the signification of beauty and æsthetical feeling, in which he was interested, in relation to artistic creation, which had to do with his calling as a poet. Kant was the leading thinker of his time, and the poet was a student of his philosophy, but found that he could not agree with the findings of Kant, more particularly on ethical and æsthetical questions. Kant placed the categorical imperative at the summit of his moral philosophy, and demanded the sacrifice of every lesser element to its behests; but Schiller sees the human ideal not only in the fulfilment of

the moral law, but in its *loving* fulfilment, which is only possible in the entire agreement of feeling and reason. Schiller names that the beautiful soul, in which this temper is habitual, the spiritual harmony of the beautiful soul, is expressed in the lines of the countenance, in all its movements, giving to the whole exterior, even when architectonic beauty is wanting, the peculiar grace which Schiller designates *anmuth*—attractiveness. The spiritual temper of him who, for the sake of the higher idea, subjects itself to physical or mental suffering, is the highest submission of feeling to reason or otherwise, is heroism.—The second paper in the number is the completion of Prince Sergius Trubetskoe's treatise on the 'Nature of Human Consciousness.' This last chapter is headed 'The Inner Analysis of Consciousness.' Having looked at social life and development from the psychological point of view, he would now look at life and its development in the living succession of consciousness and in the organic connection of its different individual parts. Having spoken of consciousness in dependence on physiological and social conditions, he would come to the native element, binding different consciousnesses together, and the universal forms in which is realised the absolute, ideal consciousness, which can be broken up into the consciousness of individual personality by way of psychological analysis. To do this thoroughly would demand a complete system of psychology, logic, ethics, but he will give only a few indications by way of supplementing what has been already said. (1) Man inherits much from preceding generations, organization, and feeling, instincts and appetites. We have seen that feeling is the native basis of consciousness. In this there is certain native universal elements. But in feeling there is something *felt* (*primum sensibile, primum sentiens*), in which there is a certain objective element. (2) One curious problem is, How are we conscious of the elements of Feeling? He believes in a somewhat different sense that the Platonic theory is true that all knowledge is reminiscence, i.e., of a former state of being, of individual feelings, etc., received by our ancestors! (3) What is Reminiscence and its significance in Consciousness? To this there are as many answers as there are psychologists! Consciousness is an inherited atavistic process, and there are inherited elements which go to explain a variety of phenomena, as the instinct of animals, of which Reminiscence is one. (4) There is a still more mysterious element than even reminiscence, and this is Imagination. (5) Personality is not distinguishable from consciousness, but may be lost while consciousness is preserved. We are not born conscious of self.

It disappears in sleep, in catalepsy, in injuries to the brain, etc. There is a strange phenomenon of double consciousness. There is a telepathic power in consciousness which has only begun to be recognised in our own day. (6) In fact, under Consciousness we understand three or four things, partly very different, partly very closely related, out of which arise a multitude of misunderstandings and confusions, difficulties and complicated questions. (7) Looking at the different forms of the psychical life of man, feeling, reminiscence, imagination, we find that these faculties presuppose an antecedent consciousness, or a consciousness whose faculties, instincts, susceptibilities, flow out of a former consciousness, that of the parent, and is a continuation of that antecedent consciousness. (8) In order to explain to ourselves more correctly the character of our knowledge of actuality or reality, let us look here at the consciousness of *cause* by which it is wholly determined. Causality is a universal law of actuality, without the consciousness of which the knowledge of Nature were impossible, or indeed any general experience. (9) Whatever be our presentation of the nature and origin of theoretical consciousness and empirical knowledge, it is clear that a moral consciousness is derived and developed only in the society of reasonable beings amongst themselves. Perfect morality can only be reached in a perfect society. To follow this, leads us to that Divine and human love whose formal expression is the Golden Rule which sums up Christianity!.*—The next paper is on 'Ideals and Actuality,' by M. Goltzeff, in relation to the discontent and *Welt-schmerz* of our time.—The correspondence as to Count Leo Tolstoi's book on 'Life,' between Prof. Kozloff and his correspondents, pursues its weary way without yet reaching a conclusion.—This is followed by a paper by M. S. Umantsa on the 'Religious Metaphysic of the Mussulman East,' in which he shows the great development of Mussulman thought which followed upon their conquest of Persia, etc. The concluding article is by M. Tolstion, on the 'Morality of the *Israele*,' which is followed by the usual reviews of books and bibliographical information.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTONOMIA (April 1).—In honour of the 100th anniversary of Giuseppe Garibaldi, A. Venturi writes an interesting account of that great patriot.—A. C. ...

* We have written to give the full account of the interesting paper in Prince Trizagade's paper in ... the ... of the ... of which the student might ...

part of a review of the recent histories of Jesus Christ, entering at length into the views therein contained as to the primitive sources of what we know, and into the manner of treatment by the different English and foreign biographers.—A paper on the Triple Alliance is by G. Cantoni.—A tale by E. De Amici, 'Love and Renunciation,' runs through this and the following number.—L. Pegorini has a short article on the chief cities of Italy and their first inhabitants, founded on archæological discoveries.—Signor Bonghi, writing on the late Prince Napoleon, says that the Bonapartes will never more have influence on the history of France and Europe.—A. Franchette publishes a translation of the 'Parabasi' of Aristophanes.—(April 16).—We have the second part of Professor Villari's 'Is History a Science?' in which he explains Professor Sedgwick's views.—G. Carducci relates the facts of Guiseppe Parini's life, and quotes many of his poems.—G. Ghirardini describes the antique statues and inscriptions of Praxiteles, discovered last summer at Verona, and relates their history as far as it has been made out.—Professor Chiappelli continues his study of the biographers of Jesus Christ.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (May 1).—Another part of Carducci's paper on Guiseppe Parini.—G. R. Salerno discusses the eight hours labour question, and C. Boito writes on Hazez, the 'last of the romantic painters.'—The Italian actor, Salvini, contributes an interesting paper on the interpretation of the character of Iago, agreeing with many of the opinions of the late Cowden Clark.—Enrico Geffeken writes a reply to the article on 'The Savoy Dynasty, the Pope and the Republic,' in the *Contemporary Review*, saying that it is inspired by hatred of Italy and Germany, and founded on falsifications of facts and fantastic ideas. It can only be useful as showing to what weapons the enemies of the *status quo* of Europe can resort.—Colonel Govran contributes an appreciative article on the late Count Moltke.—(May 16).—C. Baer writes on the Italian Kingdom and the German Empire from 1814 to 1870.—Chiappelli closes his chapters on the biographers of Jesus Christ.—'Fatigue and the Laws of Exhaustion' is a medical article by A. Mosso.—Signora Pegorini-Beri, after long silence, sends one of her exquisite little tales, 'A Separation.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (June 1).—Signor Bonghi concludes his articles on Leo XIII. and Socialism, which are well worth reading.—G. Letti describes the poet Leopardi in his quality of philologist.—The deputy L. Franchetti writes at length on Italy and her African colony.—In this and the following number we have C. De Amicis' excellent tale, 'The Workmen's Schoolmistress.'

—F. Cardon reviews Casati's and Geosi's late books on Africa. —P. Nocito has something to say on Lynch Law in America and Italy.—The Bibliographical Review notices E. Ben. Andrews' *Institutions and Economics* and S. M. Macvaine's *The Working People and Political Economy*.—(June 16).—This number begins a very interesting series of papers by Professor Barzelotti on 'Mystic and Pagan Italy.' He critically examines M. Emile Gerhart's *L'Italie Mystique*, in reading which, he says, he is often reminded of M. Pater's remark in his *Studies on the History of the Renaissance*, that modern criticism is continually clearing up the confused facts about the Middle Ages, 'To which I add,' says Professor Barzelotti, 'that criticism is doing for that great flood of the liberty of the modern spirit what the latest explorers have done for the Nile, that is, finding more and more distant sources.' He points out the character of Italian Christendom, and the reason of the immense influence exercised by the Christian idea in mediæval Europe, especially on the Italians, and explains the difference between the history of religion in Italy and of the evangelical Christianity of northern nations, etc.—E. Masi reviews the Duke de Broglie's *Memoirs of Talleyrand*.—A novelty in the *Nuova Antologia* is a three act comedy by Leo di Castelnuova, entitled, 'The First Lie,' extremely graceful and natural in style and dialogue.—A. Graf has a most interesting paper on the literature of the future, which he believes will be large and free, and far from being realistic at the expense of idealism, as is the tendency now, will embrace the whole of life, both physical and spiritual, both in the heights and in the depths, and be thoroughly sincere.—F. Porena gives a rapid sketch of the unexplored portions of our earth, showing that it is the *least* part that we know, and encouraging future exploration.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO FOR THE NEAPOLITAN PROVINCES (year 16, No. 1).—B. Croce's interesting chapters on the 'Theatres of Naples in the 15th to 18th centuries,' continues, and this time gives a description of the comedies of Cerlone, in which figures a certain Don Fastidio who argues on every word pronounced. For instance, talking to a page of a lady, he says, meaning to compliment her, 'You are meretricious,' and explains that that word means 'one who merits well.' He says to a noble: 'My lord does not know that you are decapitated here.' *Count*: 'Decapitated!' *Don Fastidio*: 'Yes, Excellence, decapitated, and I said well; in my idiom, *decapito*, *decapitas*, *decapitatum*, stand for to arrive, to come, and to go.' The actor who played Don Fastidio was a man called Francesco Massaro, and Cerlone only wrote down what this comedian improvised during his long career on the stage.—In

1765 an Englishman named Samuel Sharp, who lived in Naples for some time, and described the small theatre in the Castle Square as follows: 'This little theatre is best known under the name of *Cantina* (inn). You descend ten steps into the pit, which, when full, may hold from seventy to eighty persons. One *carlino* is paid for a seat. All round is a gallery divided into ten or twelve boxes, each of which costs 8 *carlini*, and can comfortably hold four persons. At such a price it is not difficult to imagine the sort of stage, actors, and scenery. But what is difficult to imagine is the vulgarity of the audience, who, at least in the pit, are dressed in shirt sleeves, and have dirty hats and caps. The boxes are generally empty. Everybody in Italy, even gentlemen and ladies, have the nasty habit of expectorating without using their handkerchiefs or seeking some retired corner, and at the "*Cantina*" the habit became really repulsive. They not only spit on the ground but on the walls, so that it is impossible to avoid soiling one's clothes; and they do it so excessively that I cannot but attribute the pallor and thinness of many Neapolitans to this waste of saliva.' This old habit has not yet been cured; it is often a cause of nuisance in omnibuses and tramways. Francesco Massaro died of apoplexy while acting in the little theatre of San Giaconio, in 1768, and the figure of Don Fastidio was never found in Cerlone's comedies for a long time after, when an actor appeared who recalled to mind his inimitable predecessor. This was Luigi Parisi. Among the many anecdotes found in Signor Croce's history, the following is pathetic. The Princess Belmont, patroness of the chief tenor, Antonio Raaff, lost her husband, and fell into such a state of dumb melancholy that her life was threatened. A month had passed and she had not been able to shed a single tear. She was taken from place to place in the hope of diverting her thoughts, but all was in vain. Then some one thought of sending for Antonio Raaff and trying the effect of his singing. He repaired to the Princess, and sang '*Solitario bosco omtroso*' with such expression that the Princess burst into tears and was saved. There is much in these chapters about Giovanni Bach, many of whose operas were performed at Naples, himself directing the orchestra. He led a very gay life, and fell in love with a ballet-girl called Colomba Beccari. Though, by order of the king, no one was allowed to go behind the scenes, Bach was often seen there with Colomba. We also have a story about an obstinate Englishman. In 1763 a soprano named Caterina Gabrielli was turning everybody's head, and when she was on the stage she used to laugh and talk with her admirers across the footlights. One evening, in October, the theatre was crowded, and the

habitues of the stalls made a louder noise than usual talking to Gabrielli. An English cavalier was one of her admirers, and one of the loudest; he was warned to be silent, but went on talking and laughing, upon which he was told that the king ordered him to leave the place. He refused, saying, 'I only know one king, and he is in England!' Five days later he was expelled the kingdom. Many celebrated personages pass across the scene of Signor Croce's pages. Vittorio Alfieri was an admirer of the Neapolitan *opera buffa*, and stayed in Naples during the carnival of 1767. In his autobiography he says: 'My greatest pleasure in Naples was the burlesque music in the *Teatro Nuovo*, but even there the delightful sounds echoed in my soul with a continual murmur of melancholy, and evoked hundreds of the most dismal and lugubrious ideas, on which I loved to dwell, and I often went away to wander alone on the sounding shores of Chiaia and Portici.'—'Richard Filangieri at the time of Frederick II., Conrad, and Manfred,' by G. del Guidice, is continued; and N. Faraglia gives a description of the Abruzzi provinces when subject to the Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento.—G. Ceci continues his notes on the churches to be destroyed in Naples.—G. di B. begins a story of the kingdom of Naples from 1011 to 1358, many portions of which are founded on documents discovered lately in St. Mark's Library at Venice, and written in the dialect by a Venetian, who says he transcribed them from the diary of a certain Domenico Delello, a citizen of Gaeta.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (April, May, June).—Besides a translation of the article on 'Siberia' from the *Century Magazine*, of which the translator says that it reveals a terrible system of police, and that a liberal, logical, and steady policy, would make Russia a happy and prosperous country, without damaging her power, we have some chronological studies on the birth, baptism, and death of Christ, by a Benedictine monk, Don Atto Paganelli of Vallombrosa, and a pleasant account of Beranger from Professor Montefiore.—P. Pernice's 'Social Question' is continued from the twelfth to the eighteenth chapters, and G. A. Airolì contributes a study of the present political situation.—In the June number, as well as in both the others, there are instalments of Stoppani's 'Commentaries of Genesis.'—'Luigi Celli' is the poet chosen by P. E. Castagnola to illustrate his studies of the Roman poets of the seventeenth century.—Bonghi's 'Life of Jesus Christ' is favourably reviewed by C. Orìo, and G. Marcotti closes his account of a journey in the Carpathian mountains.—J. N. Dolph gives a full account of English and American opinions on the question of

divorce.—From Professor Loevy we have a paper on the study of archæology.—From G. Fortebracci, one in defence of the hexameter, and P. Prada gives a sketch of the life and works of Francesco Paoli, the former secretary and later biographer of Antonio Rosmini, and renowned as a man of science.—‘Flourish the Institutions!’ is the title of a long paper by L. Zeni, founded on a mass of literature relating to the present condition of Italy.—There are also articles by F. Grassi on Scandinavia, by F. de Novelli on the reform of the Portuguese Missions, and by C. F. Airoli on Italian Normal Schools.—G. Mascothi has another bit of travel on the borders of the Black Sea, agreeably written.—G. Zaccagnini writes on the Roman poet, Belli; and F. Alessio a short article on Conservatives and Rosminians.—G. B. Ghirardi, in an article on ‘Silvio Pellico and Women,’ describes the influence of high-minded women on Pellico’s life, the ideal point of view from which he contemplated the sex, and which was never destroyed by his experiences, and quotes some sentences from an unpublished book, on the duty of women, by Pellico, in which the author says that the happiest times were those when women were most highly honoured; and blames over sentimentality and exciting literature. One of the women who had most influence on Silvio Pellico was the Marchioness Barolo, whose name is associated with the reform of the prisons of Piedmont, and who chose Pellico to be the director of some charitable institutions she had founded. In these duties Silvio quietly passed the last years of his life.—S. Rumor gives an interesting account of the poet Zanella, and a description of his villa.—Santangelo-Spoto describes the speeches made and pamphlets written on the application of the ‘Homestead’ to Sardinia.—G. Marcotti continues his journey describing Constantinople.—G. Grabinski, in a short review of the journal and correspondence of Major Barttelot, by the latter’s brother, and of Casati’s ‘Ten Years in Equatoria,’ points out that Stanley, in vol. ii., page 220, of the French edition of ‘Darkest Africa’ expresses his surprise that Emin Pasha, with such means as he had at his disposal, never thoroughly explored the Albert Nyanza, and left to him (Stanley) the honour of discovering the Mountains of the Moon (Usongora), which assertion is completely contradicted by what Schweinfurth said in 1888, as follows: ‘In a letter written by Emin to Dr. Felkin from Wadelai, 26th Oct., 1886, he describes an excursion made to the Albert Nyanza, when he discovered a river flowing down from the mountains of Usongora into the lake on the south, called by the Wambega the Kakibi.’ So that Stanley’s mountains are those previously seen by Emin, says G. Grabinski, and the Semliki claimed by Stanley

is the Kakibi formerly discovered by Emin. Grabinski thinks that Stanley cannot dispute these facts, but disclaims any prejudice on his own part either for or against Barttelot or Stanley, being full of admiration of the latter as an explorer, but opining that Stanley's fame would be still more splendid if it could be presented to posterity free from the stains that dull it.—The review of foreign literature in the June 1st number is occupied with late English works relating to Italy.—R. Stuart chooses the queer title of 'London' for a pleasant description of grouse-shooting in England.—F. Bonatelli writes on Secondary Classical Schools, and G. Marcotti describes his travels in 'The Three Bulgarias.'—Father G. Da Venezia writes on Fra Bartolommeo degli Uliari, from edited and inedited documents.

RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE (April, May, June).—After the vote, by C. Rudolfo.—The Reform of Local Administration, L. Palma.—The Attributions of Central Power and local Autonomy, A. Brunialti.—Crime in France and Italy, by F. Virgili, in which it is stated that the average number of murders committed in Italy is 8 for every 100,000 inhabitants.—The Laws of the development of the State, by L. Ratto.—The School, by A. Gotti.—The Superior Council of Labour in France, by E. Coppi.—Naturalization considered as a law of the development of States, by L. Ratto.—The question between Italy and the United States, by D. Zannichelli.—The Workman's Holiday and the Liberal Party, by G. G.—The Ethological character and scope of Education, by G. Marchesini.—The Pope's Encyclical on Socialism, by G. Brenna, who says that when a warning comes from such high quarters it is a sign that the socialistic idea has made immense progress, and must be attended to.—The Prorogation of the Bank privilege, by A. J. De Johannis.—Democratic Catholic Canton, by L. Palma, describing the working of the Government of the small canton of Uri.

IL GIORNALI STORICO DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANA (vol. xvii., fascicle 2-3).—G. Malagoli writes on the studies, love affairs, and letters, of Guidobaldo Bonarelli, whose notable pastoral poems held the highest place after Tasso's 'Aminta,' and Guarini's 'Pastor Fido.'—R. Sabbadini publishes some Latin letters by Carlo Marsuppini d'Arezzo and Leonardo Bruno.—G. Volpi writes about Matteo Franco, a courtier of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Matteo is one of the most original and curious figures among the *litterati* and *gaudenti* of the 15th century, who, though of a greedy nature, and never satisfied with the favours showered upon him, was much loved by Lorenzo, who calls him

'one of the first and dearest of my house, delightful in his conversation.' His witty letters, many of which are here given, are fine examples of the manner of the 15th century.—V. Cian gives an account of the poet, Paolo Giovio, and some little-known rhymes of the 16th century.

GREECE.

PARNASSOS (July and August).—The k. Kalopathakes writes on 'The Evolution Theory Scientifically Examined.' He deplores the hold it is gaining over 'unthinking and unsettled minds,' and goes on to show that it is not a true theory but merely an hypothesis, and that both the 'atheistic' and 'theistic' forms of the doctrine are full of fatal difficulties.—Part of the same ground is touched in the next paper by the k. Petrides on 'Heaven and Hell.' Materialism and (Hegelian) Pantheism give us no satisfactory explanation of the subject. In Theosophy we find some trace of that union with God of which Christianity is the true exponent. This view the writer prefers to the grosser view which is common, and holds that the Orthodox Church, the loftiest theology, and correct philosophy agree in teaching it.—The President of the Parnassos Society gives his annual report. The twenty-fifth year of the Society's existence has been marked by the erection of new premises.—The k. Sakellaropoulos gives an interesting account of the Philharmonic Society of Corfu. The foreign Powers who occupied the Ionian islands used to send their military bands to assist at the processions in honour of S. Spyridon. This was stopped during the British occupation in 1839, and the present society, the oldest of its kind in Greece, was formed.—The translation from the French on 'Aspasia, Cleopatra, and Theodora' is brought down to the battle of Actium.

FRANCE.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier, 1891) is an excellent number, and contains a large amount of interesting and important matter. It opens with an article from the pen of the Editor, in which he combats the views lately put forth by Dr. Gustaf Kossinna of Bonn in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, in respect to the Teutons. Dr. Kossinna maintains that the Teutons were Celts, and that immediately before they made their appearance in Roman history at the end of the second century before Christ, they had their dwelling-place in the valley of the Maine. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville carefully examines the data on which this new theory is based, and decides against it, maintaining that, except in one particular, Mommsen's opinion on the

subject is not invalidated. The exception is as to the date when the Teutons were associated with the Cymry. With Korsinna and Müllenhoff, he prefers 113 to 103 B.C.—For the second article we have another batch of ‘Anciens Noël bretons,’ contributed, like those in the preceding numbers, by M. H. de la Villemarqué.—‘The Second Battle of Moytura’ is from the pen of Dr. Whitley Stokes, and consists of the text taken from a MS. of the fifteenth century in the British Museum, with English translation, notes, and an index of the rarer words and another of the names.—M. H. Thédénat supplies a second supplement of ‘noms Gaulois barbares ou supposés tels tirés des inscriptions’ to the list given by Creuly.—Dr. Max Nettlau continues his learned ‘Notes on Welsh Consonants.’—In the ‘Mélanges’ we have ‘Documents irlandais publiés par M. Windisch,’ by the Editor, and a note on the ‘Hyperboreans’ by S. Reinach.—In the ‘Bibliographie,’ M. R. Cagnat reviews M. D’Arbois de Jubainville’s excellent *Recherches sur l’origine de la propriété foncière et des noms de lieux habités en France*, which was noticed some time ago in our own pages. The ‘Chronique,’ as usual, is full of the latest information in connection with Celtic studies and publications.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Avril, 1891) opens with an elaborate article by Mr. Alfred Nutt, entitled, ‘Les derniers travaux allemands sur la légende du Saint-Graal,’ in which he defends the theory common to himself and M. Gaston Paris, respecting the legend of the Holy Graal against the criticisms of Dr. Foerster, W. Golther, and Zimmer.—Dr. Max Nettlau treats of the Irish texts entitled ‘Togail Bruidne da Derga,’ and of the related legends.—M. H. Thédénat continues his supplement to the names given in the Creuly list.—M. F. M. Luzel contributes the text, with French translation, of a curious Breton tale on ‘Extreme Unction.’—The ‘Bibliothèque’ is wholly taken up with a review, by the Editor, of the new edition of *Pinkerton’s Lives of the Scottish Saints* (*Vitae antiquae Sanctorum Scotiae*), by W. M. Metcalfe.—The ‘Chronique’ is fuller here than usual, and is well worth reading.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Juillet, 1891).—In ‘Le monnayage du nord-ouest de la Gaule,’ M. A. de Barthélemy fulfils a promise he made some time ago at the Academy to set forth some new ideas which have been suggested to him respecting the coinage of Northern Gaul and Armorica. The article, though comparatively short, is full of information, and will be read with interest by the student of numismatics and history.—In a brief paper under the title ‘Comment le druidisme a disparu,’ the editor controverts some statements made by M. Fustel de

Coulanges on the subject.—The most important contribution to the number, however, is from the pen of Dr. Whitley Stokes. It is the text and translation, with notes, of an Irish Life of S. Féchin of Fore. The text is from a unique copy in the Philips Library, Cheltenham, and is here published for the first time. Colgan had three Irish Lives of the Saint, but this is now the only Irish Life of the Saint known to exist. About the middle of it occur the words: 'Nicholas the Young, son of the abbot of Cong, put this Life of Féchin out of Latin into Gaelic, and O'Duffy took and wrote (it); and this is the year of the age of the Lord to-day 1329,' etc.—The remaining articles, with the exception of some remarks by M. Loth on the names of places in -ac in Brittany, are continuations.—This quarter the 'Chronique' is particularly lively. Mr. A. Nutt's article in the April number seems to have quickened M. Zimmer's literary productivity, and we have here some rather trenchant notes on several of his statements. Having indulged in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, some unmerited criticisms on the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* edited a year or two ago by the Fathers De Smedt and De Backer from the Codex Salamanticensis, he is here also sharply taken to task, and some of his own mistakes, which do not seem to be difficult to discover, are printed. Besides the controversial notes, the Chronique contains much of interest to the Celtic student, not least is the news that the *Revue* is obtaining a larger circulation.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (Janvier—Mars, 1891).—This number is almost entirely devoted to subjects which will be interesting chiefly to Talmudic scholars. The section bound up with it, and which some years ago took the place of the 'Annuaire' of the Society, giving the record of its transactions and the papers read at its regular meetings, and which now forms part of the *Revue* and appears under a special heading, 'Actes et conférences,'—is, of course, of general interest, and shall be noticed presently.—M. A. Epstein continues and concludes his comparison of the Book of Jubilees with Philo's writings and the Midrash Tadisha, on certain points on which they all treat.—M. J. Halévy has a short study on Psalms IX., under his customary heading 'Recherches Bibliques.' After discussing the alphabetic form of the Psalm and analysing its contents, he proceeds to discuss the date of its composition, and determine the enemies and principal enemy alluded to in it. The idea that the latter was Antiochus Epiphanes, he dismisses as untenable, and gives four reasons for so doing. The only other period of Israel's history in which he can find anything answer-

ing to the descriptions and allusions of the poet, is that immediately preceding the victories of Cyrus over the Babylonian armies. The Babylonians, therefore, are the 'goim' mentioned in the Psalm, and the 'wicked one' is Nabonidos. M. Halévy describes the situation of the Israelites under the rule of that king, and shows from Hebrew literature how intense was the bitterness bred in their souls by the treatment they received in Babylonia.—M. W. Bacher gives the first part of a critical article, 'L'exégèse biblique dans le zohar.'—M. J. Derenbourg continues his 'Gloses d'Abou Zakariya ben Bilam sur Isaïe.'—M. M. Schreiner gives another instalment of his paper on the 'Kitab al-Mouhadara wa-l-Moudhakara' of Mozes ben Ezra, and its sources.—Several short articles and notes follow on obscure points of Mediæval Jewish history.—The section of this number which will attract most general attention, however, is the part that comes under the title of 'Actes et conférences.' Here we have an extremely interesting summary and critical estimate of the various publications of the Société des Etudes Juives, and two of the lectures delivered before the Society—that by M. R. Gagnat on the 'Roman Army at the Siege of Jerusalem,' delivered on December 20; and that by M. E. Rodoganachi on the 'Ghetto at Rome,' delivered on April 4. In the first, M. Gagnat gives a general sketch of the events that led to the revolt of the Jews when under the rule of Gessius Florus, and the steps taken to quell it. He then passes in review the various legions composing the force brought against Jerusalem under Titus, who had been sent to take his father's place, when he was raised by the acclamations of his troops to the position of emperor. He describes in a very detailed and interesting way the equipment of each, and the lecture is profusely illustrated with pictures of the soldiers in full panoply of war, and of the weapons used by them. In the second lecture, M. Rodoganachi gives a *resumé* of the history of the Jewish community at Rome under the rule of the Popes. A few words, however, are first given to the period preceding that of the supremacy of papal authority in Rome. It is only the events, of course, of outstanding importance that M. Rodoganachi could touch on in the course of a single lecture, but his picture is one in which the lights and shades of Jewish life in the immediate vicinity of the Vatican are skilfully, and we might say pathetically, blended.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1891).—There are only two articles in this number, the first a continuation of M. Loisy's 'Études sur la Religion Chaldéo-Assyrienne,' and the second a review and refutation of M. Horst's views as to the date of the

composition of Deuteronomy given in papers contributed to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. Professor Loisy deals here still with the Chaldéo-Assyrian Pantheon, and brings before us now the gods of less importance, or lower rank in the divine hierarchy, who seem to have been little more than attendants on, and ministers to, the deities of the first order. He takes care, however, in his enumeration of them and description of their functions, to point out that not a few of them are merely other names for deities held in higher respect in other cities or districts, or those who had fallen in estimation in the course of time, or deities of other countries or provinces admitted to subordinate station in the national or civic pantheon. The Chaldæans localised their gods in the celestial vault, and assigned them this or that star as their principal residence or representation, establishing at the same time relations between them, and providing them with histories. In addition, too, to their gods, the Chaldæans peopled the universe with spirits of all kinds, bad and good, who fulfilled the behests of the gods, and were subject to the will of men who knew the incantations and magical charms that controlled them. M. Loisy's studies are not finished here, and promise to be very exhaustive.—M. Abbé de Moor defends in a spirited paper the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy against M. L. Horst, who is contributing a series of critical articles on the Book of Deuteronomy to the pages of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. He takes up M. Horst's positions, or the chief of them, and shows them to be untenable. His arguments perhaps will not carry conviction to those who belong to what is called 'the critical school,' but they deserve, and no doubt will receive, attention from not a few of them. The learned Abbé has himself no doubt as to the probative force of his arguments. Here are his closing words: 'Il reste donc acquis que le "livre de la loi de Jahveh" exhibé par Hilqiyah, et qui fut la cause déterminante de la restauration religieuse accomplie par le roi Josias dans la 18^e année de son règne, était l'autographe écrit de la main de Moïse lui-même.'

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1891).—M. E. Amelineau has the first place in this number, and gives a very elaborate description of an Egyptian tomb—one of the most interesting, he says, of those found in the mountainous district of Thebes, not because of its size or the length and richness of its painted or sculptured walls, but because of the new and unexpected light it sheds on a chapter of ancient Egyptian history, and on the religious beliefs and customs of the people. That light he regards as likely to revolutionize, in some particulars, the

generally accepted ideas as to some of those beliefs and customs, and change the notions commonly entertained as to what followed on the death of Amenophis IV. The tomb in question is that of a certain Nofer-hotep and of his relatives. It continued open and received members of Nofer-hotep's family during all the transition period that followed upon the death of Amenophis IV., and the re-establishment of the government at Thebes, and the restoration of the cult of Amon-Ra there. The inscriptions in the tomb clearly show that that restoration was not so sudden and complete as has hitherto been supposed, but was only effected gradually. They show also that Egyptian tombs—those at least of less than royal rank—were not closed on the death of their owners, but were kept open for generations, and received the mummified bodies of the family from time to time, just as the mausoleums among ourselves do. Not that only, but the tombs were visited by the priests and by the living members of the family for the purpose of performing the rites connected with the cult of ancestors, and for securing the welfare and happiness of the dead. The inscriptions are in some parts undecipherable, else, M. Amelineau thinks, we should have had here a complete picture of that cult—of all its various elements. He translates here what is translatable of them.—M. E. Babelon follows with a paper on the Phrygian tradition of the deluge. It has been generally held by scholars that the tradition found in Phrygia and perpetuated in the name given to the town of Apamea, viz., Cibotos, the ark, was a native tradition, and that the Biblical narrative had come at a later time to be connected with it, and to have perhaps modified it and made it more definite. M. Babelon disputes this widely accepted theory, and shows that there is no evidence whatever of the tradition having been known by the original inhabitants of Phrygia prior to the arrival of Jewish colonists there.—M. L. Horst gives us another chapter of his 'Etudes sur le Deuteronomie'—discussing here chiefly chapter iv., and its relations to what precedes it and immediately follows it.—M. Ignatius Goldziher furnishes a short article titled 'Glanures paiennes dans l'Islam,' in which, following up other short papers of a similar kind which have appeared in this *Revue*, he shows how much that is purely pagan and idolatrous has managed to perpetuate itself in the Moslem faith, and manifests itself still in the life and practices of Moslems.—M. J. Lebierre gives a translation into French of Dr. Faust's recent contribution to Dr. Klein's *Wochenschrift für Astronomie, etc.*, under the title of 'Oryx et les étoiles filantes.'—The only other article here is one describing a Buddhist service performed by two Buddhist priests at the Musée Guimet, on February 24th, in the presence

of three hundred invited guests.—Reviews of books bearing on religious history, and the usual Chronique and Bibliographie, follow.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April, May, June).—The first article which calls for mention in the April number is that which M. James Darmesteter devotes to a review, which is as much a summary and commentary as a review, of M. Renan's *History of the People of Israel*. He characterises it as being at once a work of science and a work of philosophical action—*une œuvre d'action philosophique*—and, in spite of what he calls commonplace and superficial criticism, the great constructive work of the century.—Following close upon this biblical study there is a long paper in which M. le vicomte George d'Avenel deals with certain questions of political economy, notably the 'eight hours' day' and protection. In its general tone it may be described as directed against socialism, and to be a reply to the demand by the Congress of Calais.—In 'Paris port de mer,' M. J. Fleury writes strongly against the proposed canalisation of the Seine between Rouen and the capital. He denounces the project as one which would, if carried out, substitute for the river a narrow and tortuous rill, slow difficult, and often dangerous as a waterway; disturb all existing communication between the two banks of the river; cut in two one of the most active and industrious cities in the country; make the working of one of the great railways difficult and burdensome; spoil the admirable valley of the Seine; and transform a part of the beautiful river into a pestilential ditch.—A notable contribution to the mid-monthly part is the long paper in which M. F. Lagrange gives a detailed account of the system of gymnastic training established in Stockholm.—Of the three remaining articles, not including fiction and 'Chroniques,' two are concerned with political economy. In the former of them, M. C. Lavollée examines and condemns the report of the 'commission des douanes.' In the other, M. J. Bourdeau discusses German socialism, and closes a very suggestive study with the prophecy, that, however much it may modify the order of things, socialism will not prove more successful than Christianity in changing human nature, and that if it is to continue extending itself, that can only be on the condition that it will adapt itself to the requirements of each country and each people.—The third paper is devoted to viticulture in France.—Running through both the May parts there is another instalment of M. Taine's 'La Reconstruction de la France en 1800.' Its sub-title is 'l'Eglise,' and it is mainly devoted to the Concordat. In the conclusion, which appears in the first of the June numbers, the author passes inci-

dentally to an examination of the state of religion in France at the present day. Judged according to the standard which this sets up, there does not appear much reason to speak favourably of the result of the religious 'reconstruction' carried out by Napoleon. A single sentence may show this. 'In Paris, out of 100 funerals, 20 are purely civil, and do not go near the church; out of 100 marriages, 25 are purely civil, and not blessed by the Church; out of 100 children, there are 24 who are not baptized.'—A very copious article by M. E. Senart reviews, or rather summarizes, M. Sylvain Lévi's erudite and interesting work on the Indian stage.—This is followed by a continuation of M. T. de Wyzewa's sketch of German life at the present day.—M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu continues, but has not yet concluded, his masterly study of 'Antisemitism.'—Another article of considerable interest for English not less than for French readers, is that in which M. Brunetière treats of the difficulties in the way of substituting the study of French—and what he says will, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to any living language—for that of Latin in secondary schools.—We may also note that, in the first of the May numbers, M. Th. Bentzon, which, being translated, means Mine. Thérèse Blanc, concludes a very powerful novel, 'Constance.'—In the second, the most noteworthy article is that in which, as a review of recently published works on the same subject, M. Mézières gives an excellent sketch of the life of Mirabeau.—Commenting, in a lengthy paper, on the action of the United States Government with regard to the New Orleans lynching, M. Arthur Desjardins speaks in strong terms of the inconsistency of a refusal on the part of the federal power to interfere between local legislatures and foreign powers when the latter considered themselves aggrieved, and yet to represent these same legislatures whenever they may have any protest to raise against the action of foreign powers.—Amongst the contents of the June numbers, there is another article on education. It bears the signature of M. Michel Bréal, and is entitled 'La Tradition du Latin en France.' His conclusion, which sufficiently indicates the spirit of the whole paper, is, that if there should ever be in Europe nations inclined to give up Latin, France has no interest in following them, much less in preceding them, in this course; that if Latin education should disappear, nobody would lose so much by it as France, which, by its language, by its laws, by its literature, by its arts, by a thousand other ties, is so closely bound to Rome.—As interesting to English readers may also be pointed out the essay which M. Montégut devotes to the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, and M. Julien Decrais' paper on the poor classes in England.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (April, May, June).—M. Richet opens the first number with the question, 'What is General Physiology?' As an answer to it he lays down the following principles: 1st, All beings are composed of cells, and each cell is born from a cell. 2nd, Cells are unities having an anatomical form necessary to their function, and a determinate chemical construction. 3rd, This chemical construction is unstable, and in each living cell there is a constant chemical molecular movement. 4th, The chemical phenomena are many, but the chief of them is an extreme affinity to oxygen, either free or slightly combined. 5th, In consequence of this chemical instability, every change in the cell produces an excitation, and consequently an answer to this irritation in the cell itself. 6th, The general laws of life are, therefore, chemical laws, and correspond to the chemical conditions of hydratation, temperature, electricity, and pressure, according to which the chemical reactions in which the life of the cell consists take place. 7th, This is the starting point of all the actions produced by living beings. Force is condensed in them under the form of chemical energy, and manifests itself outwardly, either by movement, or by electricity, or by light, or by heat, or by thought. 8th, Living beings are cellular aggregates, but this aggregation is not devoid of unity, thanks to the nervous system which generalises irritations; so that, amongst animals, there is a centre, which is the nervous system, from which motor excitations proceed, and in which sensitive excitations end. 9th, Cells and beings are organised to live: they are adapted to the ambient middle, and to all the causes of destruction which can affect them. Consequently, their acts, although often automatic and void of intelligence, seem to us admirably intelligent. 10th, The sentiments and the consciousness of intelligent being are in harmony with the needs of the organism, and tend to strengthen the automatic movements by means of which beings resist death. Or, to sum up all this in a simple formula: Life is a chemical function.—In a short paper, M. Victor Brochard considers the philosophy of Bacon, and in his appreciation of him sets forth his theory of the experimental method as his real claim to be remembered.—As the conclusion of an elaborate examination which he enters upon as to the results of contemporary theories, M. Bourdon states it as his opinion that the theory of the association of ideas has hitherto been generally based upon too subjective and too idealist principles; and he substitutes a theory of the 'society of phenomena.' He considers this 'society' to be founded on resemblance, and looks upon the resemblance or similitude of quality as being the most important.

LA REVUE MENSUELLE DU MONDE LATIN (April, May, June).—The article headed 'Un Essai de Réforme Religieuse,' which figures at the head of the first of these numbers, contains a short account of the doctrines taught by three ex-priests after their secession from the orthodox Catholic Church, by Châtel, Auzon, and M. Hyacinthe Loyson.—The 'social question' discussed by M. Heurtaux-Varsavaux is socialism itself, and his article may be summed up as one long protest against the adoption of a socialistic policy by the Government.—The 'Comtesse de Barral et de Pedra-Branca,' whose name figures in the table of contents of each of the three numbers, not as the author, but as the subject of a long biographical sketch, is not quite a celebrity. She was a Brazilian lady, married to a Frenchman, and for a time lady of honour to the Princesse de Joinville. Her position brought her into relations with several high families, and made her play a part, though not a very important one, both in France and in her own country. The sketch of her life is interesting.—The subject dealt with in the paper which M. Th. Funck-Bretano entitles 'Les Tarifs Douaniers et les Traités de Commerce,' is really free-trade, or perhaps more correctly, its opposite. His confession of faith is summarized in Colbert's formula, 'Increase, favour, relieve the larger foreign trade and the smaller home trade'—a short but comprehensive rule.—Amongst other very readable items we may mention two poetical sketches, poetical, that is, in so far as they dealt with poets, one of whom is Alfred de Musset and the other the Portuguese writer Bernardim Ribeiro.—In each of the three numbers a section headed 'Nos conférenciers' deals with the leading French journalists of the day. The sketches are clever, and at times just a little 'malicieux,' which means that they are exceedingly readable.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (May, June).—As a contribution to psychology M. H. de Lecaze-Duthiers communicates some observations which he has made with regard to the language of animals, particularly of a parrot, who had attained considerable fluency in swearing, and he arrives at the conclusion that animals communicate their impressions and sentiments by varying the undulations of their inarticulate cries.—In the same number, M. Xavier de Ricard devotes a paper to the Dutch in the Indian Archipelago, and concludes his examination of their policy by the assertion that they should—he almost hints that they should be made to—abandon the exclusiveness and suspiciousness which characterize it, and open their territories to foreign nations.—The experiments which have been recently made with a view to the reproduction of

colours by photography, suggest to M. Albert Hatzfeld a paper which concludes with the expression of his conviction, that the complete solution of the problem may reasonably be expected in the near future.—M. M. L. Portes and F. Ruysen detail, in a long paper, all that has been done for the cultivation of the vine in the Crimea, and hold up the energy and activity of Russia for the imitation of France.—Under the heading ‘Scientific Biographies,’ we find an interesting sketch of the career of the well known chemist Liebig, contributed by his son.—Considering the laws recently passed in France with a view to the suppression, or limitation of betting at races, and the influence which may be exercised by them on racing itself, and, indirectly, on the breeding of horses, a writer who signs ‘E. A.’ expresses the opinion that the total abolition of such meetings would have no unfavourable results.—Under the rubric ‘Geography’ there are two interesting papers, one entitled ‘Les Grandes Lignes Transafricaines,’ and dealing with the important question of the opening up of Africa by means of railway communication, the other describing a journey to Central Asia.—A somewhat technical but valuable and instructive paper by M. L. Montillot, describes and explains the working of the various meters devised for the purpose of registering the consumption of electricity in electric lighting.—M. Fernand Lagrange contributes to the section devoted to Hygiene a paper in which he shows the necessity of exercise for men of mature years, and indicates in what manner it may best be obtained. Under the same heading there is a long description of children’s hospitals in Italy.—In an article which he entitles ‘Le Rôle du Médecin dans les Prisons,’ M. E. Laurent indicates the means by which he believes the medical men attached to penal establishments might co-operate towards the reformation of the criminal classes.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (April, May, June).—M. Adrien Naville heads the first of these numbers with a philosophical paper, which he devotes to an examination of reason, and in which he argues that far from being an enemy of God, all its authority comes from God.—Passing over the concluding instalment of Dr. Chatelain’s excellent story, ‘le Progrès,’ we come to a paper entitled ‘Le Monde des Chemins de Fer en Amérique.’ Some of the interesting details which it contains would well deserve mention if the fact that they are drawn from an English work, ‘The Railways of America,’ did not justify the assumption that most readers will

have some knowledge of them already.—Although appearing above the signature of M. Aug. Glardon, the article headed 'Souvenirs d'un Officier Anglais aux Indes' is not based on any English work, and is, nevertheless, what it purports to be. In explanation, M. Glardon states that he has edited it from the manuscript of two lectures delivered at Vevey by Major-General W. Smith of the Royal Artillery. The reminiscences go back to the days of the Mutiny, when General Smith was a lieutenant under Lord Clyde; they are full of interest, not so much for the mere account of the struggle, a subject which allows but of slight originality, but for the personal incidents and anecdotes which are introduced with excellent effect.—The other two articles which make up the April number may also be characterised as especially English. One of them is the conclusion of a summary of *Looking Backward*. The other is a critical appreciation of Mr. Swinburne's prose and poetical works in general, and more particularly of the *Poems and Ballads* published a couple of years ago. M. Léo Quesnel, who contributes it, expresses a high but not exaggerated admiration of the English writer, in whom the greatest fault he has to find is what he considers his inordinate enthusiasm for Victor Hugo.—Last year the *Revue* gave its readers an excellent narrative of a journey from Leghorn to Batum; it now gives, as a continuation of it, an account, running through two numbers, of the botanical exploration of the Caucasus. The articles are excellent reading, as interesting as they are instructive.—M. V. de Florian brings a very appreciative criticism of recent Australian literature. The works to which he makes special reference are *Coo-ee*, a collection of tales of Australian life by Australian ladies, *Under the Gum-tree*, and *An Old Time Episode in Tasmania*.—In an article of considerable length M. A. de Molin discusses the lately discovered 'Constitution of Athens.' According to him, the impression left after reading the treatise is one of profound disillusion as regards men and things. The twenty or thirty thousand Athenians, so marvelously endowed from a literary and artistic point of view, seem to have possessed little or no political spirit. Their legislators were theorists who could not blend the past and the present to prepare the future; and their constitutions infringed private interests without providing for the allaying of private grudges.—The June number, which opens excellently with a sketch of Mickiewicz's poem, *Pan Tadeusz*—'Master Thaddeus,' known to English readers from Miss Bigg's translation, contains, in addition to a couple of particularly good stories, and to the continuation of 'A Travers le Caucase,' an article devoted to a sketch of the history of the University of Lausanne, and an

account of the 'literary movement' in Italy.—In all the numbers there are the usual 'Chroniques,' full of interesting gossip about things French, German, English, Swiss, and political generally.

S P A I N.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (April, 1891).—'Civilisation in Ecuador,' by I. León Mera, is a paper possessed of great interest, as giving an idea of the social and physical condition of a country little known to us. Amongst the few better classes, life and its comforts are almost as in Europe; but the bulk of the inhabitants are half-breeds and Indians. The nature of the country, with its enormous mountains and abysses to be traversed, makes railways a serious consideration. But the country progresses, and education, long backward, is well attended to.—'A Little of Everything,' gives a sad account of the administration of Cuba, which would only too gladly join the United States. There was no printing press in Cuba until 1800. The Governor acts with extreme despotism, and no one remains in the Spanish Cortes when their affairs are brought up for discussion. The people are emigrating extensively to Venezuela, where they are well received.—'German Philosophy,' a well-written disquisition, concludes in this number.—'Bull-fighting,' while acknowledging that the love of the Spaniards for this sport increases, protests against it, and shows that the Pope declared it fitter for devils than men, that all the poets condemn it, and all the highest thinkers. The author, Luis Vidart, concludes by declaring that, while artistic monuments decay for want of attention, bull rings are being erected in almost every Spanish village.—A useful historical *resumé* of 'Geography in the beginning of the Fifteenth Century' is by Oliveira Martins; and a still more important study is that of the 'Ancient Civilization of the Philippine Islands,' by R. Martínez Vigil, Bishop of Oviedo.—Castelar's 'International Chronicle' is always interesting and instructive; his strong republican bias is shown by his praise of France, whose 'position and institutions are daily strengthening.'—The 'Economic Review,' is not hopeful of Spanish Finance. The principal translations are from Daudet, Flaubert, and Zola; also Heine's 'Rima,' by R. Palma.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (May, 1891).—'The Ancient Civilisation of the Philippines' in this number deals with the religion, sacrifices, etc. Their Eastern origin is exemplified in their belief in a series of incarnations, while they had faith in a Chief or *Great God*, without giving

him a name. A people whose men and women were both taught to read and write, must have been comparatively cultivated.—Selections from the 'Poets of Columbia,' and a poem on 'Adultery,' by Miguel Placido Peña, are mainly common-place in thought and diction.—A critical paper on 'The Philosopher Olavide,' throws some new light on 18th century matters.—Perhaps the most striking paper in the number is on 'Contemporary Spain,' based on a recent Russian work. Its writer claims for it more insight and sympathy than is found in modern Spanish historians themselves. 'The stamp of the dreamy spirit of the Arab, adoring his God in the sublime solitude of the desert, is engraved on the intellectual and artistic manifestations of present-day Spain.' The writer places Spanish art on a far higher level than French, being full of the poetry of Nature in landscape, and not so artificial as the French. The democratic spirit is also shown in the little difference there is between the several classes in Spain. In Opera, the people are more instructed than the French. All the impresarios in Madrid—and they have eleven theatres—pay the Government and enrich themselves, while the charges are the same as in Paris, where the Government subsidises the theatres, whose managers at the same time regularly fail!—'The International Chronicle' deals largely with the first of May and the threatened risings of workmen, which, indeed, caused serious disturbances in Spain. 'The manifestation was prohibited in Russia; strongly repressed in Germany and Austria; absolutely free in England and Switzerland; free within closed boundaries, but absolutely prohibited in streets in France and Spain.' Absolute repression and freedom, both outwardly succeeded; the others failed!—In the 'Economic Review' the daily increasing scarcity of gold is noted, and its effects upon the money markets. The *decrease* in production goes on continuously with the *increase* in demands.—The translations include a tale by Flaubert, a notice of his life and works by Zola, and a poem of Heine.—A list and summary of recent Spanish publications includes nothing of special importance.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (June, 1891).—'The Ancient Civilisation of the Philippines is concluded, and is a most important contribution to Anthropology. We note that while women had great freedom and influence, the Jewish right of the husband to turn off the wife without any formality was exercised. Polyandry was also known in the Island of Mindanas. Slavery was common, but mild in character and always redeemable—and the richest Philippine islander had not more than 300 slaves. The dead were supplied with food for the *three days*

journey to the island of the new incarnation.—‘Columbian Poets’ is devoted entirely to the translations of Miguel Antonio Caro, who is greatly influenced by English studies. His translation of ‘The Burial of Sir John Moore’ is highly spoken of; and he has been the first to clothe Shelley in Castilian.—‘Contemporary Spain,’ as seen by a Russian, is continued, and well worthy of study. It gives a vivid insight into prominent Spanish politicals and authors of the day.—‘An Alchemist of the Nineteenth Century,’ is an admirable story by Eugenius Sellés, based on the ‘formula,’ ‘Always work with both hands and spend with one.’—‘The Book of the Duchess of Alba’ seems to be the first work in which choice documents from the Archives of a famous Spanish house have been made public. It is remarkable as being the production of the Duchess herself, who issues the documents with a modest introduction, and promises, if satisfactory, to continue the publication. Castelar’s ‘International Chronicle’ is always valuable, perhaps the broadest grasp of public affairs produced in Europe, is given by this great orator and philosopher in these monthly *resumés*.—In the foreign portion ‘A tale of Turgueneif,’ ‘The Theatre of Ibsen’ from the *Quarterly Review*, ‘Chateaubriand’ by Zola, and a marvellous story in which ‘Percy’ figures, complete the number, which is above the average.

HOLLAND.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT (May). — Dr. Meyboom reports on three works on Galatians, two of them by believers in Paul as a historical personage, the third by an unbeliever. The first two writers, Balion of Leiden and Cramer of Utrecht, are so far influenced by recent attacks on the literary coherence of Galatians, that they both assume the likelihood of interpolation, and Dr. Meyboom states the passages they believe to be interpolated. i. 7^a, iii. 19, and iv. 25, all famous cruces, are believed by both to be later additions to the text. Cramer goes further in his application of the method, and gives what he calls a restored form of the original work. These two books are commentaries, the third, by Völter of Amsterdam, who does not believe the Epistle, even in its original form, to be by Paul, gives an account of its genesis and composition according to that hypothesis. An ardent disciple of the school of Loman and Steck, he makes the letter dependent on Acts for its history, on the Corinthian Epistles, which were written earlier, for its controversy.—Dr. D. Völter follows with a paper, which is a foretaste of a considerable work he promises on the Apocalypse, entitled ‘Cerinthus in the Apocalypse.’ Hardly anyone now maintains the unity of authorship of this strange book of Scripture; the question now most

debated is whether the main stock of it is Jewish or Christian. Völter holds that it is Christian; but he here maintains that xii. 1-10, and xix. 11-xxi. 8, are inconsistent in many respects with the rest of the book, and proposes to see in them the chiliastic Apocalypse of which several Fathers speak as a work of Cerinthus.—Dr. Loman follows with a paper on ‘John the Baptist in Josephus and in the Synoptic Gospels,’ in which all the data of this complicated problem are acutely examined. It is acknowledged by many that the statements of the Synoptics about the circumstances of the death of John the Baptist cannot be accepted as historical. Herodias was not the wife of Herod’s brother Philip, and the scene of the banquet presents numerous impossibilities. Dr. Loman argues from the dates in Josephus that the murder of John can have no connection with the marriage of Herod. The same view is in substance expressed by Holtzmann in the *Short Commentary*, i. 173.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The July number has just reached us. It opens with a short paper on Habbakuk by Dr. Oort, who maintains against Stade and Kuenen that the work is by one author. The first verse is an editor’s; otherwise there is nothing that cannot be attributed to a writer in the end of the reign of Jehoiakim.—A long paper on Priscillian follows by Dr. Brandt, and then an article by Von Manen on ‘Misunderstanding in the Fourth Gospel.’ The instances are gone through in which words are used which are capable of two meanings, and discussion then proceeds by one person taking them in their internal material sense while the other interlocutor is thinking of the spiritual. The discussions are able, but sometimes with some straining of points, as is natural in such an undertaking.

DE GIDS.—‘Diverse Literary Criticism,’ two interesting articles (April, May) by Polak, in which Huet and Potgieter, the greatest critics ever produced by Holland, are compared to the disadvantage of the latter. The earlier work of the former, political and theological criticisms, is, however, rather inferior, he only reached his full power when he wrote as a purely literary critic, and may be called the creator of Dutch criticism. The latter has a narrower range, and is often fatally common-place.—‘French Poetry’ (April, June), by A. G. Van Hamel, is a discussion of the subject in general with illustrative quotations. After following the history of the structure of French verse as to rhythmic accents and feet, he ends by homologating the dictum of Théodore de Banville ‘La rime est l’unique harmonie des vers français, elle est tout le vers.’ He traces the history of rhyme from its adoption from the Latin, notices several peculiarities,

and concludes with some advice as to how to read French poetry aloud.—‘Recent German Drama’ is continued (April) with a review of Gerhard Hauptmann’s plays, which are extolled as full of promise, though, as yet, he is too much a disciple of the naturalistic school to be a great artist.—Careful analysis of two plays is given.—In this number, after a year, Dr. Pierson continues his ‘Conversations,’ in which a Russian girl discusses with a doctor the history of her rather abnormal, moral, and intellectual development.—(May) ‘Pretty Mary,’ a rather touching story of peasant life, similar to Mrs. Wood’s ‘Village Tragedy.’—Sachse continues ‘Northmen in Literature,’ his last work, as he died of typhus in April. He takes up here Ernst Ahlgren (Mrs. Benedictsson), a Swedish novelist, unhappy in her life, and whose stories are spoilt by a too insistent preaching of her views on marriage. A high position is, however, due to her as a romance writer, and her lesser stories are remarkable for a strong sense of the humorous.—‘Max Müller as Gifford Lecturer,’ by De la Saupage, who commends the lecture, but says that Müller’s admirable literary gift covers many defects, his definition of religion, excluding as it does the social element, is one-sided, and it is doubtful if it seizes on what is really characteristic of religion.—‘Tallyrand’s Memoirs by the Duc de Broglie,’ gives material for a paper by De Beaufort, whose judgment of them, so far as they go, is that they must be used with the utmost caution as sources for history, that they probably have been slightly altered from their original form, but still are most interesting and valuable.—A curious article follows by Eymæl, ‘John Donne’s influence on Constantine Huygens,’ an influence alleged in some recent magazine articles by Polak and Jorisson to have been great and detrimental. That is denied, and evidence is adduced to prove the contrary.—(June) Dyserincck does for ‘The Arquebuisier’s Banquet’ of Bart van der Helst, the same service he rendered to Rembrandt’s great picture ‘Sortie of the Banning Cock Company,’ which two pictures, by the way, are most unhappily again placed together in the new national gallery. The former has suffered equally from mutilation and restorations, so that now it is impossible to realise its pristine beauty. Docked of two-thirds of its height and part of the foreground, the distribution of light on the figures appears now unaccountable and the figures stiffly in line, whereas a glance at an old sketch of the picture by Jacob Cats, 1779, shows the banqueters grouped in a curve under a lofty window, with an ample soft dark background. Photographs of this, and of the picture as it is, are given. Dyserincck had infinite difficulty in finding proofs of the mutilations, but no one reading his article can doubt that he has

proved his case, and that a tardy justice has been done to Van der Helst, on whose life also much light is thrown by these researches. His great picture, that has been called a necklace of pearls, splendid as a whole as well as in detail, must now be looked upon as a necklace not on a lovely bosom but cramped into a narrow sheath.—‘The New Antwerp Museum,’ by Max Rooses, author of the Antwerp School of Painting. He describes this magnificent new picture-gallery, and takes the reader on a tour through its priceless treasures, but desiderates a better representation of Antwerp art.—Hooijer reviews Tolstoi’s comedy, ‘The Fruits of Civilisation,’ which is not properly a comedy but rather a bitter satire on modern society, though, unlike the Ibsenite gall, this is tempered with much humour and tender feeling; the pity is that Tolstoi should waste his genius in this way.

D E N M A R K .

AARBØGER FOR NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE (Yearbook for Northern Archaeology and History, Vol. 5, part 4, 1890).—This part contains much interesting criticism and some vigorous polemic. F. Jónsson objects to Mr. E. Magnusson’s conclusions as to the date and place of composition of the *Málsháttakvæði*: he is inclined to make it Norse, not Icelandic, and as dating from about 1200, agreeing also with Egilsson that it is primarily a love-poem, and not a mere collection of proverbs.—Two articles relating to ecclesiastical history are contributed by Carl Neergaard and G. L. Grove, the former writing on the obscure question as to the date of the foundation of Maribo convent, the latter on the history of King Erik’s charter to Næstved.—A very interesting article is Dr. S. Müller’s criticism of the opponents of Worsaae’s division of the stone age. The author takes as his text Hr. Zinck’s *Studies on the Stone Age*, and discusses the matter point by point in an unsparing manner. The article contains a number of illustrations of flint implements.—Hr. Löffler contributes a few pages in reference to Professor Lange’s previous article on Roskilde Cathedral, disagreeing with his views as to its date and mode of construction.—The last article, by Professor Storck, gives additional information on the arched roofs in certain village churches of Jutland, which were noticed by Dr. Müller three years ago.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Critical Studies in St. Luke's Gospel: Its Demonology and Ebionitism. By COLIN CAMPBELL, B.D. Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1891.

Whether the reader accepts Mr. Campbell's theories or not, he will certainly admit that he has written a scholarly volume with a lightness and, if we may so say, brightness of touch which in theological writings is rare. Mr. Campbell deserves credit too, for calling attention to what may at least be called two of the apparent characteristics of the third Gospel. There can be no doubt that demonology has a prominent place in that Gospel, but whether the Evangelist had, when writing it, any set purpose in connection with demonology, or intended to work out any such theory as is here maintained is a different question, and one which is not so readily answered. Mr. Campbell has certainly adduced a formidable array of passages to prove that he had; but the non-specialist mind is apt to be sceptical in these matters, and to be haunted by the remembrance that Scripture can be used to prove many things, even the most diverse. But granting that it is possible to construct the theory that the Gospel illustrates the conflict between good and evil or that it bears substantial witness to the doctrines here set forth—and we are far from denying that it does—there is always the question, did the writer sit down with the conscious and deliberate intention of using the incidents connected with the life of our Lord for the purpose of proving or illustrating a theory, or was his object simply to narrate the things he had learned in connection with the most wonderful personality that was ever seen on the earth? St. Luke does indeed say that it has seemed good to him 'to set in order' etc., and of course betrays a purpose. But what purpose? Virtually to write a treatise on Demonology and Ebionitism? Besides, may not the Ebionitism and Demonology of the book be accidental rather than intentional, or due more to those from whom the Evangelist received the traditions than to any thought of his own? It is not at all improbable, notwithstanding all the passages here adduced, that the Evangelist may have been altogether unconscious of working out any such idea as is here attributed to him, though at the same time we are not disposed to say that he was not. To force one's way back into a writer's mind and say such and such was his purpose or motive is rather a difficult task, more especially when the writer was inspired. How many inspired men have worked at their own conscious and deliberate plans, only to find that they were fulfilling plans which were other than their own. On the other hand, how many who have had no plan, but have simply aimed at doing what came to their hands, have found that all they have done has tended, unknown to them, to the development of a plan. There is something which often works above the will. All the same there is no small value attaching to such work as the one before us, especially when worked out in the clear and skilful manner of which Mr. Campbell is master. They lead to a closer study of the Gospels, to clearer conceptions of their differences and agreements, and to a larger knowledge of their contents. Mr. Campbell's study as we have said, is bright and scholarly; it is also painstaking, thorough, and rich in suggestions. Scholars will welcome it and peruse it with pleasure, even though they may differ from its conclusions.

The Gospel of St. John. By MARCUS DODS, D.D. Vol I.
London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1891.

This is the first of two volumes of exegetical discourses on the Fourth Gospel by the Rev. Marcus Dods, whose theological opinions have from time to time caused no little discussion in the Courts of the Free Church of Scotland. Textual questions are avoided, and the chief object of the discourses appears to be the spiritual edification of the reader. Neither is there anything in the shape of a discussion respecting the authorship of the Gospel. The discourses are such as might have been, and probably have been, addressed to popular audiences. Judged in this character they may be said to be full of spiritual and practical lessons. The author confines himself strictly to the text and seldom strays away from it into the region of speculation, and though from time to time he touches the higher points of theology, he rarely does more than paraphrase the words before him. His language is bold and vigorous, and now and again a little loose and unguarded. The first discourse is a little confusing. One scarcely knows whether Dr. Dods intends us to read the first thirteen verses of the first chapter of the Gospel as a description of the pre-Incarnation activity of the Eternal Word or as descriptive of the Word of God Incarnate. As to the lessons, however, which Dr. Dods deduces from these verses, there is no dubiety about them. Here, as elsewhere in the volume, they are clear, sensible, and practical. Now and again too he rises into true eloquence, and though there may be nothing particularly fresh about his interpretation, one is often impressed with the beauty of his teaching. The purpose for which the Gospel was written is clearly set out, and a useful analysis of its contents is given.

First Epistle General of St. John: Notes of Lectures to serve as a Popular Commentary. By the Rev. CHARLES WATSON, D.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Son. 1891.

The most noticeable features in these lectures are the simplicity of diction and the exegetical skill which are employed on every page. It is rare that a theological work shows such an entire absence of technical terms and current religious phraseology. Dr. Watson has striven to make his discourses popular, and if good, plain, idiomatic English can make a book popular, his ought to be exceedingly so. His interpretations of St. John's language are such as commend themselves, and the lessons he draws are warranted by the text. Aiming at providing a commentary for readers unversed in the original, Dr. Watson has avoided reference to the Greek text, though he himself has apparently written directly from it. Critical points are not formally discussed, but the author shows himself to be acquainted with them. He has succeeded in bringing out the connection between the different sections of the Epistle, and while showing the formal purpose for which the Epistle was written, has followed with the greatest clearness, the very delicate and subtle turns of thought and expression in which the Epistle abounds. Few readers will not be profited by a perusal of the volume. It throws much light upon an Epistle which by reason of the simplicity of its diction, is often difficult to understand or fully appreciate.

The Massoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Book of Micah. By JOHN TAYLOR, D. Lit., M.A. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1891.

The efforts to get back to the real text of the books of the Bible are and

have been numerous. The object is not only laudable in itself, but for many scholars it has all the charm of fascination. No labour is grudged, no travel hesitated over; no tax on years thought too heavy, if only some results reward the patient researches devoted to it. And these rewards have been many, and some of them of late years—chiefly owing to the discovery of MSS. and Versions that have long been buried out of sight and forgotten—as startling as unexpected. Dr. Taylor is evidently one of those eager and laborious students, and he has given us in this volume the fruits of his labours on the Book of Micah. He goes carefully over the Massoretic text of the book, verse by verse, comparing it with all the ancient versions at our disposal, with all the existing translations that have the weight of authority and of years, and with all the references to any passage in it that may be regarded as shedding light on its primitive state, not of course forgetting the Targum on it. Taking the testimony of each and of all of these, where they show a variation to have existed, he carefully weighs its value, and endeavours in this way to restore the text to what he regards as most likely its original condition. Many of his emendations and suggestions will meet, we think, with approval, though of course scholars will differ from him, as differ from him some of his predecessors in the same field do, on other points. But Dr. Taylor himself points out with commendable precision where his suggested corrections have the weight of ancient testimony in their favour, and where probability alone and textual fitness have determined him. He has in all cases weighed too the opinions of other scholars against his own. His work is a monument, if not a large one, of patient industry, ripe scholarship, and judicial caution.

Die Bedeutung der Theologischen Vorstellungen für die Ethik. By
Dr. WILHELM PASZKOWSKI. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 1891.

This Essay—as we may call it; it consists of ninety-two pages of ordinary octavo—does not pretend to do more than merely outline the course which a thorough study of the subject ought to take, in order to lead to sure and satisfactory results. The author divides his essay into two parts. In the first he passes under review the ideas or conceptions of deity entertained by the rudest and most uncivilized races, and those next of the higher civilisations, and shows how those ideas of God have affected for good or evil the development of moral sentiments and the progress of moral conduct among those who entertained them. As has been the conception of deity, so has it helped or hindered that development. In the second part he shows how certain doctrines and certain ceremonial practices, common to many, if not all, of the more advanced religions, have operated in the same or in a similar way, and for a similar reason—some promoting and some retarding the moral progress of those holding or practising them. The influence of religion is seen to be conditioned by the contents of the *credo*, and the nature of the consequent *cult* in every case. The causes that have impelled the mind to pursue the path of progress here in some cases are shown to be complex, and religion has now exercised a helpful and now a hurtful influence on it. Religious ideas, religious rites, religious art, have all played a part in promoting or retarding the advancement of the moral education of humanity, and our author seeks to point out what that part has been. He presents, as we have said, but an outline of the subject, but the outline is sketched in a very masterly way, and every page is rich with illustrative instances of the points he wishes to establish.

Pseudepigrapha: An Account of certain Apocryphal Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians. By the Rev. WM. J. DEANE, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

The study of the Apocryphal writings either of the Jews or Early Christians has for a time at least been almost in abeyance in England, and the revival of it is not without significance. Neither the one nor the other of these writings may be of much theological importance, but from a historical point of view they are deserving of the closest study. They reflect the life of the period to which they belong, and are not without their value as aids to the interpretation of Scripture. Mr. Deane does not profess to give an account of all the Apocryphal writings. He has selected a few. These he has arranged as Lyrical, Apocalyptical, Prophetical, Legendary and Mixed. Under the first of these divisions he treats of the Psalter of Solomon; under the second of them, the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs; under the third, the Book of Jubilees and the Ascension of Isaiah; under the last, the Sibylline Oracles. The work has apparently been written for ministers and students, and partakes very much of the character of an Introduction to the various writings. But in addition to discussing their date, origin, and contents, Mr. Deane shows their relation to the Sacred Scriptures, their historical allusions and settings, and the purpose for which they were written. There is a good deal of solid learning in his volume. He is well acquainted with the literature of his subject, and from time to time discusses the theories advanced by recent German writers. For many readers Mr. Deane will have opened a new field of study. Although the ground which his volume has left untrodden is very extensive, so far as it goes, what he has here written deserves commendation, and suggests the hope that, since so good a beginning has been made, he will go on and complete what he has here begun.

Books which Influenced our Lord and His Apostles: Being a Critical Review of Apocalyptic Literature. By JOHN E. H. THOMPSON, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

Mr. Thompson here endeavours to cover the same ground as Mr. Deane in his volume entitled *Pseudepigrapha*. The two works, however, are widely different. Mr. Deane, as we have said, has apparently written for ministers and students; so also has Mr. Thompson; but their mode of treating their common subjects is far from being the same. Mr. Deane's volume may be regarded as an Introduction to the Jewish Apocryphal writings. Mr. Thompson's is written from a theoretical standpoint and in the interest of a theory, and though he brings together a considerable number of facts connected with the *Pseudepigrapha*, he is less interested in adding to our knowledge, than in showing how they favour his theory as to the origin of the writings in question. Mr. Thompson's volume, however, has this advantage over Mr. Deane's, that it is written in a much more popular style, some parts of it being quite pictorial. That it is as weighty, is doubtful. The first part of it takes us over much the same ground as Hausrath and Schurer, and is occupied with an account of the political, religious, and intellectual condition of the Jews at and immediately before the advent of our Lord. The second part deals with the origin of the literature with which he is concerned; while the third is mostly critical. According to Mr. Thompson, our Lord belonged to the sect of the Essenes, and most of the Jewish Apocryphal writings had their origin in that sect; most of them at Engedi, one of them in Jerusalem, two of them in Rome, and one in Egypt. That our Lord was an Essene in the

sense that S. Paul was a Pharisee, Mr. Thompson does not assert. 'All that we know,' he says, 'is that, as the ordinary way of becoming a teacher, which to fulfil His office He had to be, was to belong to one of the received sects, He chose that to which He was most akin. Of the four sects of Essenes we may be sure that He belonged to that which was likest to Him and trammelled Him least.' The arguments which Mr. Thompson adduces in support of this theory do not, we must own, appear to us to be strong. They partake more of the nature of assumptions. The first is drawn from the silence of the Gospels respecting the Essenes. The second rests on the fact that here and there our Lord refers to doctrines which are believed to have been held by the Essenes, and from this it is argued or assumed that some relationship with them is implied. Next it is assumed that those who were present at the presentation in the Temple, and those again who visited the empty Sepulchre were Essenes. Then it is said that the presence in the Church very early of a strong Essenian element proves an historical connection with its Founder. 'Further,' it is said, 'the ascription of the title Rabbi to our Lord implies that he had received Rabbinic ordination from the members of one of the recognised sects, and the Essene sect is the only one from which He can have received it.' With all deference to Mr. Thompson, it seems to us that the arguments, if we may call them so, which he here advances are in the air and worthless. Take one of them 'the fact that our Lord now encounters or rebukes the Essenes implies some relationship to them.' In the first place it is not certain that those encountered or rebuked in the passages referred to were Essenes: and in the second, assuming they were, if our Lord's meeting with or rebuke of them implied that He belonged to their sect, it would be easy to show that He belonged to all the other sects among the Jews as well. The title which Mr. Thompson has given to his volume is catching, but we have read its pages in vain in the hope of finding how and to what extent our Lord and His disciples were influenced by the ideas prevalent in the Jewish Apocryphal literature. Much, however, that Mr. Thompson has written will be found helpful, and though we are unable to accept his theory and are far from adopting many of his statements, the work is worth reading as dealing with a subject little known in this country, and deserving more attention than it has now for many years received.

Principles of Natural and Supernatural Morals. By the Rev. HENRY HUGHES, M.A. 2 Vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. 1890.

The main purpose of these volumes is to establish the thesis that there are, not one, but three sciences of morals. According to the Authors, the first of these deals with the motives and ends of conduct that belong to pagan or non-religious man, to man regarded simply as a voluntary agent forming a part of the world of nature. The second, while it includes the former, takes account also of other phenomena arising from man being brought into conscious relations with God. Of the phenomena with which this science deals Jewish morality is taken by Mr. Hughes as the type. The third science is that which embraces within its scope all the phenomena of the moral life of the present, those which are Jewish as well as those which are distinctively Christian. That there are these three kinds of morality, that they have much in common, and that each may and ought to be distinguished from the other there can be no doubt. But whether Mr. Hughes is justified in saying there are three sciences of morality is a different question. So far the general opinion has been that there can be but one science of morality. Of course,

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Mr. Hughes, if he chooses, can say there is a science of Pagan morality, another of Jewish morality, and a third of Christian morality. All the same, the three are but divisions of one and the same science, dealing with one and the same subject, at different stages of its development. Mr. Hughes might as well split up the science of Astronomy into three great historic periods, for instance, ancient, mediæval and modern, and speak of three sciences of Astronomy. Fundamentally there is no more reason for the one than there is for the other. In either case the method is equally indefensible. At the same time there is something to be said for Mr. Hughes' thesis. It has the advantage—an advantage, however, which is much more obvious in some of the German text books on Ethics—of giving prominence to the fact that morality, *i. e.*, actual, not ideal morality, has not always been the same, nor had its origin in precisely the same motives. Further, it emphasizes the differences between the three stages of morality, and refutes the assertion which has sometimes been made by writers of considerable authority, that moral ideas undergo no development. From the opinion expressed by Mr. Hughes that there are elements in the morality of the present, or in Christian morality, which are not to be found either in that of heathendom or of the Jews, few will be disposed to differ. The same cannot be said, however, of the assertion that pagan morality is identical with that of the non-religious man, or what is tantamount to it that pagan morality is unreligious. It is doubtful whether there is such a morality. It is not improbable that all morality is at bottom religious, and has its origin in the sense of awe or reverence for some deity or power higher than man. Mr. Hughes would almost seem to make out that man is originally an utilitarian. But even the 'life-force' and 'constraint of order,' which represent for him the fundamental elements in pagan morality, seem to indicate higher origins, sanctions, and restraints than those of mere utility. The line between morality and religion is extremely thin, and it is difficult to say where the one begins and the other ends. When dealing with natural morality Mr. Hughes follows very much the same lines as Aristotle, and discriminates between his own doctrines and those of Butler, Kant, J. S. Mill and later writers. For the nature of Christian morality, Mr. Hughes, as might be expected, rests upon the New Testament Scriptures, to the language of which he adheres very closely. Christian morality, we are told, is consequent on the new birth of man brought about by the death and resurrection of Christ. 'Christ's surrender of his life in perfect submission to his Father's will,' it is said, was, 'according to the Eternal purposes of God, an essential condition in the way of ransom or price, of the regeneration of humanity,' and in evidence of this, 'of the fact that the new birth bestowed upon mankind, by God, through Christ, was purchased by Him by His death upon the Cross,' several passages of Scripture are quoted. It is further shown that this new birth is a birth into a state of organic union with His (Christ's) glorified human nature, and that the Christian, in so far as he is in living union with Christ, is subject to the same moral rules which governed His life. Four rules are mentioned as distinctive of Christian morality, *viz.*, the new commandment of love, purity of heart, continuing instant in prayer, and partaking of the Eucharist.

Life and Letters of Robert Browning. By Mrs. SUTHERLAND ORR. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1891.

Mrs. Sutherland Orr has written a very bright, attractive and instructive biography. The subject she has had to deal with is not an easy one, but with rare power of condensation and admirable art she has managed to give within the compass of a single volume a remarkably vivid account

both of the incidents in Mr. Browning's life, and of his inward growth and development. To students of Mr. Browning's works her narrative will be both of the greatest interest and exceedingly helpful. They will find in it much that they have been seeking for; while those who have been deterred from the study of his works by the difficulties of his style, will find in her pages such explanations of his poems as will enable them to renew their pursuit in a more hopeful and appreciative spirit. The interest of the volume is almost entirely literary, but it is an interest which will appeal to a wide class of readers. A couple of interesting chapters are devoted by Mrs. Sutherland Orr to the Browning family, in which the notion that Mr. Browning was of Jewish extraction is entirely dissipated, as is that also of Dr. Furnivall, that he had a dash of dark blood in his veins derived from his grandmother. The poet's father was a man of remarkable ability, fond of reading, of considerable artistic taste, and with an extraordinary power of versifying. His knowledge of old French, Spanish, and Italian literature is said to have been wonderful. Of the poet's mother Carlyle used to say she was 'the true type of a Scottish gentlewoman.' She was the daughter of William Wiedermann, a Hamburg German who had settled in Dundee as a ship-owner. On the maternal side she was Scotch, and is described as delicate, very anæmic during her later years, and a martyr to neuralgia. Her husband on the other hand was strong and healthy. Both of them had strong religious instincts. Of the mother Mr. Kenyon used to say that such as she had no need to go to heaven, because they made it wherever they were. Robert Browning was born at Camberwell on May 7, 1812, soon after a great comet had disappeared from the sky. The account given of his childhood shows him to have been handsome, vigorous, fearless, sharing as he grew older his father's passion for reading, quick to learn, and like his father a ready rhymer. He had few playmates beyond his sister. The fondness for animals for which he was noted through life, was conspicuous in his very earliest days. His education was superintended by his father, in whose house, 'crammed full of books,' he learned more than at the schools to which he was sent, and acquired a life-long and loving familiarity with the English poets. Byron was his chief master, and under the influence of his writings he produced a volume of short poems when only twelve years of age, under the title *Incondita*. For a short time he attended University College, London, and at eighteen finally chose literature as his profession and began to qualify himself for it by reading and digesting the whole of Johnson's Dictionary. His 'literary father' was the Rev. W. J. Fox, an Unitarian Minister, and Editor of the *Monthly Repository*, who in the pages of that periodical wrote a favourable review of 'Pauline,' and was the first to recognise his genius. 'Pauline' was published anonymously, and was little known or discussed beyond the immediate circle of the poet's friends. A publisher was found for 'Paracelsus,' but with difficulty. The *Athenæum* called it rubbish. John Forster, however, reviewed it in the *Examiner*. He had taken it up as a likely subject for a piece of slashing criticism, but recognising its worth declared it to be a work of unequivocal power and brilliant promise. But if neither 'Pauline' nor 'Paracelsus' brought popularity to the poet, the latter poem at least opened the way for him to many friendships, and compelled his recognition by the rising and leading literary men of the day. Among others he came to know Macready, for whom he wrote 'Strafford,' and 'A Blot on the 'Scutcheon,' of which latter Mrs. Sutherland Orr has given a full account. In due time came 'Sordello,' 'Pippa Passes,' and those rare sheets with the title 'Bells and Pomegranates.' The one piece of romance in Mr. Browning's life was his marriage. He and Miss Barrett were married with strict privacy

on September 12, 1846, at St. Pancras Church. 'The engaged pair,' says Mrs. Sutherland Orr, had not only not obtained Mr. Barrett's sanction to their marriage; they had not even invoked it; and the doubly clandestine character thus forced upon the union could not be otherwise than repugnant to Mr. Browning's pride; but it was dictated by the deepest filial affection on the part of his intended wife.' Mr. Barrett, it appears, was one of those men who will not part with their children. His daughter Elizabeth, too, he looked upon as a confirmed invalid who ought, as he afterwards said, to have been thinking of another world. The young couple knew the uselessness of any appeal to him and hence the course they adopted. After their marriage both of them returned for some days to their old life, but during these days, Browning who had hitherto been a daily visitor at the Barretts' did not call to see her; 'he recoiled from the hypocrisy of asking for her under her maiden name.' A week after her marriage she left the paternal house for good. 'In the late afternoon, or evening of September, 19,' says Mrs. Sutherland Orr, 'Mrs. Browning attended by her maid and her dog, stole away from her father's house. The family were at dinner, at which meal she was not in the habit of joining them; her sisters Henrietta and Arabel had been throughout in the secret of her attachment and in full sympathy with it; in the case of the servants, she was also sure of friendly connivance. There was no difficulty in her escape, but that created by the dog, which might be expected to bark its consciousness of the unusual situation. She took him into her confidence. She said: O Flush, if you make a sound, I am lost. And Flush understood, as what good dog would not?—and crept after his mistress in silence. I do not remember where her husband joined her; we may be sure it was as near her home as possible. That night they took the boat to Havre, on their way to Paris.' Both the Browning and the Barrett family were as might be expected, greatly agitated by the occurrence. Mr. Browning forgave his son; but Mr. Barrett did not forgive his daughter. Some of the most delightful letters in Mrs. Sutherland Orr's volume are from the hand of Mrs. Browning, and speak all through of the happiness of the union. Exceedingly interesting too, are those which are given of Mr. Browning's. Quite as much so likewise are many of his expressed opinions. But we must commend the reader to the volume itself. He will find it of exceptional interest as the biography of one of the first intellects, this century has produced.

Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher. By HENRY JONES, M.A. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1891.

The aim of this volume is to ascertain the philosophical and religious doctrines which are more or less distinctly taught in Mr. Browning's poetry. The poetic or artistic value of Mr. Browning's poems is not dwelt upon. Mr. Jones is particular to point this out and half apologises for venturing to distinguish between Mr. Browning the poet and Mr. Browning the philosophical and religious teacher. Of course the question arises whether Mr. Browning had the intention of giving utterance to any system of religious or philosophical thought. Mr. Jones is of opinion that he had. For our own part, we very much doubt it. The essentially dramatic character of his genius and of his poetry is altogether against it. All the same it is not at all improbable that such a system as Mr. Jones here seeks to find may be found imbedded in the sixteen or seventeen volumes of poetry Mr. Browning has written. However dramatic a man's genius may be, it is impossible for him to write much without revealing himself. As Emerson somewhere says, 'a man's nature teaches above his will,' and while engaged in putting others upon the stage, it is well nigh

impossible for him not to put himself upon it as well. Mr. Jones points out what he conceives to be two difficulties in the way of ascertaining the system of thought underlying Mr. Browning's poems. The first is the extent and variety of his work; and the second, what Mr. Browning has himself repeatedly insisted upon; viz., that his poetry is 'always dramatic in principle, and so many utterances of so many imaginary persons, not mine.' The latter of these presents the main difficulty. What Mr. Jones gives as the first is rather an advantage. The more extended and varied a writer's works, notwithstanding their dramatic character, the more the chances are multiplied of his unconsciously violating the spirit of dramatic representation and revealing himself. At the same time, what Mr. Jones says is quite true, that 'it is not easy anywhere to separate the elements, so that we can say with certainty, "Here I catch the poet, there lies his material." The identification of the work and worker is too intimate, and the realization of the imaginary personage is too complete.' Whether Mr. Jones has really made out the religious and philosophical principles which Mr. Browning intended to teach or rather which lie behind his writings, we should not like to undertake to say. But this we may say, he has presented us with the leading principles which appear to lie on the surface of Mr. Browning's poems, and which to all appearance they are intended, if we may so say, to inculcate. And for this not a few who have tried to master Browning will be grateful. The doubtful compliment paid to the poet during his lifetime of forming a society for the study and interpretation of his works would seem to argue the necessity for some such book as the one before us. But be that as it may, Mr. Jones has thrown light on many an obscure passage, and has pointed out truths and principles scattered here and there over the poems with the aid of which the words of an author who is confessedly difficult to understand, may be made to yield intelligible and often richly significant thoughts.

The English Constitution. By ÉMILE BOUTMY. Translated by Isabel M. Eaden. With an Introduction by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

Foreigners are in the habit of dealing with the English Constitution from a high philosophical point of view, and of entering into it with an elaboration of detail, often ponderous, which in this country is almost unknown. M. Boutmy's modest little volume forms quite a contrast to many such works; but it is none the less effective. Sir Frederick Pollock has written a brief Introduction to Miss Eaden's translation, but both the work itself and its translation are illustrations of the saying: 'Good wine needs no bush.' The translation is as good and idiomatic as it can well be; while the volume itself deserves to be welcomed, both as occupying a place peculiarly its own, and as the work of an enlightened foreigner well acquainted both with the history and the working of the Constitution. He is a follower of neither Freeman, Gneist, nor Green. If anything he leans more to Dr. Stubbs. His work, however, deals less with the formal history of the Constitution, and more with its construction from the social and economic points of view. And herein lies its chief value. As for the theory which would find the constitution existing in embryo in the remote past he has little belief. 'What we must look for in the distant past,' he says, 'are the original and deep-rooted tendencies, the primitive bearings of the national character; they are more easily traceable at a period when as yet the vicissitudes of history have not furrowed and broken up the ground: they explain the general direction, and measure the energy of those forces which are one day to set in motion a system of political machinery. As to the machinery itself, its beginnings and its modifications are nearly always

due to causes more specific and more practical, more recent and nearer to hand.' The constitutional and parliamentary system, 'of which England created for the world the original and great example,' had its origin, he holds, in historical rather than in purely ethnical sources. It was rather the outcome, he says, of the needs which circumstances, and especially one great and fortuitous event had created, than an inheritance handed down through successive generations from the period of the Saxon Conquest. The line which the whole history of political institution has since followed, was traced, he believes, in 1066, and it is here he finds his starting point. There can be no doubt that the Conquest of 1066 had an immense influence on the political institutions of the country; still it was not absolutely subversive of the existing institutions, and one would like to have seen M. Boutmy's opinion of what the Norman influence was. From this point onwards, however, M. Boutmy is an enlightened guide. Here and there, in fact frequently, the development of the constitution and the machinery of government are thrown into clear light by contrasting them with the constitutional history of other countries. The chief value of the volume, however, is, as already said, in its treatment of the subject from the social and economic standpoints. In this respect, so far as we know, it stands alone.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT. Vol. III. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

This third volume of the new and handsome edition of the 'Cambridge Shakespeare,' which is now appearing under the editorship of Mr. Aldis Wright, contains four plays, viz.: *The Taming of the Shrew*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Twelfth Night*, and *the Winter's Tale*. The plays are given in the same order as they appear in the Folio of 1623, and are accompanied by a brief Preface and somewhat copious notes. As need hardly be said, the features of the edition are the text and the various and conjectural readings. The latter are given at the foot of each page. They are full and contain the latest suggestions of importance. For the Shakespeare student, a copy of this edition is indispensable, as he has here what is admittedly the best text, and when dissatisfied with it, has such materials to his hand as will enable him to form an independent judgment, or, at least, to show him what opinions others have arrived at, and what suggestions they have made. The footnotes in the present volume are, if anything, more copious than in either of the two which have preceded it. Of the notes at the end of each of the plays, it is needless to speak. They are not intended to be full, but deal chiefly with the text, and, so far as they go, are extremely useful. Altogether in its own way, the edition is as near perfection as is possible.

FICTION.

On Heather Hills, 2 vols., (Alex. Gardner), has its scene laid in Scotland, while May, its heroine, if such she may be called, is an Australian who believes, or did believe, that Scotland is the fairest of all lands upon the earth. Her introduction to it is not the happiest, being followed in a day or two by the death of her father and mother from exposure and starvation. Ultimately, after a stay in fact of five years, during which she passes through some very remarkable experiences, she leaves it, but whether she still looks upon it as the fairest of all countries is not said. Some incidents would leave the impression that her first ideas are considerably modified. There are exciting situations in the story, some smart conversations, here and there a few excellent reflections, and in the first volume a superfluity of writing. The author, whoever he or she may be,

has something to learn in the way of condensing. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the story is the plot. This is certainly out of the beaten track, and so far may be commended. Its probability, however, is questionable, admitting that truth is at times stranger than fiction, it is always true to nature. It is scarcely possible that a smart young lady like May, after a separation of only some four or five years, should be totally unable to detect in the person of Robson, though in daily contact with him, her own husband, or that Gerald should fail to recognize in him his step-brother. And further, for Robson to stand by and quietly see the wife whom he is said to love with an intense passion, beaten and ill-used in other ways without breaking through his disguise of dumbness or interfering to protect her, argues either a wonderful power of self-command or an indifference for her which, to say the least, is not reconcilable with affection. There are other improbabilities in the story. By most novel readers these however, will be regarded, we imagine, as excellences, and compared with many of the novels of the day, the story both in conception and execution will hold its own.

Eight Days, by R. E. Forrest, (Smith, Elder & Co.) is a tale of the Indian Mutiny, and records the events which happened to a party of English officers and ladies stationed at Khizrabad, in Northern India, during that eventful period. It is supposed to be a history, and probably is. The incidents follow each other in natural sequence and with startling rapidity. That they are exciting, we need hardly say. One peril leads to another, and how so many of the party managed to escape the fate of their companions is, all things considered, a marvel. As for the style the writer has adopted, here and there it is a little forced, and until the Mutiny actually breaks out, just a little tedious. Elsewhere, however, it is vigorous, picturesque, and sufficiently condensed. The characters are abundant and well drawn. The writer is to all appearance well acquainted with the country where the scene is laid, and tells the story in such a way as to convey the impression that he or she was an actor in it. The details are all so minutely given and the characters so distinctly placed before us, that we do not think that we shall be far wrong if we say that the author is writing either at firsthand, or from the records of one who shared in the vicissitudes and hair-breadth escapes of the Eight Days. The book is worth reading if only for the information it gives, and may be safely set down as one of the best novels of the season.

New Grub Street, by George Gissing, 3 vols. (Smith, Elder & Co.). Mr. Gissing is already well known as a writer of fiction. His *Demos* and *The Nether World* are works of sufficient ability to place him in the first rank of present-day novelists. *New Grub Street* has something of the character of *The Nether World*. These he took for his subject 'Darkest London,' and depicted its social life in some of its worst and best features. The picture was in many respects lurid and painful. All the same, it was powerfully depicted. Not less so is that of *New Grub Street*. Here he deals with the struggling class of writers. The book is intensely realistic, and one can scarcely divest one's self of the idea that it is written from the life. Alfred Yule and Jasper Milvain, though by no means loveable, are drawn with remarkable skill. So are Biffens and Reardon, who are men of a totally different type. Marian Yule is worthy of a better fate than that which is here assigned to her, but it serves to bring out the heartlessness of Jasper Milvain and to emphasize what we take to be the motive of the story. Like *The Nether World*, *New Grub Street* is not altogether pleasant reading, but, like that, it is in its own way a work of marked ability. It is a novelty in fiction, and furnishes much food for reflection for those who are contemplating literature as a profession.

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SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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ART. I.—WITCHCRAFT IN SCOTLAND.

IT is with no feeling of pleasure that a writer of the present day can enter upon the task of sketching the sad history of Scottish witchcraft. Horrible as are the events attending the development of the witch mania on the Continent, an enquiry into them yet brings us into the presence of such gigantic crimes that we seem to be dealing with beings of a different nature to ourselves. When we picture to ourselves a king of France levelling a false charge of sorcery, with all its awful consequences of torture and death, at thousands of the bravest defenders of Christendom, merely that he may obtain possession of their riches, or a great feudal lord sacrificing hundreds of children in a single year in the hope of prolonging for a short space his career of profusion, we seem to see before us the fallen angels of Milton rather than the sharers of our common humanity. But in the history of Scottish witchcraft there is nothing to excite the wonder which in some measure deadens the disgust with which we contemplate the deeds of a Philip the Fair or a Gilles de Retz. Here the victims are, with hardly a exception, such poor and wretched old women as are still to be found by scores in every parish in town or country; while the persecutors are the pious, zealous, and, on the whole, learned clergy, whom we have been accustomed to reverence as the very patterns and exemplars of the milder virtues of Christianity. Yet it is, perhaps, as well that

the task should be attempted, for the records in which the terrible details of this later and meaner persecution are written are both little known and widely scattered, and we are therefore apt, while rightly condemning the cruelty and superstition of certain foreign ecclesiastics, to forget that there existed at no very distant date a tribunal in our own land, which, in both cruelty and superstition, actually exceeded the worst of foreign Inquisitions.

The origin of the wild desire to torture and slay all persons suspected of sorcery which fell like an epidemic upon Europe in the middle of the fifteenth century, seems for the present to be lost in obscurity. Some writers, like Sir Walter Scott and Dr. Mackay, have thought to find it in the simultaneous enactment of severe penal laws, such as the Bull *Summis desiderantes*; but had these enactments preceded instead of (as was actually the case) following the outburst of popular fury, we should still find ourselves at a loss to explain why the equally severe legislation of the later Roman Emperors and of Charlemagne was not attended with the same deplorable result. Others, again, among whom are Buckle and Mr. Lecky, have attributed it to the increased attention to the existence of the evil principle, which, they allege, was brought about by the spread of the reformed doctrines, and the more wide-spread study of the Scriptures. But we know that the persecution of witches raged unchecked on the Continent long before the coming of the German Reformers, and that, even after that date, the witch-hunters of Catholic Germany, Spain, and Italy, sought after their prey with a zeal as fiery, though hardly as searching, as that of their Protestant contemporaries. All that is certain is that the fury spread from one country to another, disregarding the barriers of language, creed, and race, until, about a century after it had shown itself in Central Europe, it reached the distant shores of Scotland. Here it continued for about the same length of time as in the place of its birth, to gradually expire in the same manner, and apparently from the same cause that had there brought about its decline.*

* All the trials hereafter noticed (save where otherwise mentioned) will be found reported in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland* (Edin., 1833),

The beginning of witch persecution in Scotland is generally supposed to coincide with the passing of the Act of 1563, but this can hardly be accepted without some qualification. The Civil Law was always terribly severe against witchcraft, and in the proclamation of 1510 for regulating the proceedings at Circuit Courts the judges are directed to enquire 'If there be any witchcraft or sorcery used in the realm?' We even hear of some fourteen or fifteen witches being burnt at Edinburgh in 1479 for compassing the death of James III. by the familiar means of a wax image, and a similar tale is told with regard to the rather mythical King Duffus. It is probable, however, that unless the offence were coupled with some graver crime, such as treason, the judges were satisfied with banishing the offender, and this is the punishment inflicted upon one Agnes Mullikine, who was arraigned before the High Court of Justiciary just before the Act came into operation. Why the legislature thought it necessary to increase the severity of the punishment is not very clear, and the words of the statute itself seem to point rather to an enlightened scepticism on the part of its authors than to any vehement belief in the extensive use of diabolic agency. After reciting that 'The Queen's Majesty and the Three Estates in this present Parliament are informed of the heavy and abominable superstition used by divers of the lieges of this realm, by using of witchcraft, sorcery, and necromancy, and credence given thereto in times bygone against the laws of God,' it goes on to enact that 'for avoiding of all such vain superstition in times to come' no

the extracts from the Books of Adjournal given in the *Spottiswood Miscellany* (Spottiswood Society, 1844), the *Spalding Miscellany* (Spalding Club, 1841), or the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Vol. X., N.S.). Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland* (Edin., 1834), Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (2nd ed., Lond., 1859, etc.), and Rogers' *Scotland Social and Domestic* (Grampian Club publications), have also been laid under contribution. The registers of the different Kirk-Sessions and Presbyteries mentioned have all been printed by one or other of the antiquarian societies, but the Register of the Scottish Privy Council—the Calendar of which has only reached the year 1613—has (thanks to the kindness of the Editor of this *Review*) been searched for the purposes of this article.

person shall 'use any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, or necromancy, nor give themselves forth to have any such craft or knowledge thereof, therethrough abusing the people,' and then prescribes the penalty of death 'as well against such user or abuser as the seeker of the response or consultation.' It is curious that all subsequent witch-trials in Scotland should have been founded on an enactment which seems to have been aimed at nothing more than the fraudulent assumption of supernatural power.

From the outset the Reformed clergy, who were by this time fairly established, seem to have taken the working of the Act in hand. During the first year of its operation four women were denounced by the Superintendent of Fife. Their cases were reported to the General Assembly, who contented themselves with petitioning the Privy Council to take order concerning them; but it does not appear that any notice was taken of the petition, nor is it probable that during the remainder of the disturbed reign of Mary the ministers found themselves strong enough to insist upon the law being enforced. Under Murray things were different, and during the last year of his regency we hear that he 'caused burn certain witches at St. Andrews' on his way to the North, and 'another company of witches at Dundee' on his return.* Among the St. Andrews executions were those of 'a notable sorceress called Nic Nevan' (possibly the Mother Nicneven of Sir Walter Scott) and a Lyon King-at-Arms.† The latter was the most distinguished personage that suffered during the hundred years that the witch-persecution lasted, but as he had originally been arrested for a conspiracy against Murray's life, it is probable that in this, as in most of the earlier cases, the accusation of witchcraft was but a convenient way of getting rid of a political enemy. The assassination of the Regent in 1570 again threw the administration of the criminal law into confusion until the accession to power of Morton, whose dislike of the more zealous of the ministers made it little likely

* See *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland* (Maitland Club publications).

† See *Hist. of King James the Sixth* (Bannatyne Club publications).

that he would do anything to yield to their wishes. In spite, therefore, of the declaration by the General Assembly in 1575, that 'The Kirk hath power to cognosce and decerne upon witchcraft,' there was little vigour displayed in the enforcement of the Act, and, although two or three cases came before the High Court at Edinburgh and the circuit courts, the General Assembly in 1583 were able to complain to the King that 'there is no punishment for "(among other crimes)" witchcraft, in such sort that daily sin increaseth, and provoketh the wrath of God against the whole country.' Five years afterwards, a witch who had before been accused, but had been allowed to escape by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was convicted by the exertions of the General Assembly, while a process in 1590 against Lady Foulis (who seems to have really attempted, both by witchcraft and poisoning, to take off several members of her own family), only resulted in the acquittal of the principals in the crime, and in the execution of some of the subaltern accomplices.

Up to this period, the 'dittays' against the alleged witches are filled with recitals of such simple sorceries as the medicinal use of herbs and the performance of trivial and meaningless ceremonies. In no case is the efficacy of the cures or enchantments attributed to any more dreaded agency than that of 'The Gude Folk,' or fairies. But now a change comes over the form of the indictments which shows that the managers of these trials had not allowed some of the more extraordinary theories of the Continental witch-hunters to escape them. Within a month after Lady Foulis' acquittal, Janet Grant or Gradoch, and Janet Clark or Spalding, were put to the bar of the High Court, charged with bewitching to death several persons, with killing cattle, with preventing the consummation of marriages, and with raising the devil. They were both found guilty, strangled, and burnt, but the evidence at their trial prepared the people (as it was perhaps intended to do) for the tragedy that was to follow. In May of the same year, James, when returning from Denmark with his bride, had met with contrary winds which had put him in some danger. It was now given out that this untoward weather was caused by

a number of witches, who had assembled in 'conventions' at North Berwick Church and other places, and had attempted, in conjunction with Satan, present among them in bodily form, to hinder the King's return to his native land. A number of persons, among whom John Fian or Cunningham, a schoolmaster in Tranent, was assigned the leading part, were arrested and examined before the King in person. There is fortunately no need for me to repeat here the horrible details of these examinations, as they have been given at quite sufficient length by all the writers who have touched upon the subject.* It is sufficient to say that, after the most fearful and unheard-of tortures had been inflicted upon the accused, confessions were obtained from them, in which all the wild and impossible features of the Sabbath as described by Del Rio and De Lancre—the form of adoration of the devil, his amours with the witches, and the charms made from the bodies of the dead—were set out with all details. At first James, who was shrewd enough in such matters, listened without being much impressed, and declared the witches to be 'extreme liars': but when the name of Bothwell was introduced as the contriver of the attempt on his life, his attitude changed. For of Bothwell, who had jointly with Lennox governed the realm with great firmness and judgment during the King's absence, James had a nervous horror, which was artfully stimulated by the Chancellor, Maitland of Thirlestane. Bothwell was thrown into prison, from which he managed to escape, upon the peers who had been summoned for the trial refusing to meet, 'knowing,' as says the chronicler, 'that the King had no just occasion of grief, nor crime to allege against him, but only at the instigation of the Chancellor.†' Three years later, having forced his way into James' presence, he demanded a trial which resulted in his acquittal, but was proclaimed a rebel soon afterwards, and died in exile. In the meantime, his supposed accomplices had been brought

* Among others Sir Walter Scott in his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*. All these writers have taken their descriptions of the examination from a rare tract called *Newes from Scotland or the Damnable Life of Dr. Fian*, which has been reprinted by the Roxburgh Club.

† See *Hist. of King James the Sixth*.

to trial and executed, the only person of note among them being Euphemia Macalzean, the daughter of Lord Cliftonhall, a Senator of the College of Justice. As both the Books of Adjournal and the criminal records of Edinburgh for a period of about five years from this date are lost, it is impossible to tell accurately how many suffered on this absurd charge. But, as in the confessions which have been preserved, from sixty to two hundred persons were denounced, we are perhaps justified in assuming that at least fifty of these were convicted.

And now, the panic fear of witchcraft which seems to be the proximate cause of all witch persecutions was fairly aroused, and neither King nor clergy had any idea of letting it die out. In 1592, the Privy Council ordered that blank commissions giving power to imprison for witchcraft should be issued to the General Assembly, to be filled up as they should think fit—a compliment which the Presbytery of Glasgow tried to return the following year by petitioning the Assembly to print and publish all the particulars of the ‘impiety of the witches and their late conspiracy,’ in order (as they said) that ‘the same may be divulged and made notour to the whole inhabitants in this country.’ The length to which these measures led may be judged by what happened in Aberdeen in 1596. In that year there seems to have been an epidemic disease in the city, which from the symptoms described was a malarial fever. Of this, many of the poorer inhabitants died, and their neighbours, stirred up by the reports from Edinburgh, insisted that it was the work of one family of singular habits, who had for a long time been suspected of witchcraft. A commission from the Privy Council was therefore applied for, and before April 1597, twenty-three women and one man had been burnt, one woman had died under the torture, one had hanged herself in prison, and four others who were acquitted on the capital charge, were yet branded on the cheek and banished from the sheriffdom. Nor was this all the misery caused by this single commission. As usual, the persons executed had in their extorted confessions accused others, and many of these had taken alarm in time, and had fled the country. The commissioners, in a precept

addressed to 'All and sundry ministers of God's word, elders and deacons of the parish where the persons after specified dwell,' requested them to 'convene yourselves with the elders and deacons of your parochine, and take up dittay of the persons delated as witches by the persons lately execute here for witchcraft.' The notes taken by certain ministers under this precept show that a further holocaust was contemplated, but it may be hoped that the commission was revoked before any further executions could take place.

For, in the meantime, the zeal of the clergy in another part of the kingdom had overshot its mark. One Margaret Atkin, who had been arrested in Fife, was led by the fear of torture to make a confession involving many hundreds of people. In this she alleged that she could recognise a witch by a certain mark in the eyes. She was, in consequence, carried about by the ministers in charge of her case from one town to another that she might be confronted with anyone suspected, and thus many innocent persons were put to death. At last her imposture was detected by the fact that she sometimes failed to recognise those whom she had formerly denounced, and she was burnt, confessing with her last breath that the whole of her pretended revelations were false. Bowes, the English Ambassador, writes to Lord Burghley, in August, 1597, that the witches 'swarm in thousands,'* and as Margaret Atkin gave an account of one Sabbath where she asserted two thousand three hundred persons were present, it is evident that the executions might soon have reached that figure. But the King, who seems to have now become alarmed at the height to which the delusion had grown, revoked at one stroke all the Commissions of Justiciary then in existence, and thus for a time put a stop to the terror. This merciful act came too late to save the life of poor Alison Balfour, whose trial (to which I shall hereafter return) shows more human suffering than perhaps has ever before been crowded into a single room. Nor was it able altogether to tame the zeal of the Aberdeen ministers, for we find a resolution by the Presbytery, in 1602,

* See *Calendar of State Papers* (Scottish Series.)

that there shall be a 'privy inquest for witches through the whole parish,' the results of which were to be sent to the Marquis of Huntly, as Sheriff of the county, in order 'that the land may be purged of such instruments of the devil.' The Marquis was apparently not inclined to trust to the information obtained by the 'privy inquest,' for we find the Presbytery resolving the following year that 'each minister with two of his elders, that fear God and are most zealous for His glory, shall at each particular Kirk *respectivé* take the oaths of the inhabitants, within their charge, what they know of witches and their consulters with them,' so that 'his Lordship may the better know whom he shall hold to justice.' But all the evidence on the subject goes to show that no more victims were sacrificed as the result of these inquiries.

It is possible that Mr. Chambers is justified in stating, in his *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, that the heat of persecution was in direct ratio to the influence of the extreme section of the Reformers. Yet the establishment of the modified Episcopacy favoured by James did not at first do much to cool it. From 1600 to 1620 there were frequent convictions for witchcraft both before the High Court and the Commissions still granted for the trial of individual cases. The infection spread even to Orkney and Shetland, where the Law-thing executed during this period at least twenty-five persons. Nor do the ministers appear to have in any way abandoned their claim to assist the lay courts in the exercise of their jurisdiction. Thus, in the case of Grizel Gardiner, who was arraigned before the High Court in 1610, the principal witness against the panel was 'Mr. John Caldeleuch, minister,' who deposed that the Presbytery had directed him, as their Moderator, to 'notify the truth' of the accusation to the Privy Council 'that some order might be taken anent her trial and punishment.' But, in the long run, the change in Church Government was favourable to the suspects. In 1624 the Council proclaimed that 'to the intent that neither should the innocent be molested nor the guilty escape,' all informations should thenceforth pass through the hands of the Bishop of the diocese 'to be seen and considered by him and such of the ministry as he should call unto him.'

This was clearly to the advantage of the accused, because the Bishop was, from his position, not likely to be under the fear of reprisals which led the neighbours of a delated person to look with horror upon the possibility of a witch's escape. Its effect was seen in a marked falling off in the number of executions from this date down to the death of James; and in the denunciation to the Council, in 1632, of one John Balfour, who is alleged to have made a regular trade of discovering witches and to have gone about the country 'abusing simple and ignorant people for his private gain and commodity.' It is reasonably certain that no such denunciation would have received attention during the terror which immediately followed the Bothwell trials.

Unfortunately this improved state of things was not destined to last. The civil commotions which followed upon Charles' attempt to force the Liturgy upon the Scottish people, and the signing of the Covenant in 1638, probably kept the ministers too busy for a few years to attend to the concoction of witch-processes, but as soon as their hands were free the persecution broke out with redoubled fury. The General Assembly, in 1640, called upon the Parliament and the judges to enforce unsparingly the laws against witchcraft, and from 1640 until the invasion of Cromwell there was no one to place any check upon their activity. I believe that the details of this second persecution, could they be brought to light, would be found to be more shocking than the deeds of Sprenger and Institor, and that the witch-hunters found their way into the most remote corners of the land. Even the very summary procedure of the law proved too cumbrous for the speed of their operations. The Presbytery of St. Andrews, in 1644, found themselves compelled to procure from the Earl of Lindsay 'a general commission for apprehending, trying, and judging such as are or shall be delated for witches within the stewardry,' and in the same year the Presbytery of Lanark deemed it necessary to provide that each parish should provide guards 'for its own witches.' Such a strain was put upon the resources of the smaller parishes by the fees attending the Commissions for the trial of the persons they had apprehended

that the Provincial Assembly of Lothian and Tweeddale, in 1649, requested 'my Lord Lothian to speak to the Committee of Estates that their Lordships may give order to their clerks to issue out commissions for the trial and burning of witches *gratis*.' The same year the Estates passed, at the instance of the General Assembly, an Act extending the provisions of the Act of 1563, and making it more clear that those who merely consulted witches were to be punished with death. The effect of these measures may be guessed from a statement in White-locke's *Memorials* that on the 15th April, 1650, 'At a little village within two miles (of Berwick) two men and three women were burnt for witches, and nine more were to be burnt, the village consisting but of fourteen families, and there were as many witches,' and that 'twenty more were to be burnt within six miles of that place.'

But now a deliverer (as they would have said in those days) was raised up for the victims of superstition. When Cromwell made his attempt to unite England and Scotland under one system of law, his 'Commissioners for the administration of Justice' found in their first circuit upwards of sixty prisoners awaiting trial for witchcraft. Most of these poor creatures had confessed, but on hearing how their confessions had been obtained, the commissioners directed that they should all be released. This proved to be the beginning of a more enlightened policy towards those accused of the crime, and during the continuance of Cromwell's supremacy, but very few were burnt. 'There is much witchery up and down our land,' writes Robert Baillie regretfully, 'the English be but too sparing to try it, but some they execute.' It is with difficulty that the record of any executions can be found until the last two years of the English domination, when the impediments with which Cromwell had surrounded the execution upon witches of what was then facetiously called justice were in part removed. From 1658 to 1660 the trials began again, and thirty-eight women and two men were executed in Edinburgh and the neighbouring counties.

This, however, was but a mild prelude to the storm of persecution which broke out at the Restoration. 'Whatever

satisfaction the return of King Charles II. might afford to the younger females in his dominions,' says the witty editor of *Law's Memorials*, 'it certainly brought nothing save torture and destruction to the unfortunate old women or witches of Scotland.' For three years, indeed, the Privy Council seems to have had little else to do but to issue commissions for their trial and execution. Within twelve months from August 1661, commissions were issued for the trial of one hundred and sixty-six persons, without taking into account some twenty or thirty more who were indicted before the High Court. The numbers, indeed, lead us to expect a return to the barbarities of the time of James VI., but this was far from being the case. On the contrary, there are many signs that the Council were glad of any excuse for mitigating the cruelty with which suspected witches had formerly been treated. In February 1662, James Welsh was whipt through Edinburgh and put in the House of Correction for a year for falsely accusing several persons. Three months later, John Kincaid, the 'pricker' or witchfinder of Tranent, whose fame in Scotland had at one time emulated that of his English analogue, Matthew Hopkins, was imprisoned by the Council for presuming to 'prick and try' witches on his own responsibility, and was only released on giving bail for his amendment. And during the same month a proclamation was issued prohibiting anyone from apprehending persons suspect of witchcraft without authority from the Council, the sheriffs of counties, or their deputies,—a rule which was thereafter adhered to with tolerable strictness. But that which most clearly shows the humaner intentions of the Council is the clause henceforth appearing in their commissions to the effect that no confessions shall be received unless voluntarily emitted, that no torture shall be used to extract confessions, and that the sanity of all confessants shall be enquired into before sentence. This last step seems to have been taken in consequence of the complaints against Mr. James Gillespie, the minister of Rhind, who was charged before the Council with having obtained false confessions by means of tortures, pricking, and keeping several women from sleep; on which confessions 'the innocent had suffered death.' After 1662 no

judicial torture was used, although it is to be feared that the clergy continued the pricking and waking when they thought they could do so with impunity.

From this period the persecution began to decline. The fear of witchcraft (if one may borrow the language of modern medicine) had become sporadic rather than epidemic. Now and again some minister with more zeal—or less discretion—than his fellows would busy himself with obtaining informations against a ‘notour’ witch. Then a commission would be applied for, and the witch tormented either physically or morally until she had denounced others. A few executions would follow, and the popular excitement would die out, to reappear in some other spot. And everywhere throughout Europe, the fires of persecution were burning low. The *Cautio Criminalis* of the Jesuit Spee, published in 1631, so thoroughly exposed the absurdities and cruelties of the witch-trials that the Archbishop-Elector of Maintz, and many other German princes, abolished them in their dominions. The Elector of Brandenburg in 1654 ordered that everyone accused of the crime should be allowed to defend himself before, instead of after the torture. And in 1670 Louis XIV. insisted, in spite of the protests of the Parliament of Normandy, upon commuting to banishment the sentence of death which the Parliament had passed upon a batch of witches. The Electoral Chambers of Germany followed this good example with the best results: and, after this last date, the executions for witchcraft upon the Continent may almost be counted on the fingers of the two hands.

As Scotland was the last country in Europe to which the infection of terror came, so was it the last from which it departed. Sir George Mackenzie writing in 1678, strongly asserts his belief in the existence of witchcraft, although he pleads for the better treatment of the accused. The same year many confessing witches were burnt at Salt Preston and other places, including Edinburgh, but the confessions of these last (as Lord Fountainhall tells us in his *Decisions*) ‘made many intelligible, sober persons scruple much what faith was to be adhibit to them.’ At length, in 1680, the release of

several suspects upon a report from Sir George Mackenzie to the Lords of Session that their confessions were not only absurd, but had been obtained by torture, seemed to have brought about the end of the persecution. For sixteen years there were no more executions, and, in 1684, a miserable old woman who had been imprisoned, but not brought to trial, was left to die in jail 'of cold and poverty, the king's advocate giving no great notice to such informations against witches.' Yet the terror was not dead, but sleeping. Perhaps the more extreme Presbyterians thought that whatever policy had been pursued by the 'Bluidy Advocate Mackenyie' in Prelatical times must necessarily be wrong. Perhaps the triumphant Whigs really believed the Cameronian stories afloat about the means by which the persecutors had obtained protection from lead and steel, and therefore supposed that by burning witches they were depriving their enemies of valuable allies. At all events, as soon as the Presbyterian form of worship was restored at the Revolution, there was a faint recrudescence of the persecution. In 1692 a commission was issued for the trial of four women in Dumfries. Three years later, two more were executed in Inverness. And in 1696 a witch, who had denounced others, led to a sort of general commission being issued in quite the old way. The next year a commission was granted for the trial of twenty-four persons at Paisley upon the spiteful accusation of a little girl of good family who afterwards confessed her imposture. Of this batch, one hanged himself in prison, and five were burnt. The General Assembly too, woke up, and discussed the advisability of presenting an address to the Council asking for severer measures against witches. But it was all of no use. Although the Council might yield to the ministers for a moment, they had no intention of reviving the witch-hunts of the Covenanting decade. In 1699 a witch and a warlock, who had been tried in Ross-shire, got off scot-free, and although nine others were remitted to the commission who had tried them for 'arbitrary punishment,' they were probably only banished. In the years between this and 1705, four more executions follow, and then there comes a pause. We hear no more of trials for witchcraft until 1727, when

the last witch who suffered in Scotland was burnt at Dornoch by the Sheriff-depute of Sutherlandshire, in spite of a previous warning from the King's Advocate against the impropriety of meddling with such cases. The abolition by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in 1735, of the penal laws against witchcraft made any further persecution impossible.

But although the terror was thus suppressed, the belief remained. The Seceders in 1742, in their 'Testimony against the Errors of the Time' included among the causes of Divine wrath the repeal of the Acts against witchcraft, which repeal they declared to be 'expressly contrary to the law of God.' This testimony was read yearly in their churches as late, says Arnot, as 1785. Nay, a writer in the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1817 says that, at that date, the same doctrine was still taught from their pulpits, and firmly believed in by far the greater number of their adherents. Nor is the belief entirely extinct at the present day. No one who sees much of the peasantry in the remoter parts of Scotland (or for that matter, who reads the newspapers diligently) can fail to be aware, that there are still a few old women to be found who practise charms which two hundred years ago would have sent them to the stake.

It is extremely hard to estimate with any accuracy the total number of those who were done to death for this supposed crime. One great difficulty is the number of courts claiming concurrent jurisdiction. Thus, in the time of James VI.—which we may fitly call the first persecution—witches were brought before the special commissions granted by the Privy Council, the High Court of Justiciary, the Circuit Courts or 'justice-aires,' or the great noblemen to whom the King granted from time to time commissions of lieutenancy over the outlying provinces. Of these tribunals, the High Court is the only one that has left anything approaching to a regular record of its proceedings; and even in this, there is, as we have seen, a gap of five years in the very heat of the persecution. It is also the tribunal before which the fewest prisoners for this crime were tried. Of the proceedings of the special commissions we have only the records in a very few cases, and some brief notices in the contemporary writers from whom I

have quoted. Of those of the Circuit Courts and the King's Lieutenants we have none at all. Nor is this the worst. Pitcairn, Dalrymple, Sir Walter Scott—all the most trustworthy writers, in fact, upon the subject—are agreed that the cases tried before the High Court bear but a very small proportion to the great numbers condemned by the numerous petty tribunals arising from feudal tenure. Now the number burnt by sentence of the High Court during this period averaged at least one a year, and often rose as high as three or four. And if it were really the case that, during this time, all the Sheriffs of Counties and Lords of Regalities, with their deputies and Baron-Bailies, were hard at work routing out and burning witches with even the moderate amount of energy shown by the High Court, the total would come to something enormous. It is no doubt on this basis that Dr. Mackay, in his very interesting book on *Popular Delusions*, makes the calculation that, for thirty-nine years after the Act of 1563, an average annual number of two hundred victims were executed. I am glad, however, to think that this may not have been the case. Sir George Mackenzie in his *Scottish Criminal Law*, expressly says that he has found 'no instance where inferior courts have tried this crime,' and that '*de praxi*, none used to judge witchcraft, but the Justices, or such as have a particular commission from the Council.' The fact which has been apparently overlooked by Pitcairn and the rest, seems indeed to be that, although sheriffs and other inferior judges were in the habit of apprehending and examining witches, yet that they had no power to execute them, but were obliged to send them for that purpose to a superior court. In proof of this I may perhaps add, that in upwards of three hundred trials for witchcraft which I have myself examined, the sentence has in each case been pronounced by a Justice of the High Court, or by a special commissioner. Even with this deduction, the number of victims is sufficiently great; and I do not think that it can have amounted, during the first persecution, to any less than fifty *per annum*.

During the Puritan period from 1640 to 1650—which we may perhaps call the second persecution—this estimate must

be considerably increased. Although the number of tribunals can now (if I am right) be reduced to the High Court, the Circuit Courts, and the commissions issued by the Committee of Estates, yet both trials and executions were much more frequent than in the time of the first persecution. 'The terrible increase of witchcraft in the land' is a phrase occurring with monotonous frequency in the sermons of the period, and the preachers took care that it should be justified. Stevenson in his *History of the Church of Scotland* mentions that, in 1643, more than thirty witches were burnt within a few months in Fife alone: and that this was no spasmodic effort on the part of the persecutors, is shown by Whitelocke's account, before quoted, of the condemnation of thirty-four witches within a much smaller area. Lamont also, in his *Diary*, notes the execution (within a few months of the burning of those mentioned by Whitelocke) of 'Very many witches in several parts of the kingdom, as in Lothian and in Fife, viz.: in Enderkeithing, Aberdour, Bruntellande, Deysert, Dumfermling.' Altogether I cannot put the number of victims in the second persecution at less than a hundred *per annum*, while I should not be surprised to find that they amounted to double this number.

We come to firmer ground with the third persecution, which took place during the three years immediately following the Restoration. The figures that I have quoted above show two hundred trials in one year, and the proportion of executions to trials was always extremely high. There is therefore no ground to suppose that Dalzell errs otherwise than on the side of moderation when he considers that a hundred and fifty *per annum* suffered during this period.

Nor must it be forgotten that even in the intervals between these outbreaks the flames of persecution were by no means extinguished. On the contrary, when the clergy were most lukewarm in the pursuit, a steady supply of victims for the executioner was yet kept up. I do not think that the number burnt (except, perhaps, in the Cromwellian period) was ever less than twenty *per annum*, and it is at this figure that I propose to estimate them.

We shall then have as the total number of executions:—

In the 1st persecution, from 1590-1597,	50 per annum, or	350
„ 2nd „ 1640-1650,	100 „	1000
„ 3rd „ 1660-1663,	150 „	450
And during the remainder of the time (say from 1580 to 1680) that the persecution was really sharp, ... 20	„	1600
In all,		<u>3400</u>

These are numbers that can be strictly justified by the few and imperfect records that we now have.* I do not believe that any future discoveries will prove them to be in any way exaggerated, but, on the other hand, that they may compel us to largely increase them. If, for instance, two or three well authenticated cases could be produced in which a Baron-Bailie had condemned and executed witches without authority from a higher court, I should be much inclined to multiply the total given above by ten.

One naturally asks for what crime these thousands of human beings were put to death. In the first place it is impossible that a net so widely cast should not have caught within its meshes some real criminals. Such was Erskine of Dun, who was beheaded with his three sisters in 1613, for poisoning with herbs obtained from a reputed witch, two young nephews who stood between him and a rich succession. Others, again, were lunatics, like the Major Weir familiar to the readers of *Redgauntlet*. This wretch, who had all his life been noted for his piety, was hanged at Edinburgh, in 1670, on his voluntary confession of crimes which, though horrible and revolting, certainly required no supernatural aid for their accomplishment. In all these cases the low degree of proof required, and the feeling against the prisoner which it aroused, made the charge of witchcraft a very convenient addition to the indict-

* Some very wild estimates of the numbers were formerly made. John Ray, the naturalist, who travelled in Scotland for ten days in 1661, says that 'At that time divers women were burnt for witches, they reported to the number of about 120.' Mackay, in his last mentioned book, says 17,000 were burnt between 1562 and 1625, and 4000 during 1650 (Qy. 1640 ?) and the ten years following. Rogers' estimate for the whole period, from 1479 to 1735, is 7,500.

ment of the prosecutor. Yet the cases where the accused were guilty of any real crime were wonderfully rare. In nearly every instance the supposed witches were old women of the lowest class, whose poverty, sour temper, or singular habits, had made them an object of dislike to their neighbours. Of this sort was Janet Wishart, whose deeds seem to have been the moving cause of the Aberdeen Commission of 1596. In her dittay, beside the usual stock accusations of causing sickness and casting 'cantrips,' it was gravely alleged as an offence against the panel that she 'puts on nightly a great fire, holds the same on the whole night, and sits thereat, altogether contrarious to the nature of well-living persons.' After this clear evidence of 'devilish practices,' it is not wonderful to learn that the assize found it to be due to her casting, 'certain drugs of witchcraft, such as old shoon,' into the fire of her neighbour, John Club, that 'the said John Club is become altogether depauperit.' In fact, the theory very early adopted by the High Court of Justiciary that any injury following upon a threat uttered by a suspected witch was of itself sufficient proof of the possession of Satanic power, made almost any evidence relevant to infer the pains of law. Thus, in the case of Margaret Hutchinson, in 1661, the panel who had been already indicted and acquitted, was tried a second time before the same assize. The only fresh evidence produced was that, on the occasion of a quarrel with her servant, she had been heard to tell the girl that she should repent it. The servant had a fit the same evening, upon which her mistress assured her that she should not die 'that time,' and transferred the disease to the house cat, who was found dead near the servant's bed. For this 'malefice,' evidenced in true Jack Cade fashion by the testimony of a person who had seen the girl ill and the cat dead, Margaret Hutchinson was found guilty and burnt at the stake. There remain the cases where the accusation of witchcraft was but the result of the panel's perseverance in a course of imposture. Thus it was with those who pretended to work miraculous cures. Doubtless many of these had a very fair knowledge of simples, which they had learnt either as a family secret or from those Highland women

who were accustomed to fill the place of doctors in their rude communities. But they generally mixed their herbs to the sound of mysterious chants, which were either corrupted beyond all intelligibility or had, so to speak, a twang of Popery about them. Such were the 'devilish prayers' used by Agnes Sampson, one of the Bothwell witches. One of these alludes to the power of 'holy kirk' to forgive sins in a way that must have been very shocking to Puritan feelings, while another speaks out still more plainly :—

' All kinds of ills that ever may be,
In Christes name I conjure ye ;
I conjure ye, both mair and less,
By all the virtues of the mess,'

and so on. And in the case of Thomas Greave, burnt at Edinburgh in 1623, the making of crosses upon the water brought by him from the Holy Well at Hillside whereby he effected his cures, is one of the charges in the indictment against him.* Yet the judges by no means insisted upon the use of Catholic or superstitious ceremonies as necessary for conviction. For Alison Pearson in 1588, and Bartie Paterson in 1607, were both of them burnt for charms which any Protestant might have repeated. In fact the curing of the sick by any means was always one of the most fatal accusations that could be brought against a witch—a fact which is perhaps explained by the remark of the editor of the *Spottiswoode Miscellany* that the first informations against witches were often laid by surgeons. One has less sympathy with those who practised on their neighbours' fear of the unknown for the sake of obtaining respect or money. Thus Isobel Grierson burnt in 1607, is said to have bewitched Robert Peddan until he remembered that he owed her 9s. 4d., on paying which he was cured. And Agnes Finnie, burnt in 1644, although in the minds of her judges guilty of scatterin,; disease and misfortune right and left, seems to have been always ready to take them off again,

* Rogers *op. cit.*, pp. 279 and 331, gives two charms too long for quotation. One of them alludes to the Friday's fast ; the other prays for a cure to 'the Mother Mary and her dear Son.'

on being properly entreated with a little hospitality. No doubt, many of these old dames, like other charlatans, came at last really to believe in their own power to inflict injuries. 'I have been a very drunkensome woman,' said Helen Guthrie in 1661, in an apparently genuine confession, 'a terrible banner and curser, and when I gave my malison to any person or creature, it usually lighted.'

It is curious that with all this, there should not appear a trace of proof that formal or 'ceremonial' magic was ever practised in Scotland. On the Continent, the regular invocation of spirits which formed part of the rituals of the different sects dating from pre-Christian times, and known first as Gnostics, and later as Manicheans, Paulicians, or Cathari, had taken deep root, and did not entirely die out at the Reformation.* To these sects do we owe the preservation of the astrology and palmistry which, though at one time only looked upon as an easy means of cheating servant-girls, now seem to have taken high rank as fashionable amusements. But nothing of this Oriental leprosy (as M. Bouché-Leclercq has recently called the demonology on which the magic of the Gnostics was based) seems to have troubled the ignorant and untravelled class from whence the vast majority of Scottish witches were taken. If ceremonial magic was ever used in Scotland, it was among the nobles and ladies of the court, and certainly never was put in evidence in any witch-trial. For the spells used by the witches of Fife and Lothian were, like the 'all sorts of thrums and threads cut of all colours, with a piece of crooked wire like a fishhook,' † the possession of which was enough to condemn Janet Lucas in 1597, merely the fetishes to which barbarous

* An account of the signs and wonders wrought by Gnostic magicians is given by Hippolytus in the Fourth Book of the *Philosophumena*. He adds a rationalistic explanation of them which has furnished the learned Eckstein with material for a charming little romance that I have only met with in the form of an American translation called *A Chaldean Magician*. Unfortunately the good bishop's explanations generally make as great a demand on the credulity of the reader as the tricks that they are intended to expose.

† A Negro of the present day would call it a *grigri*.

people in all ages seem to have attached faith. The infliction of disease by the ill-treatment of a figure or 'picture' of clay or wax made in the likeness of the person to be bewitched is almost the only practice of Scottish witchcraft which can be traced to classical times.*

The procedure by which those who practised such arts were convicted was neither better nor worse than that of most judicatures of the time. Like all the tribunals that derived their theories of jurisprudence from Imperial Rome, the Scottish courts looked upon the acquittal of a defendant as an unfortunate accident, to be guarded against by all means in their power. Hence it is not surprising that many a poor creature, when once fairly caged, either hanged herself in prison as the readiest mode of avoiding the doom that she knew to be inevitable, or else confessed whatever her judges required, so as to abbreviate the suffering with which they were wont to embitter the passage to the stake of an 'impenitent' witch. If neither of these events happened, the practice was as follows. The denunciation or delation with which the proceedings began, was obtained either from the judicial confession or some other witch, or by a voluntary information laid by some person who fancied himself aggrieved by the acts of the accused. In the latter case it was *always* (after the Bothwell trials) made to the Kirk-Sessions. Bodin, in his *Demonomania*, states that the information was in some cases anonymous, being put in a box placed in the church of the district for that purpose. This statement has lately been echoed by Mr. Williams in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but I do not think that it rests upon any solid foundation. On the contrary the clergy seem to have always taken sufficient care not only to keep a record of the name of the principal delator, but also to hold him responsible in ecclesiastical penalties for a false delation. For instance, the 'privy inquest,' which we have seen instituted at Aberdeen, led to an abundant crop of

* Except the divination by sieve and shears. But it is curious that divination alone does not seem to have been considered witchcraft by the Scottish judges.

false informations, and the books of the Kirk-Sessions for some years afterwards are filled with the censures passed upon the delators. But in whatever way the delation was obtained, it was the business of the minister and Kirk-Session first having cognizance of it to obtain its corroboration. Sometimes this was done by sending a committee of the Kirk-Session to the place where the delated witch lived, sometimes by procuring a sermon against witchcraft to be preached in her parish, with a special meeting of the Session held the same day for the reception of evidence. When the case had thus been made sufficiently strong, it seems to have been entirely in the minister's option whether he should try it in his own Kirk-Session or present it to the Presbytery of which he was a member. In either case, the Church judicatory before which it came summoned the defendant to appear before it. If she obeyed—as was usually the case—she was formally asked to submit herself to the discipline of the Kirk, and her compliance seems to have been taken as warranting the various extra-legal interferences with her liberty which were forthwith made. If she refused, or did not appear to the summons, a warrant was obtained, in earlier times from a sheriff or other local judge having jurisdiction in witch cases, after the Restoration from the Privy Council. In any event the accused sooner or later found herself in prison. This might happen to be the common prison of the authority by whom she had been arrested, but was more generally the church steeple or a vault under the church. Here she was 'waked' or watched by a committee of the inhabitants under the direction of the church judicatory, the object being to prevent her from obtaining either rest or sleep for a space of time that is said to have sometimes extended to as much as nine days. If this failed to produce a confession, a 'pricker' or person supposed to have skill in discovering the devil's mark was sent for.* His search con-

* Patrick Anderson, in his MS. *History of Scotland*, says with regard to the witches of 1597 that some of them were tried by the 'swimming' or water test. I very much doubt it, but at any rate that test was never popular in Scotland.

sisted in thrusting pins some three inches long into every spot on the poor creature's body which it pleased the delicate fancy of the inquisitors to consider likely to have been caused by the embrace of the devil. When this produced bleeding or caused the victim to flinch, another spot was sought for and probed; but if she showed no signs of pain, it was received as a remarkable proof of guilt. Apart from the outrage to modesty which such a search involved, it is certain that it must also have been a cruel torture; since a woman, who petitioned the Privy Council in 1678, complained that she had been pricked in thirty-two different places in one day. When this treatment had been pursued for a sufficient length of time to satisfy the ecclesiastical authorities (and a witch was often kept in ward for months and even years) the usual course was to apply for a commission for her trial, or she might be brought before one of the Circuit Courts or before the High Court of Justiciary. The proceedings before any of these tribunals began by the examination of the prisoner by question and answer, and—in pre-Restoration times—this was followed by the application of torture. One of the reasons given for its employment was that no confession that the prisoner might have made involving others could be received against the latter unless confirmed by torture, in defence of which position the Laws of Justinian and the comments thereon of the celebrated Del Rio were quoted. At other times it was said with more frankness, that anything that the prisoner might have said before the Church judicatory was extra-judicial, and that after having enjoyed the benefit of rest and sleep, she was hardly likely to repeat anything to her own disadvantage without severe pressure. As Sir George Mackenzie (himself a witch-judge) says most distinctly that torture, either legally or illegally applied, was the ground of *all* the confessions of Scottish witches up to his time, it may be as well to see how it was administered by the Courts. Here is an instance. In 1594 Alison Balfour, (whom I have before mentioned) was induced to make a confession to the effect that she had attempted to bewitch the Earl of Orkney on the instigation of the Master. On her way to execution she retracted this confession in words which I will

quote from the notarial act as given by Pitcairn: 'Being inquired and accused by the Parson of Orphir if she would abide by her first deposition made in the Castle of Kirkwall. . . . She answered that at the time of her first deposition she was tortured divers and sundry times in the Caschielaws, and sundry times taken out of them for dead, and out of all remembrance of good and evil; as likewise her goodman (he was eighty years old) being in the stocks, her son tortured in the Boots, and her daughter (a child of seven) put in the Pilliewinks, wherewith she and they were so grievously vexed and tormented that partly to eschew a greater torment and punishment, and upon promise of life and good deed by the said Parson, falsely against her own soul and conscience, she made that confession but no otherwise.'* This was in the reign of James VI., but the tortures were as brutal, though not so fiendishly ingenious, under Puritan rule. The *Mercurius Politicus* tells us that in October, 1654, Cromwell's Commissioners found at Leith two women 'who had been brought before the Kirk about the time of the armies coming into Scotland, and having confessed were turned over to the civil magistrate. The Court demanding how they came to be proved witches, they declared that they were forced to it by the exceeding torture they were put to, which was by tying their thumbs behind them, and after hanging them up by them, two Highlanders whipt them, after which they set lighted candles to the soles of their feet and between their toes, then burnt them by putting lighted candles in their mouths, and then burning them in the head: there were six of them accused in all, four of whom died of the torture. . . .

* Of these tortures the Pilliewinks was the thumbscrew, the Boot the engine for shattering the knee by wedges that is described in *Old Mortality*. The Caschielaws, which has much exercised the ingenuity of antiquaries, is explained by the Privy Council Register (*Calendar*, vol. vi., p. 49) as an instrument for drawing the 'body, neck, arms, and feet, together within the bounds of ane span'—doubtless on the principle of the 'Scavenger's Daughter.' The stocks were converted into a torture by piling bars of iron on the prisoner's bare legs. In the case mentioned in the text these bars are said to have been of 50 stone weight.

Another woman that was suspected, according to their thoughts, to be a witch, was twenty-eight days and nights with bread and water, being stript stark naked, and laid upon a cold stone, with only a haircloth over her. Others had hair shirts dipped in vinegar put on them to fetch off the skin.* One is glad to find, on the same authority, that the judges ordered 'the sheriff, ministers, and tormentors' responsible for this 'Amboyna usage' to be brought before them, and we may hope that they were properly punished. It was doubtless the discovery of such horrors as these which led the Privy Council of the Restoration to discontinue altogether the judicial use of torture in witch-cases.

The public trial followed upon the conclusion of the prisoner's examination. And here at least one would think that the poor hunted, harrassed, tortured creature would have been treated with some show of fairness. But it was not so. When the indictment had once been read, and the assize sworn, pains seem to have been taken by everyone to prevent the panel having a chance for her life. The indictment of course set out the 'malefices' or acts of witchcraft of which the panel was accused. We have already seen some instances of the inherent absurdity of most of these charges, but it is shocking to find that the advocate for the defence was, in effect, prohibited from saying anything against them. Thus, in the case of Isobel Young, who was tried before the High Court in 1629, the accused was charged with having taken a disease 'off' a patient and with laying it under a barn-door, so that it seized upon the next comer. It was replied by her advocate that this 'was an idle fable, taken probable from the like out of Ariosto.' And to another charge of laying a disease upon her nephew and 'that he died thereof,' the same advocate answered that he could prove that the nephew 'was cured by John Purves, surgeon, lived eleven years afterwards, and had children.' Yet

* I do not understand the use of the haircloth, but I see that Mr. John Aird, of pricking fame, hereafter mentioned, sent his schoolmaster to Jedburgh to buy one 'to help to bring the persons apprehended for witchcraft to a confession.'

both these defences were repelled as *contrary to the indictment*.* In matters of evidence, things were almost worse; for while witnesses not generally admitted to testify by Scottish law ('women, infamous persons, and *socii criminis*,' as some of the judges ungallantly put it) were allowed to give evidence against a witch, yet she was sometimes refused leave to call witnesses in her own defence, on the ground that she might have obtained all the evidence she wanted by interrogating those for the prosecution. When I add that the assize were often threatened by the King's Advocate with a prosecution for wilful error if they acquitted the panel, and that both they and the witnesses were assured, as Sir George Mackenzie tells us, that if a witch escape they 'will die for it,' it is not surprising that the number of acquittals are only about one per cent. of the indictments. It reflects infinite credit upon the assizers that there were any acquittals at all.

We come to the sentence, to which many of the accused are said to have looked forward as a relief from their sufferings. This was generally that the panel should be 'worried' or strangled at the stake before being burnt to ashes. Yet in some instances—notably in those of Euphemia Macalzean and Janet Wishart mentioned above—burning alive was the punishment inflicted. The slightest punishment known to the law was banishment for life.

Such was the manner in which the law was administered by the lay judges. But it has been admitted by all who have paid attention to the records of these trials, that there was engaged upon them another tribunal at once more anxious for the conviction of the accused, and even less scrupulous as to the means of obtaining it. This was composed of the clergy of the district, who were really the moving cause of the prosecution in nearly every case. It was not enough for them that they were constantly, in their Assemblies, hounding on both the legislature and the executive to increased severity. Not enough that they should have arrogated to themselves the right to sit

* See Arnot's *Celebrated Criminal Trials* (Edin. 1785), for more on this highly technical subject. He quotes one very bad case.

as a court of First Instance upon all the delations with which prosecutions for the crime began. But they seem to have looked upon the escape of any person who had once had the misfortune to be accused of witchcraft as a personal insult to themselves. In the reign of James VI. they passed an Act of Assembly that 'in all times coming, the Presbytery proceed in all severity with their censures against such magistrates as shall set at liberty any person or persons convicted of witchcraft hereafter.' In 1642, we find the Presbytery of Lanark continuing capital proceedings against a woman whom both the Commissary of Lanark, and the Privy Council had declared not guilty of anything 'that could demerit death.' And in 1661, a woman who had been acquitted by the High Court was detained in prison at the request of the Kirk-Session, who wished to get up fresh evidence against her. During the height of the second persecution, the part taken by the clergy was (as might have been expected) still more prominent. The Presbytery of St. Andrews not only took upon themselves to advise the Judges as to the persons to be apprehended, the sufficiency of the delations, and 'the allowance of food and sleep' to be permitted to the prisoners, but we find them requesting the Judges to postpone some executions until they can send a committee to speak with the condemned, for the purpose apparently, of getting from them materials for the prosecution of others. Meanwhile, the Kirk-Session of Perth were spending on witch-commissions fines that they had levied 'for the use of the poor,' and the Presbytery of Lanark were ordering sermon after sermon to be preached in the vain hope of procuring some evidence against a batch of eleven women whom they had pricked and waked without inducing them to confess. The remark of the gentleman who edited the minutes of the last-named Presbytery for the Abbotsford Club, 'that the members of the Presbytery seem to have been employed less in attending to their proper ministerial duties, and to the education of the youth in their parishes, than in anxious searches after and in bringing to trial, old women accused of witchcraft,' is really applicable to most of the church judicatories of the time.

Such was the conduct of the clergy in their collective capa-

city. They no doubt justified it to themselves by the interpretation which they placed upon certain texts of Scripture, and, if we once admit the soundness of their assumption that they were engaged in a personal contest with Satan, it would be unjust to condemn it as wholly indefensible. But there are instances of brutality on the part of individual ministers for which (as it seems to me) no palliation can be found. The office of torturer is not one that any man of sensibility or humanity would have been willing to take upon himself; yet we find that several ministers were not ashamed to undertake it. At the trial of Katherine Oswald in 1629, two witnesses testified that they saw 'a pin put to the head, by Mr. John Aird, minister, in the panel's shoulder, being the devil's mark, and no blood following.' And Mr. James Wilson, minister of Dysart, was proved not only to have done the same thing with Janet Brown, who was tried in 1649, but to have repeated the feat for the edification of another minister. Even Mr. James Bell, the author of an MS. *Discourse on Witchcraft*, in 1705, who seems to have held enlightened ideas on the subject, is not ashamed to confess that he has himself pricked witches. A still grosser departure from humanity occurred in the case of Janet Cornfoot (generally known as the Pittenweem witch) in 1704. After being pricked, waked, and beaten with a staff by the minister himself, in order to force her to confess, she was released from prison, arrested again by another minister, and sent back to her first tormentor. He handed her over to the rabble with the remark that they might do what they pleased with her, and when they had acted upon his hint, and had trampled her to death, he aided her murderers to escape from justice.*

It will be noticed that the display of zeal (as it was then called) in witch-hunting was the peculiar possession of no party in Church or State. Indeed we have seen the citizens of the 'Cavalier City' of Aberdeen when under the shadow of the Catholic house of Huntly show themselves to be as keen persecutors as the Presbyteries of Southern Scotland in the palmiest days of

* See *Edinburgh Magazine* for October 1817.

the Puritan domination. But there was a point beyond which neither Royalist nor Roundhead, Prelatist nor Presbyterian dared to press their inquisitions. It seems from the first to have been a sort of tacit compact between the nobles and the clergy that the accusation of witchcraft should never be brought against a person of position. To this rule there was no exception; and it is noteworthy that in the very few cases in which persons like the Lyon King, Lady Foulis, Euphemia Macalzean, and Erskine of Dun were brought to trial, the whole process was set on foot by the Privy Council without ecclesiastical investigation. In the time of James VI., most of the women who dealt in charms and spells, received the patronage of powerful ladies, who were commonly reported not only to learn their art, but to practise it themselves. This was the case with Barbara Napier and Agnes Sampson, two of the Bothwell witches, who were both under the protection of the Countess of Angus; and similar tales are told of the Countess of Huntly, the Countess of Athole, Lady Buccleuch (of Branzholm), and many others.* Yet, while the lower class of witches were persecuted to the death, their accomplices in the higher ranks were never even threatened. John Knox himself, whom James Melvill heard preaching the death-sermon of a witch at St. Andrews, 'she being set up at a pillar before him,' was in possession of enough evidence against the Countesses of Huntly and Athole to have burnt a dozen witches of less rank. Yet it never seems to have entered into his head to bring either of them to trial. The same respect of persons is noticeable in Puritan times, when the wives of certain magistrates of Inverkeithing who had been denounced by a witch executed in 1649, were not allowed to be prosecuted. And, in 1678, some witches brought before the High Court, who, 'if they had been permitted, were ready to fyle, with their delation, sundry gentlewomen and others of fashion,' were forbidden to mention their names. Something of this may have been due to the known partiality and corruption of the Scottish judges

* See the introduction to *Law's Memorials* by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Edin., 1818).

before the Union, yet the ministers' acquiescence in it is in marked contrast with the freedom of their action in cases of heresy,* and even throws a disagreeable light upon their sincerity.

It is more pleasant to turn to the consideration of the problem presented by the almost simultaneous occurrence of witch-trials throughout Europe. The belief in witchcraft, which, indeed, prevails among all peoples of imperfect civilisation, was the common faith of the western world for at least fourteen centuries before the Bull of Innocent IV. Why then did the desire to hunt out and ill-treat witches choose the fifteenth century for its outbreak? And why did it cease almost as suddenly as it began, about a hundred years later? To the first of these questions I am (as I have already said) unable to suggest any complete answer. Perhaps the nearest approach to the truth is, that the panic which gave rise to it was one of those unreasoning impulses—like that which set on foot the Crusades of the eleventh, and the Gambling Mania of the last centuries—to which the nations of Europe seem to be periodically subject.

There is much less doubt as to the cause of the cessation of the persecution. Had the terror been more complete than it was, it would probably have died away in time, like the other popular movements to which I have just compared it. But as it was, the belief on which the terror rested, received a mortal blow before the persecution was half spent. It has often been said that the life of the savage, instead of being either free or noble, is made a constant terror to him by reason of his superstitious fears. Surrounded by phenomena which he does not investigate, and at the mercy of natural forces the play of which seem to him to be entirely capricious, he fancies that every misfortune which befalls him is due to the action of invisible and malevolent beings. Something like this was the condition of our ancestors in the fifteenth and sixteenth cen-

* See Rogers *op. cit.*, p. 317, for a list of the nobility excommunicated for Popish tendencies by the Synod of Dumfries, in 1647. The Countess of Aberdeen was imprisoned for three years on this charge.

turies. But when Science (that is to say, the pursuit of knowledge based upon ascertained fact) awoke from the sleep into which she had sunk so soon as the triumph of Christianity over Paganism was assured, the European began to realise that the phenomena to which he had hitherto attributed a supernatural origin were but the result of natural laws. It was not that Science, as a great part of the Scottish clergy then taught, was sapping the foundations on which the belief in the supernatural rested; but that she was every day reducing the area within which the action of the supernatural was (I do not say possible, but) necessary. It was clearly impossible for any educated Scottish man to believe that disease could be caused or cured by a witch, when Sydenham was working out the true principles upon which the treatment of disease should be based. Nor could he longer believe that a dozen old women assembled in a church could bring on a thunderstorm to sink their neighbours' ships, when Franklin had proved that the lightning was but the discharge of a fluid whose action could be brought under human control. It was then Science, rather than rationalism or humanity, which brought about the downfall of the belief in witchcraft, and it is well that it was so. For Science never gives back the territory she has gained, and although many old superstitions may from time to time be revived among us, we may be quite sure that the belief in witchcraft will not be one of them.

F. LEGGE.

ART. II.—A RETROSPECT ON THE EUXINE AND
THE CASPIAN.

THE regions that lie between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and are bounded on the north by the Caucasus, are not only the most interesting and the richest, but also, by their geographical position, the most important of the Asiatic possessions of Russia. Between the years 1760 and 1780, during which was planned and matured the system against the Caucasus, the whole of this vast

territory was occupied by populations, many of them nomad, the eastern portion of them horsemen, the whole of them armed, and constituting part of the Russian Empire. No Muscovite proper inherited this territory, with the exception of some towns and some colonies.

The administration of the Empire did not extend to them, nor did the Russian Church. The connection with the Russian Government was established through submission of princes and tribes still retaining their own usages, and through the military organisation again dependent on tribe usages; through incorporations by Ukase, again on conditions, only at a subsequent period wholly set aside; and finally, on partitions, in like manner subject to stipulations. The populations of these regions amounted to between thirty and forty millions, consisting of Poles, Malo-Russians, Tartars, Cossacks, and Calmucks. The religions were the Roman Catholic, the Starovirtze or old Greek Church, the Mussulman, and the Buddhistic. During this period Russia was engaged in grave foreign wars. In the year 1771 the Calmucks on the Volga, by one estimate exceeding a million of souls, and by none placed at less than half a million, incapable of further endurance, and hopeless of aid from the surrounding tribes equally oppressed, lifted their tents and departed for China, after being in the first instance furiously attacked by the Cossacks and afterwards by the Kirghis. Two years had not elapsed when a Cossack insurrection, organized on the banks of the Yaik by an adventurer of bravery and capacity, but intractable and savage, threatened the entire dissolution of the Empire, and was, after three years, finally extinguished only through his own misconduct.

There was not one of these tribes not ready at any hour for insurrection; but insurrection on its own basis, and without the idea of concert with another. In each there were valiant and desperate men, always ready as leaders of the rest. Siberia had not yet furnished those resources which it has in later times; and Siberia would have but very partially supplied the internal necessities of the Empire. Of all things was it requisite to obtain a field of warfare, not within the State, so as to establish community of feeling amongst the populations, nor too remote, so as to involve it with foreign powers. That field presented itself

in the Caucasus. There the warlike dispositions of the internal populations could be employed, and thither could they be sent to be killed with honourable forms. Even whilst enlisting their feelings on the side of Russia, the more intractable and desperate of the religious disputants and the political malcontents could thus be disposed of. Whatever the consequences of the policy of violence against the Caucasus, then begun, there can be no doubt that, at the time, it was not only a wise course, but so essential that it may be safely said that without it that Empire, in its present proportions, could not be in existence. On the day and hour when the course of the Russian State began to run, by the formation of the proposition in the mind of some Russian Grand-Duke, 'I will conquer the world,' the maxim of destruction was accepted as the means of accomplishment: there was no other. But destruction was not to be applied directly; for if Russia possessed the means in itself of destroying others, conquest would have been the process. It is destruction of one race and State by another race and State. It is destruction of each State by itself. This is the object and end of all that she undertakes, whether in movements of a military kind, which she effects and induces; whether in her relationships of war with Foreign States, or of amity with them; whether in the negotiations into which she enters, or the treaties with which she binds herself; whether in the outward manifestations of her power or the secret communications of her ambassadors. It pervades alike the ostensible evidences of her hostility and the confidential marks of her regard.

By the mere culture of a few literary men, Russia can establish throughout an unimpassioned Europe the idea that Christianity profits by her victories and incorporations. But to maintain the professors of the Greek faith, who are under the Ottoman sceptre in the belief of a religious identity with herself, far other, and very elaborate means are required. These are the periodical transmissions of plate for church service, of embroidered priests' vestments, and of missals printed for this purpose at Moscow, and which could not be suffered to be seen in Russia. Whilst, at the same time, there are vast payments of minute salaries to individuals, and the continual revolutionary promptings of her agents.

It is essential for Russia to have the Turks at Constantinople: because, as the successor of that Empire, she could not hold the European portion against its Christian inhabitants.

Montesquieu said: "It is happy for the Trading Powers that God has permitted Turks and Spaniards to be in the world, since, of all nations, they are the most proper to possess a great Empire with insignificance."

Were Constantinople in the hands of a Government that entertained the lust of conquest, one professing to be so 'virtuous' as to desire to extend its influence, one seeking to benefit mankind by its philanthropy, or desiring to indulge the hunter passions of its subjects by sending them forth as 'excursionists,' then would be seen how grave were the reasons which have, up to the present moment, influenced in secret the Russian Cabinet. Let France, or Austria, or England, or the United States occupy Constantinople, and then would be understood the dream of Omar. Let but one section of the Christian populations—the Greek, for instance,—after a lucky insurrection against the Russian power, get hold of the Dardanelles, and then it will be seen that the Russian Empire is a mere dependency of Constantinople, from the moment it is in the hands of men with sense enough to use it for their own protection, or dishonesty enough to use it for the enslaving of others.

The designs of Russia against India, whenever discussed, or however concluded upon, were always set aside as of little or no moment, through the consciousness which every Englishman entertained of the absolute control which his country possessed over Russia. It was felt that England, being able to strike Russia in her commerce, was in possession of a counter-check, which would prevent Russia from ever using any facilities of injury which she might possess. Now this check consisted solely in the geographical conformation of that Empire. It is this. The exports of Russia give her her wealth, and upon their free interchange with the world depends the revenue of the Government, and the loyalty of the nobles to the Sovereign. But Russia has got no sea-board commensurate with her dimensions, and indeed no sea-board at all.

The Baltic and the Black Sea are themselves but estuaries of

confluent rivers, from which the ocean is only arrived at through a narrow gut. It is thus, that by a few men-of-war England obtained this check over Russia, and thus secured at once her tenure of India and her confidence as a great Maritime Power.

The long struggle between Russia and Poland, however inscrutable in the ingenuity of its method, is by no means so, as regards Russia, in its motive. As by the breaking down of Poland Russia had emerged into political existence, so would she, by the restoration of Poland, be again cast back into nonentity. But it by no means follows of necessity that the measures taken by Russia against Poland were prompted by a foregone conclusion to that effect. There were the rancours of anterior struggle, the animosities of religion embittered by community of race and similarity of tongue. So that, however incredible it may be that Russia should have made use of the Powers of Europe to destroy Poland, still, as regards herself, the destruction of Poland was necessary, and called for every effort of dexterity abroad and sacrifice at home.

As regards Circassia, the case was wholly different and entirely enigmatic. No anterior struggle had existed; there was no intermixing of interest, no conflict of religion, no uncertainty of frontier.

The first partition of Poland was effected in 1772, during the heat of the Cossack insurrection and during the war with Turkey, which closed by the first acquisitions made from that Empire in the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainarji. To what extent the continued successes of Russia against the Poles during the three subsequent generations of struggle, themselves alone far more than a match for Russia, was owing to the continuous abstraction of its population for the Caucasian War, and the expenditure there of the most resolute, capable, and indomitable spirits of that people, can only be ascertained from the military archives of Russia. But this will appear at once evident—that Poland could not have fallen, had her people entertained in respect to the Turks that appreciation of their value which the Turks entertained in reference to the Poles, whose Sultan alone of the monarchs of Europe, endeavoured to avert their partition, and protested against it. No doubt the origin of this perverting

infatuation may be traced to their early conflict with the Turks, and more especially to the pride that preserved the reminiscence of the chivalrous intervention of Sobieski before Vienna. But that which especially shut out from them the saving thought of community of interest with the Ottoman Empire, has principally to be referred to the war in the Caucasus. The Circassians being Mussulmans, and the Poles being employed against them, and being so employed in a lawless war, on the one hand, the sense of justice in public dealings was lost, and on the other a hatred of the Mussulman engendered. Scarcely had the victory of Sobieski been achieved when a reaction took place; and the wiser of the Poles deplored the insurrectionary act against the traditionary policy of their country. Under the Jagellon kings the relations of Poland and of Turkey were those of alliance. The Polish noblesse in the *Pacta Conventa*, forbade all expeditions directed against the Ottomans, and this friendship was broken only by the incursions of the Cossacks into Turkey, and of the Tartars into Poland, at the instigation of Russia. Nevertheless, armies of the Tartars of the Crimea, sent through the authority of the Porte, appeared before Warsaw to resist the Swedes, and in Galicia to resist the Transylvanians. The agent of Charles XII. at Constantinople, employed to establish an alliance between Sweden and Turkey, and to induce the latter to declare war against Peter the Great, was a Pole, Poniatowski. The Confederation of Bar based their operations less on the hopes of support from Western Europe than on the assistance of the Turks. These dispositions of the Poles Catherine adroitly turned to account to destroy all interest for them in Europe by designating them in her manifestoes as 'Enemies of the Christian name,' whose object it was to introduce the Mussulmans into the heart of Europe. During the war of the French Republic General Dobrowski presented to the Directory a plan of operations for France against Russia, by a combination with Turkey; and another Dobrowski, having successfully presented a similar plan at Constantinople, through the instrumentality of Hussein Pasha, the famous Pasha of Widdin, organised Polish legions in Bulgaria and Wallachia.

However, these ancient traditions may have slumbered in the

interval, and down to the insurrection of 1830, they were then, by the shock, suddenly revived, and from Warsaw two agents (Wolicki and Linouski), were sent to Constantinople to persuade the Porte to take up arms. The Poles should have thought of this two years before, as they were told by the Turks; but still, notwithstanding their own recent defeat, they would not have been disinclined, as the Reis Effendi expressed himself to General Guilleminot, to support Poland by sending 200,000 horsemen across the Ukraine. Whether or not such operation was then within their capacity, at all events war would have been declared against Russia but for the interposition of the English Government, in a form which overmatched the penetration of the Porte.

As the Poles, in raising the standard of revolt, had mistaken their time, so on their discomfiture and migration they mistook their way. As they had waited until Turkey had been beaten before taking up arms, so afterwards they wandered away to the West of Europe, instead of returning to Turkey where affections and lands awaited them, and where, finding a home, they might have established a link, to become hereafter a pivot of action. Here, again, the general infatuation did not remain without protest. Their best, if not their only historian, Mochnecki, writing in 1833, repeated to them what Jean Jacques Rousseau had told them in 1791, and pointed out to them Turkey as their refuge and their hope; and that not for them only, but for Europe itself, saying that it was at Constantinople that the stand had to be made 'for India, for Poland, and for Civilisation.' The Polish emigration in Europe, sinking into frantic doctrines, and mixing itself with every wild scheme of Revolutionists, and every lawless enterprise of perfidious diplomacy, lost every memory of their land and every sense of human right.

The Poles of the emigration offered their services to the allies in the war against Russia of 1854. A more deplorable act could scarcely have been imagined if taken to imply that the Poles believed that war to be sincere. On the other hand, assuming it to be understood by them that it was insincere, then association with it was an effort of genius, because it presented to the eyes of all Poland the flag of Poland beside that of Turkey on the battle-field against Russia. Thus the deception, of which

the Poles and the Turks were alike the victims, was converted into the basis of an alliance for future times, which has had the effect of discomfiting the plans and breaking the power of that Government, which has been enabled to use the Great Powers of Europe as the merest instruments of its will.

Throughout the Ukraine the germ of such thoughts were secularly established. The popular prophet, Wernyhora, has left behind him words which have passed from generation to generation, but of which the sense remained to the latter times to be developed.

‘The deliverance of Poland shall come only when the Ottomans shall water their horses in the Vistula.’ Nor is it to be forgotten that there are still remote villages where the Mussulman prayers are recited by a Polish population; that the Polish Ulans (from the Turkish Oghlan, boy) designated simply the cavalry regiments which the Tartars placed at the disposal of the kings of Poland.

The Mussulmans introduced by Witold, brother of Jagellon, all received in Poland the rank of nobles, and their fidelity was inviolable to their adopted country. Nor did they all retire into the Turkish possessions in the eighteenth century.

The war in the Caucasus was to afford to Russia, all other considerations apart, a reserve, always ready, of formed and experienced officers and of men, veterans in war. To this end a single defeat is not uncondusive, as the history of Charles XII., no less than that of the Bœotians, shows.

When Russia exchanged her policy in reference to Circassia, when on the one hand ceasing to require it any longer as a place of butchery for her nominal subjects, and reduced to depend on its active resources for the means of future aggression, the case had naturally to present itself in this form: What can be made of it? It becomes necessary, as the first step, to take in this country as one and as a whole.

Nowhere on the face of the earth is there such an immediate and striking contrast between mountain and plain. Then there is the distinction between Mussulman and Christian. The separation of the quarters of the globe causes our maps to be intersected on this line by the boundary between Europe and

Asia. If, again, looked at in a general map of the Russian Empire, its dimensions dwindle into insignificance by the contrast to the eye with the enormous, though vacant, space included within its frontiers.

To attain to this idea of unity we must find a general name applicable to the whole. That name we might naturally derive from the sea adjoining it to the East, and which particularly belongs to it, and from the mountain which gives to it its character. The names of both are derived from the same source: Caspian from Cassiapa, the Caucasus from Koi-cash, or Kav-cash, the mountain of the Cash, originally belonging to the Indian Caucasus or Himalaya. The name of Caucasus is, indeed, unknown in the country, but it is still preserved in Cashbeg or Kasbek, the peak second in height, whilst the principal peak is known as Elbrouz, the Arabic form of Borgh, the term applied in the Zend to the Indian Caucasus. This was, therefore, in ancient times the country of the Cash.

The Cash are no other than the Cuthites; and China derives its ancient name of Cathai from its conquest by the same people. The Cuthites and the Cash are no other than the Turks, whose primitive seat of Empire was Kashgar, 'mountain of the Cash,' whence their conquering invasions were made to China, India, and the West. From the beginning of history all sorts of tribes and races have lived in the isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian, and though some of them may have now disappeared or been absorbed by others, new elements have pressed in from the north and east. Strabo, writing under Augustus, mentions four peoples as dwelling south of the Caucasus—the Colchians, along the Black Sea; the Iberians, further to the east; the Albanians, still further eastwards, in the plains towards the Caspian Sea; and the Armenians to the south, in the country we still call Armenia. To the north of all these the wooded valleys of the Caucasus were occupied by many wild tribes more akin, says he, to the Sarmatians, but speaking many different languages; one of the wildest he calls Soanes, the name still borne by an extremely disagreeable race who inhabit the grandest part of the whole Caucasus, immediately to the south of Elbrouz. While these Soanes have been protected by their inaccessibility in the

pathless recesses of the mountains, all trace of Colchians, Iberians, and Albanians, has long since passed away; and though Mingrelians now live where Jason found the Colchians, there is nothing to show that any of the blood of *Æetes* and *Medea* flows in their degenerate veins. Russian ethnologists talk of a *Karthalinian* stock, to which Mingrelians, Imeritians, and Georgians, as well as some of the mountain tribes, are declared to belong.

The annexation of Georgia to Russia was not effected by military means. On the Georgian people there were not left the crushing memories of a defeat. They only recollect that Russia, by fraud and composition, by treachery to their Prince, and false promises to their people, surreptitiously got hold of the country and crown.

The Kurds, too, have seen the tides of historically recorded empire ebb and flow, rise and disappear, around them. *Xenophon*, twenty-two centuries ago, describes their condition much as it might be described to-day; and amongst the stores of the British Museum may be consulted the vivid impersonations of *Sir Robert Kerr Porter*, of costumes which, in richness and picturesque effect, convey anything but the idea of a rude and savage people. The mountain chain of *Zagros*, which they inhabit, rises to the height nearly of *Mont Blanc*, exceeding 14,000 feet. It is intersected by rich and beautiful valleys and plains, under the most healthy climate. They have strong feelings of clanship, and conjoin the professions of shepherd, agriculturist, and robber. Magnificent ruins, however, attest higher qualifications, and the name of *Saladin*, a Kurd, throws round their savage nature a halo of romance.

The Armenians, formerly most warlike, are now the reverse. They trace back their pedigree to *Haïc*, the son of *Togarmah*. From one of their kings *Ararat* is said to have derived its name, so that their permanency, like that of the Kurds, affords a corroboration of the strength of the country.

Were a *Caucasin* kingdom to arise it would be protected on the south against *Persia* and *Turkey* by a scarcely less formidable barrier than on the north by the *Caucasus*. It would lie between two ramparts which no engineer could blow up. It

would be defended by seas for ditches, and these wholly untraversable by an enemy. It would thus be an unassailable fortress, exceeding in extent Great Britain and Ireland, with the most beautiful climate, under the mildest zones, and bearing the richest produce. Traversed by the sea breezes along its length, cooled by those from the snowy tops on the north and on the south. It is capable of bearing a population of twenty millions of souls; it is a 'virgin' soil for grain, and could inundate Europe with silk and cotton. The ancient and traditional character of danger which hangs over the Black Sea has been in modern times denied. It is not that the improvement of navigation has dissipated groundless fears, but it is that there is danger on two of the coasts, and absence of danger on the two other coasts. The prevailing winds, in consequence of the direction of the mountain chains, are east and west. Consequently, both to the east and west there is presented the lee shore of a shelterless bay. But it is the eastern shore that is peculiarly so circumstanced by its more rapid curvature and by its entire nakedness. It opens as a funnel, and a vessel there embayed with a westerly wind has no chance of beating off, no creek to run into, and no holding ground to trust to. The Russian vessels are forbidden to approach under any circumstances, except during the three summer months. And even in these their stay must not on any consideration be prolonged beyond four-and-twenty hours. Nor is this all. The vast discharge of waters from the Bug, the Dniester, the Dnieper, and the Danube, are all on the western side, and consequently a current is established downward to the Bosphorus. The overflow from the eastern lip of the aperture of the Bosphorus drives along the northern shore of Asia Minor, and sweeping round the Georgian Bay returns northwards along the Circassian coast. So that a vessel embayed in a westerly gale is driven by this constant current (increased by such a wind) on the sandy beach of the Bight of Poti, and in the event of escape from such a fate the iron-bound rocks of the Caucasus await it.

The shore of this bay is shoal. A vessel of any burden would have to anchor at least three miles from the coast. There is no tide to leave it dry, so that it may discharge its cargo into carts;

it has to wait there for lighters to come out to receive its cargo, to discharge which it would then have to seek the inner waters of the muddy Phasis. For this it would require that there were lighters, and the other conveniences of transport and trade, which are wanting.

As Colchis was in ancient times the passage of traffic between the East and the West, and a common centre for the populations of the world—for Strabo speaks of one hundred and thirty interpreters for tongues assembled at its Emporium—it is naturally to be inferred that the ways of the land and the sea were open and easy, and that that way was through the Bight of Poti and the plains of Georgia. Yet, on closely considering the records it appears that not even in ancient times was the shore under consideration used for the purposes of traffic. During the greatness of the kingdom of Pontus, largely indebted, no doubt, to its Bactrian and its Indian trade, the points of embarkation, and especially the celebrated Dioscurias, were on the northern Circassian coast, now represented by Soukoum-Kaleh. These stations being doubtless occupied with the goodwill of the natives, just as in recent times this same fort and Anapa were by the Turks. From Soukoum-Kaleh, the natives being friendly, an inland passage was open through a healthy country lying between the asperity of the mountains and the miasmata of the marches.

After the fall of the independent and great States of Asia Minor this traffic still continued under the Romans, but it was diverted from the Circassian coast without coming down to the Georgian coast. It found its issue to the sea, as descending from Erivan, through the analogous ports on the Turkish side, such as Batoum, Rizeh, and Trebizond. Behind the sandy beach of this low coast, marshy lands extend for many miles which are utterly impracticable. At remote intervals narrow causeways have been constructed across them, just sufficient for two horsemen to pass. Supposing the dangers of the sea to be disregarded, and the difficulties of disembarkation to be overcome, and troops landed, or provisions deposited on the beach, even then would little progress have been made towards their being forwarded to their ultimate destination. For if the Deona, on the other side of the Black Sea, is called the 'Valley of Death,' this might be

termed the 'Home of Death.' The encampment of the army would become the hospital or the churchyard of the men. Neither could cattle or men be brought there to carry away provisions, nor could the troops landed issue into the hostile country in sufficient time to effect their retreat. These circumstances being perfectly well known no orders could be issued with a view of sending detachments or provisions by land route. The coast is closed by the sea in the winter months and the malaria in the summer months. Thus it is, that in no war however great, was Russia able to send supplies by this route. Thus it was that Sebastopol never was of any active service to Russia.

The construction of Sebastopol was the vastest conception that ever entered the mind of the Russian Cabinet. Its consciousness of its act is expressed in the name given to it which may be rendered 'City of Veneration,' or 'City of Eternity.' The great maritime expedition fitted out by Peter, at Astrakhan against Persia, and the pertinacity with which Russia has insisted on the exclusion of Persian vessels from that sea, may lead to the inference that the Caspian, at least, is available for war purposes.

It is commercial navigation which furnishes the sailor and the soldier for war. Such trade existed in the time of Peter the Great so now. The depopulation of the neighbouring countries, the diminution of the waters from the disappearance of the forests, the encroachments of the sands upon the Eastern Shore, and the rapid shoaling of the waters of the Caspian Sea, have all changed the country in value no less than in aspect. Every year some creek is no longer accessible, some district goes out of cultivation, some village becomes extinct, or some tribe decays.

The navigation of the Caspian presents greater difficulties than that of any other sea; being shut in from the ocean, it loses the advantage of experience and dexterity in its sailors, and usually receive no supply, either in regard to qualification or number. It has no tides; it has no islands, capes, or protected lee shores. It is exceeding narrow in the direction of the prevailing winds, and a large portion of it is so shallow that vessels go aground when out of sight of land. During a great portion of the year

year it is wholly unfit for navigation. The vessels are of the rudest construction, and the worst materials, and are called *skhoules*. They are obliged to put to sea empty from Astrachan; twenty miles from shore they take in half their cargo, and it is not till they are put out one hundred or one hundred and twenty miles that they can complete their loading. The navigation of the Volga itself is in like manner interrupted by the shoaling of its waters, and every year brings a change for the worse.

In China, Russia, since her defeat of 1688, remained wholly in check until recent years, and now she has been effecting the most wonderful and rapid progress. Here the European Powers have been brought into play, a pretext being available—first, of objects special of their own as against China, and then the old one of jealousy of Russia, and the necessity of counteracting her.

Gustavus III. observed that ‘As Russia advances and becomes known, new enemies spring up under her feet, but she overcomes this resistance through her influence over Cabinets at a distance.’

ANDREW T. SIBBALD.

ART. III.—GAELIC HISTORICAL SONGS.

THE literature of the Celt has of late received attention enough to make some reparation for the neglect it previously suffered among the Teutonic races which had thrust the Celt into corners and refused to know anything concerning his poetry or legend. Within the past generation a large part of this has been made accessible to those who had previously no means of penetrating the veil which a language and idiom, so widely different from their own, threw over Celtic ways of thought and expression. The labours of native and other scholars, both British and Continental, have by translations and otherwise laid the more ancient legends of the Cymry and Goedel open to the student of folklore; the Irish annals have been worked up by native scholars, and attempts have been made to convey in translations some idea of the nature of the later poetic literature of the Irish and Scottish Celt. In the more immediate interests of the Celtic

student much has been done by the facsimile reproductions of the oldest Irish MSS, and by such compilations as J. F. Campbell's 'Leabhar na Feinne,' and almost every year sees important additions to these texts. The folklore of the present-day Celt has also been largely supplemented since the publication of Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*, and has every prospect of being still more increased.

Up to this time far more has been done to familiarize those who are not Gaelic readers with the prose literature than with the poetry of the Gael. The reason is not far to seek. 'It has always been the misfortune of this language to suffer in translation' is a remark which, though perhaps not made in sober earnest, is one of real significance. Every one who undertakes to render Gaelic verse into another tongue feels that his texts suffer sadly in the process. The Gael naturally explains this as a proof of the superiority of his own tongue, but the reason is probably very different. All Gaelic verse depends far more on its form than on its matter; the thought may be as trifling or trite as possible, but if there is harmony of sound, the Gael is satisfied. The recurrence of a vowel-sound makes more impression on him than the deepest thought. This demand for melody reacts on the poet and prevents him from following out any logical train of ideas, it being quite evident that the more involved the verse is, the more impossible it is to keep the sense as well as the sound. The extraordinary complications of rhyme which make Gaelic verse so harmonious are fatal to any depth of thought, even if the Gael had ever shown himself much given to this. Accordingly the more lyrical the metre becomes, the more difficult it is to narrate even a simple fact in it. Even the Ossianic ballads would be impossible in most of the metres used by the Gael during the past three centuries, just as the lays of the Edda could never have been done in the later verse-forms of the Skalds.

The beauty of Gaelic poetry being thus much more one of sound than of thought,* makes translation in the ordinary

* James Macpherson was well aware of this defect, though probably led to emphasize it by his desire to depreciate all Gaelic poetry, except such as

sense a very inadequate substitute for the original. The deep emotion which really exists in many of the poems is so inseparable from the form in which it is expressed, that any translation is apt to raise a smile rather than excite sympathy. Often the only course open to the translator is to translate the ideas as well as the words if he desires to gain the same effect as the original, and in this he lays himself open to the charge of importing into his translation ideas which the original does not express at all. Anyone who will compare Mr. Robert Buchanan's translation of Duncan Ban's 'Coire Cheathaich' with the original will see how much the translation gains in thought, while at the same time losing so much in sound effect.

Most of the translations hitherto attempted have been from the poets who belong to the great awakening of the Gaelic muse caused by the events of last century, and to their later followers and imitators. The action of the Government after the '15 and '45 broke up the old clan system and did away with the family-bards, but at the same time the political horizon of the Celt was widened beyond the interests of his own clan, and the result of this new sense of national life was the immediate rise of a new school of Gaelic poets whose works are known and admired by every Highlander. Beginning with Alexander Macdonald (*Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair*) it has been continued in Dugald Buchanan (1716-1768), Rob Donn (1714-1778), Duncan Macintyre (*Donnachadh Bán*, 1724-1812), William Ross (1762-1790) and in many others of

he chose to call 'Ossian.' In a note towards the beginning of the fifth book of *Temora* he says of the Highlanders that, 'having no genius themselves for the sublime and pathetic, they placed the whole beauty of poetry in the returning harmony of similar sounds. . . . Rhiming, in process of time, became so much reduced into a system, and was so universally understood that every cow-herd composed tolerable verses. These poems, it is true, were descriptions of nature, but of nature in its rudest form; a group of uninteresting ideas dressed out in the flowing harmony of monotonous verses.' In the last sentence Macpherson particularly refers to the 'Songs of Summer' and similar compositions, which every Gaelic poet of last century and this felt bound to produce: Duncan Ban's is about as glaring a specimen as most of them, some verses being almost entirely adjectives.

lesser name down to the present day.* The rise of this new poetry of love and nature had very soon the effect of thrusting out the older personal poetry of the clan bards. Some traces of the old clan life, it is true, were familiar to the earlier members of the new movement, such as MacDonald and MacIntyre, and are represented in their works, but the loss of interest in the older bards was not long in coming, though their spirit still survived in the eulogies of which Highland lairds and chiefs have been made the objects down to our own time.

It is this earlier class of poems or songs † that form the subject of this article. It is almost impossible that they can ever be translated so as to give any idea of the nature of the originals, while at the same time there is much in them that is of genuine value and interest. They represent the real Celtic feeling and contain much information as to the ways of life of the Gael before southern influences had told seriously upon them. Many of them also had more or less the force of political pamphlets, and correspond to the works of the Irish bards of the 15th and 16th centuries, though it must be confessed that the political insight they show is meagre compared with that of some of their Irish brethren. There is a much more personal and lyrical cast about them, which finds expression in the more varied verse-forms, these being always of a lighter cast than the compact *dan direach* (straight metre) of the Irish bards. Of these Irish poems a large mass still exists, lying in manuscript, with no immediate prospect of seeing the light except in extracts. The Highland bards were rather more fortunate, in that many of their pieces found their way into print towards the end of last century, but for which they would have run a narrow risk of totally disappearing. In 1776,

* Macpherson's *Ossian*, Clark's *Mordubh*, etc., and Dr. Smith's *Sean Dana* belong to the same movement, but these were rather due to the interest taken in the Highlands by the Lowland Scots and English—an interest itself excited by the late rebellion.

† There was no distinction of poem and song in natural Gaelic poetry; all compositions were intended to be sung. Poems intended to be read are a foreign importation.

Ronald MacDonald (a son of the poet Alexander) published a valuable collection of the works of the old bards, along with several pieces of his father's. Though he did not meet with sufficient encouragement to induce him to proceed with a second volume as he had proposed, the work was afterwards revised and republished by P. Turner in 1809. Turner himself brought out a new collection in 1813, and these with some smaller ones have been the chief sources of all subsequent editions. A valuable addition to these texts has however been made within the past year or two by the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, who has printed from the MS. of Dr. MacLean of Mull, written about 1768. Beside containing a number of poems not in the previous printed works, this MS. gives in general better texts, and the editor has made his work still more valuable by adding numerous biographical and historical notes.* What is yet required is a complete corpus of collated texts with such historic notes as are necessary for the full understanding of them.

As has already been said, this school of bards began to decay about the middle of last century, though the force of tradition served to carry it on for a considerable time. On the other hand few of the specimens are earlier than the year 1600, and most of them belong to the latter part of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th. The earliest is the incitement to battle (*brosnachadh catha*) which was recited by Lachlan MacVurich to the MacDonalds before the battle of Harlaw, beginning, 'Childreu of Conn, remember your valour in the hour of

* *The Gaelic Bards from 1411 to 1715*, by the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, Charlottetown, 1890. The Glenbard Collection of Gaelic Poetry; do., 1888-90, (in 3 parts). It is to be regretted that these works could not be published in a better form, and it is to be hoped that the editor's offer to hand over Dr. MacLean's MS. to any one willing to publish it *litteratim* will not be neglected. The spelling is semi-phonetic, and in this connection it may be noted that pages 166 to 187 of R. MacDonald's collection are also more phonetic than the rest of the book, and have probably been taken from some older MS. The spelling of this part is recast in Turner's edition.

conflict.* A few belong to the 16th century, such as the panegyric on the Earl of Argyle, beginning, 'I will wend with a ready ditty to a King of the Gael,'† or the one in praise of Allan MacLean (*caismeachd Ailein nan sop*) by Hector, afterwards laird of Coll, about 1537.‡ With the 17th century, however, came a large number of bards whose works have been preserved, or at least a considerable part of them;—the well-known names of Mary MacLeod (*Mairi nighean Alasdair ruaidh*; c. 1590-1693) and John MacDonald (*Iain Lom*, or *Iain Manntach*, 1620-1709), besides Diorbhail nic a' Bhriuthainn,§ Eachann Bacach ('limping Hector'), An Ciaran Mabach ('the dark stammerer,' i.e., Archibald MacDonald, son of Sir James MacDonald of Sleat), Gilleasbuig na Ceapaich (Archibald MacDonald of Keppoch), Iain mac Ailein (John MacLean of Mull) and many others of less note. Some of these lived into

* With the exception of these two lines at the beginning and twelve at the end, the 17 stanzas of the poem consist entirely of adverbs, all those in each verse beginning with the same letter and going through all the Gaelic alphabet from a to u, to the extent of 338 lines. So much does this unmeaning torrent of words appeal to the Gaelic mind that MacKenzie, (*Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, p. 62) speaks of it with the greatest enthusiasm. A juster view of it is taken by a reviewer of Alex. M'Donald's poems in the *Gael* (vol. 3. p. 323), who says that in reading some of his verse, 'we are reminded painfully of MacVurich's address to the MacDonalds, which has also been called a poem. If accompanied with a translation it would make a pretty good dictionary.'

† *Triallfa mi le m' dhuanaig ullaimh*, etc.; it is 'closed' at the end in Irish fashion by the repetition of the first word,—'*Leat a thriallfainn*,' (with thee would I wend). It is in Macdonald's collection (p. 253), and there dated 1569; a copy from a MS. in the possession of the Duke of Argyle was published in the *Gael* (Vol. I., p. 261) by J. F. Campbell. The date given there is 1528, with which MacNicol agrees (Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Journey, p. 270); 'there is a MS. poem by Maclean's bard in praise of Colin, Earl of Argyle, in 1529.'

‡ In the *Gael* (I. p. 296) is a lament for a lady of Duart taken from Dr. Irvine's MS., where it is dated 1530, but the style looks very much later.

§ This by the process of 'translating' Gaelic names into English becomes Dorothy Brown. So Peter is regarded as the 'English' of Patrick; Jeremy of Diarmaid; Bartholomew of Parlann (whence MacFarlane); Archibald of Gilleasbuig, etc. The old Gael substituted for foreign names any native ones that seemed to resemble them.

the following century, in the beginning of which also lies the active period of Cicely MacDonald (Silis nic Raonail, or Silis na Ceapaich) and John MacDonald (Ian dubh mac Iain mhic Ailein). A large number of the poets of this period were born about 1660-1670, and a good deal of this literary activity is no doubt due to the stirring events of the time of Dundee, in fact the whole history of modern Gaelic literature is an excellent illustration of the close connection between political and literary development.*

Of all these the one who most resembles the Irish bards in keen appreciation of the consequences of events and in political insight is undoubtedly *Iain Lom* (Bare John), the bard of Keppoch. From the time of the fight at Stron-a-chlachain (1640) down to the Union of the Scottish Parliament in 1707, there was little that intimately concerned his own clan which did not draw forth a poem from him.† His share in bringing about the battle of Inverlochy, and the part he took in executing justice on the Keppoch murderers, were sufficiently important in themselves, but his poems connected with these events were of far more influence than his own individual exertions. If anyone is entitled to rank beside him it is *Iain Mac Ailein*, but the latter was never so famous nor so influential. Compared with his, the songs of Mary MacLeod, sonorous and powerful as some of them are, are rather the outcome of a nurse's pride in the scions of the family she has reared, while Alexander MacDonald, with all his education and extraordinary command of the Gaelic tongue, can never get beyond the pomp and show of the clansmen in battle array,

* 'The rebellions, particularly that conducted by Tearlach Og Stiuart, 1745, inspired many an individual of both sexes with poetic fervour, who never before or after, felt the same irresistible impulse to invoke the muse.' MacKenzie, *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, Introduction, p. lv.

† The memory of the bard is perpetuated by the monument erected in 1873, over his grave at Dun Aingel in the Braes of Lochaber. A further tribute might justly be paid him by the publication of a complete edition of his poems, which at present are scattered throughout different collections to the number of at least 40, composed between 1640 and 1707. An edition was spoken of nearly 20 years ago, but apparently dropped.

and a fierce delight in 'splitting heads and slashing bodies'* of all the enemies of the Prince and the Gael.

Apart from the compositions of an original mind like Iain Lom's, the feature which most strikes one in reading these poems is the extraordinary family resemblance they bear to each other. The same ideas and expressions, even the same lines, occur in wearisome repetition, and the form above all is invariable. So tenaciously conventional is the Celtic mind that a form of poetry once invented will continue in the same shape for centuries, until some new impulse creates another form to succeed it. There is little gradual development: all change is rapid, and even then it may not follow that the old form will drop out. As in earlier times the old Cuchullin-cycle of tales was transformed into the Finn-cycle, and yet maintained so entire in itself that the two series are never confounded, so in Scottish Gaelic, the newer nature-poetry has not ousted the older personal style; and the hero of a Highland poet at the present day is praised in almost the same terms as his ancestor of three centuries ago. Such is the force of literary tradition, that habits and manners long extinct are seriously attributed to the modern laird or even crofter. An instance of this may be seen in MacDonald's description of his clansmen as equipped in coats of mail (*luireach*=*lorica*) at a time when these had long gone out of use. To this tenacity of tradition it is due that the poems throughout the whole period treated of here are all constructed more or less on the same lines, with but little to characterise the work of individual bards. One might have composed them as well as another.

Although we have given these poems the general title of historical, the larger portion of them are more strictly biographical, and have in view rather the persons concerned in an event than the circumstance itself. The bard feels an immediate and personal interest in the agent: he rarely shows much appreciation of the value or consequences of the act.

* It is curious on the one hand to notice how often this and similar savage phrases occur in MacDonald's war-poems; and on the other to remember that he was a kirk elder, a schoolmaster, and compiler of the first Gaelic vocabulary.

Even when he sets himself to describe an event, such as a battle, the interest is almost sure to be transferred to some of the chiefs or clans who fought there, and instead of information on the nature of the action we get a vague panegyric of the bravery of the chief or clan. It is this vagueness of expression that makes many of them almost valueless as a record of facts, and this is not redeemed by any poetic excellence of composition. So vague are most of them that it would sometimes, but for the traditional title, be difficult or impossible to tell to whom the poem referred; yet the whole is always couched in the most correct and high-sounding verse, which, as already explained, cannot be translated without losing most of the semblance of poetry.*

The subject of such poems is almost always the chief of the clan to which the bard belongs, and in spite of all their defects there is much to be learned from them. They are, within certain limits of time, faithful mirrors of old Highland life and customs: they give us pictures of the chief and his clan, of their amusements in peace and their exploits in war, of their dress and weapons, of the chase and the carouse, of all that interested the Highlanders in the 17th and 18th centuries; and through it all there is the spirit of hero-worship that so strongly marks the feelings of the Gael to his chief. They bring before us in the fulness of life men who otherwise only figure as partizans of Montrose or Dundee or the Pretender, and are little more than mere names in the general history of Scotland. There we simply hear of them at the head of a few hundred followers sharing in the battle of Inverlochy or Killiecrankie or Sheriffmuir, or denounced in State proclamations as rebels; here we meet them among their own people, and with

* Macpherson speaks thus of these compositions. 'The bards . . . erected their immediate patrons into heroes and celebrated them in their songs. As the circle of their knowledge was narrow, their ideas were confined in proportion. A few happy expressions and the manners they represent may please those who understand the language: their obscurity and inaccuracy would disgust in a translation.' (Dissertation.) The last sentence is completely true, but did Macpherson consider his own 'Ossian' a model of perspicuity?

the sentiments of their adherents concentrated in the praises of the bard. So much is this the case that the poetry of the whole period now under consideration may be described as the glorification of the chief and of clanship—the final apology of the Celt for his ancestral life—and no hireling praise as is sometimes asserted,* but the outcome of a genuine natural feeling.

To look at the history of Scotland through the medium of these poets is a curious experiment. We pass at once into a new atmosphere; the perspective is totally changed, and the relative importance of events completely altered. Highlands and Lowlands at that time have little in common, except where the red hand of war chanced to lay its fingers on both. Thus almost the only incident in Scottish history before the Union of the Crowns which concerns the bards is the battle of Harlaw (*Cath Ghairbhich*), where the great MacLean, Hector Roy (*Eachann ruadh*) was killed. The great political importance of the defeat is never recognised, and the fact itself is generally mentioned only because another Hector Roy MacLean (*Eachann ruadh nan cath*) was killed at Inverkeithing, the mention of this naturally recalling the former days, ‘when they lifted the body of Hector from among the feet of their foe: on their shearing axes, bearing it home through the Lowlands.’

After this the next conflicts of national importance which at

* *e.g.* by Macpherson. ‘What the modern bards are most insupportable in are their nauseous panegyrics upon their patrons. We see in them a petty tyrant, whose name was never heard beyond the contracted limits of his own valley, stalking forth in all the trappings of a finished hero. From the frequent allusions, however, to the entertainments which he gave and the *strength of his cups* we may easily guess from whence proceeded the praise of an indolent and effeminate race of men; for the bards from the great court paid originally to their order became at last the most flagitious and dispirited of mortals. Their compositions therefore on this side of a certain period are dull and trivial to the highest degree. By lavishing their praises upon unworthy objects their panegyrics became common and little regarded.’ (Note in *Temora*, Bk. 7). There is some truth in this, but the critic fails to allow for the honest admiration of the great man: ‘petty tyrant’ is a vile phrase, elsewhere repudiated by Macpherson himself.

all interested the Highlanders were those fought by Montrose, and the bards supply us with songs on the battles of Auldearn (*Allt Eirinn*) and Inverlochy. But the one relating to Auldearn is a panegyric of Alasdair mac Cholla (son of Colkitto, *Colla Ciotach*); and that on Inverlochy is dictated partly by admiration for the same Alasdair, partly by an implacable hatred of the Campbells.* Montrose is barely mentioned in these poems, though Iain Lom elsewhere refers to the personal appearance of the Marquess. The battle of Inverkeithing in 1651 is the occasion of two poems, but these are laments for Hector Roy who fell there.†

The battle of Killiecrankie‡ has received most justice from the Highland bards, and Iain Lom's poem § on it is the clearest piece of Gaelic verse that can be produced from this period. He tells how they started for the head of Locheil with their knapsacks on (*fo na cnapanna-saic*), marched till night, and pitched their camp at the head of Loch Lochy from Saturday till Wednesday (*Latha roimhe Dhi-domhnaich's da latha 'na dheigh*): then on to Glenroy and Glenturret, and over Drumachdar into Athole, where they only found the women, as all the men had gone out of the way. After mid-day, as they

* Both are by Iain Lom; the first in Turner, p. 90, and Sinclair, *Glenbard Coll.*, p. 13; the second in Turner, p. 49, and Sinclair, *Gaelic bards*, p. 68.

† Both are in R. MacDonald's collection, pp. 178 and 232. A better version of the former is in Sinclair's *Gaelic bards*, p. 50.

‡ The actual scene of the battle was not Killiecrankie but Raon-ruairidh, and this is the name given to it in Gaelic. Silis of Keppoch, however, calls it *Coille-chriothnaich*.

§ Beginning 'S mithich dhuinn marsadh as an tir' (''Tis time for us to march out of the land.') Turner, p. 70. There are two curious lines of English in the last verse. The loss of Dundee and others is lamented in another poem on the battle by Iain Lom, beginning 'An ainm an aigh ni mi tus.' Gillies, p. 180; Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards*, p. 90. In this he calls the battlefield 'Raon ruairi nam bad (of the clumps of trees). In the lament for Sir Donald of Sleat, however, he refers to the bareness of the ground (above Urrard House) where the Highlanders made their first charge. 'At Raonruairi of the blows, where you won the field, you lost your gentlemen and armed youths. On the withered hard ground where the leveret could not hide its ear, you received the sweeping fire of grey lead.'

were going down by the river side, a horseman came and reported that Mackay and his troops were at the mouth of the pass. The army turned north, held up the hill, 'where there was plenty of sweat on every brow,' and drew up in order on the heights above. 'At the close of the day when we drew our swords, it was beginning to darken as the sun went down: in spite of resistance, though high were their hopes, they lost the field and their lives as well. Noble commander, you fell on the field: 'tis the death of Dundee that has left gloom on me, made a hole in my heart and left tears on my cheek: the beasts that fell were but a small revenge for you,' etc.

With this may be contrasted the much longer poem on the same subject, the authorship of which is doubtful.* This is a fair sample of the usual style, the poet being much more concerned about the chiefs who fell than with what was actually achieved by the battle itself. After an eulogy of *Cleibhirs* (Claverhouse), and regret for his loss ('the day of Dunkeld showed that the life was not in your body'), there is the vaguest possible account of how the Gael defeated the troops under Mackay, who were but 'men of kail and brose' (*luchd a' chàil is a' bhruthaist*). Then come eighteen verses of lament for and praise of the dead, finishing up with a sorrowful passage about the unsuccessful attack on Dunkeld, the bard's chief regret being that it was by shot the heroes fell, and that 'cow-herds fired it.' 'If only we and our enemies were on level ground without a wall or braes, we would be sure of our valour. It would be seen then who was most famous in the play of hard swords, the poor carls of the plain, or the bold men of the hills.'

There are a number of references to Sheriffmuir (*Sliabh an t-Siorraimh*), but the poem by Silis of Keppoch is no improvement on the usual run, and on the whole the poetry of the '15 is of less value than the rest. The '45 has a better display,

* It appears, however, to have been by a Glencoe man. One account gives the name of Aonghas mac Alasdair Ruaidh; another Raonall na sgeithe (Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards*, p. 103)—both Glencoe men. Gillies has two versions: one, p. 142, assigned to the said *Angus of Glencoe*; the other, ?70, to *Eoin mac Alasdair Ruaidh*.

though the first victory, that of Prestonpans, is quite ignored, except where it is said of a Highland Major,* 'You gained honour in Cope's battle (*blar Chop*): you were chief above every man, and they all likened you to Clavers.' The battle of Falkirk (*Blár na h-eaglais brice*) is the subject of two of Duncan Ban's earliest poems;† but the first only gives an account of the engagement as a prelude to the satirical remarks about Mr. Fletcher's sword; the other is a general lament for Prince Charles, speaking especially of Falkirk as being the battle with which the author was himself concerned. The first of these has a vein of excellent humour in it, when Duncan pictures the sudden reversal of the expectations of the Royal troops. 'We did not get a word of command to try to cut down our enemies; but permission to scatter through the world, and some of us have not been found yet.'

In a totally different strain are the two poems,‡ full of indignation and yearning for vengeance, in which Colonel John Roy Stewart commemorates the fatal day of Culloden. There is in these something that appeals to us in a way that most of the others do not, a genuine breadth of view, a spirit cast down but not broken, a strange combination of defiance and despair. 'Though they won the battle it was not by reason of their hardihood or valour, but the wind and showers that blew in our faces from the Lowland plains,' as if the very elements were fighting against them.§ Again he attributes the defeat to the want of the clans who ought to have been there: five banners were wanting that might have turned the scale—the Earl of Cromarty, young Barasdale, MacMhic Ailein, Clan Gregor, and the M'Phersons. With a keen insight into the Highland character, he regrets that the battle was fought

* Gillios Mor Mac Bheathain, fear Chinne-Choille. Turner, p. 188.

† Beginning 'Latha dhuinn air machair Alba,' and 'Ged a tha mi 'n so 'am chrúban.' The latter, being a Jacobite piece, was first printed by Turner in 1813.

‡ 'Gur a mór mo chuis mhulaid,' Turner p. 147, and 'O, gur mis' th' air mo chrádh; *Id.* p. 304.

§ 'The earth waxed so heavy, heather and ground and soil that the bare hillside was not easy for us. The Lowlander's fire showering bullets about our heads spoilt the efficacy of our swords to our loss.'

where it was. 'Tis a pity we had not been in England, and not so near home as we were, and we should not have scattered so quickly.' He laments the sorrows of the Gael, and curses Lord George Murray 'the Achan in the camp,' but his fiercest maledictions are reserved for the Duke of Cumberland (*Uilleam mac Deors*): 'may he be like a leafless branchless tree, may his hearth be bare, without wife or brother or son, without sound of harp or light of wax; without joy or mirth; but we shall yet see thy head on high on a tree and the birds of the air tearing it.'

Several of the clan-fights have also provided the materials of songs, but these are not numerous. Three are by Iain Lom: one on the death of Angus mac Raonuill og, * who was killed at the fight of Stron-a-chlachain (1640), which arose out of a plundering expedition made into Breadalbane by the MacDonalds of Glencoe and Keppoch. Iain Lom's father was killed in this engagement. Another two † relate to the strife between the Argyle and Athole men, the latter, who were defeated at Tom-a-phubail, avenging it in the fight at Aird-reanaich near Inverary. The last clan-fight, which took place at Mulroy (*Maol ruadh*) between Lachlan MacIntosh, chief of the Clan Chattan, and Coll of Keppoch, in 1688, is commemorated in a poem by Duncan Stewart, ‡ who was Coll's standard-bearer, but it has no great merit.

One historical event, the memory of which has probably affected the Lowlands as much as the Highlands, may here be mentioned. The massacre of Glencoe is the subject of an elegy § of unusual merit by the bard of the murdered chief.||

* 'Rìgh, gur mor mo chuid mulaid.' Turner, p. 98.

† 'S ann air leth-taobh Beinne-buidhe,' and 'Slan gun dith dhuit, a Mharcais;' Turner, pp. 60 and 64.

‡ Donnachadh mac an Dubhshuilich. Turner calls him Donnacha Duileach. The poem begins *Ho faireagan o ho*, Turner, p. 143; a longer version is in Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards*, p. 98.

§ 'Mìle marbhphaisg ort, a shaoghail,' MacDonald, p. 241. The version in Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards*, p. 138, begins 'Lamh Dhe leinn, etc.'

|| Hence called Bard Mhic-'ic-Iain (the family title of the Glencoe MacDonalds being Mac-'ic-Iain). After the massacre he lived in the island of *...*, and is hence also called 'am bard Mucanach.'

Despite the many poems which this savage act has given rise to in more recent times, it may be doubted whether any of them surpass this. The manner in which the praise of the dead is combined with the sorrow for their loss is inimitable, and their desire for vengeance at the end is in perfect harmony with the nature of the deed.

The compositions of this class then are, strictly speaking, neither war-songs nor historical poems; they are not primarily meant either as incitements to war (which was the function of the *brosnachadh catha*) nor as accurate descriptions of battles. They represent the feelings of the poet at the result of the engagement, feelings which he knew would be reciprocated by the whole clan to which he belonged. The national importance of the event did not appeal to him or to them; their political horizon was too circumscribed to understand the real nature of the issues involved, and all that concerned them was firstly, the result to their own clan, and only secondarily, the effect on the rest of the Gael; and even then almost the only point insisted on is the sorrow and grief felt at the loss of chief or clansmen. Little notice is taken of the gradual breaking up of the old Celtic institutions, a process too gradual to be readily apparent, and which even the bards were scarcely farsighted enough to foresee. Only after the final failure of 1745 was the truth forced in upon them.

To a considerable extent, therefore, even this class of poems falls under the glorification of the chief, to which the others are devoted. These latter fall into two main divisions, the eulogy or panegyric (*oran*,* *moladh*), and the lament or elegy (*cumha*, *marbhrann*). Though entirely different in tone their contents are not so distinct as might be expected. After the exordium both fall into the same strain, descriptive of the chief's personal qualities, his dress and weapons, etc. Further, so conventional is the form that almost every eulogy or elegy can be fitted into the same framework, though the parts are of varying lengths according to the fancy of the poet, and some-

* *Oran*, which means a song in general, is the more usual title, as 'An *oran* to Lachlan Mackinnon of Strath,' etc.

times in different order. The points dwelt upon, however, are nearly always the same, and the ordinary elegy for example may be thus analysed :—

1. The bard tells how sorrowful and sad he is.
2. The reason of this :—his chief is dead ; the manner of his death.
3. Personal qualities of the chief—appearance, character, descent, prowess in the field and in the chase.
4. His dress and arms.
5. His followers : his generosity and hospitality to them.
6. His friends and kinsmen among the other clans.

Under one or other of these heads everything contained in the usual style of lament can be placed, and the unvarying character of the descriptions becomes exceedingly wearisome after a time. There are, it is true, a few that stand out by themselves, and which taken apart from others are deserving of all praise,* but the common herd of them are only redeemed from being inexpressibly dull by ‘a few happy expressions and the manner they represent.’ Even then the expressions seem rather less happy when they occur perhaps a dozen times in as many different poems. Above all there is no appreciation of form, and one can never see why the poem should stop where it does, except that the bard simply ‘ran out’ there.

In this as in the former class the perspective is totally new to the student of general history. The great names of Scotland are conspicuously absent until after the ‘45, when references to older Scottish history become more frequent. Even those who for a time united the clans to some extent, Montrose or Dundee, are barely mentioned. The bard’s own chief was to him a much more important person than any other, however great he might be. Nor do we find that the Highland chiefs best known to Scottish history hold the foremost place in these songs. Rob Roy or Lord Lovat, though

* Such as the lament for MacGregor of Ruaro, the calm dignity and reserve of which distinguish it from the ‘reckless fluency’ of so many others. It was evidently a great favourite in the end of last century, and might serve as a model of the elegy. The address to Mackinnon of Strath seems also to have been in repute as a good specimen of the ‘Oran.’

indeed not unmentioned, are not at all great men in their own country.* Even the man who is usually regarded as the model of a chief, Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, owes any record of his fame to a bard of another clan. The reason of this is not far to seek. The clans which clung most tenaciously to the old Celtic customs were those in the Western Highlands, and especially those which had possessions in the islands as well on the mainland, just as at the present day the old legends are best preserved in these districts. Of these clans three stood out before the rest,—the MacDonalDs, MacLeans, and MacLeods, and these still adhered to many of the old customs, among others to the maintenance of the bards. Hence the large part which these three clans play in the songs, especially the MacDonalDs,† who numbered a long line of poets, unequalled by any other clan. The Campbells and Camerons produced very few; such specimens of the Argyle bards as are preserved have more of the Irish than of the Scottish style. A number of the smaller clans in these districts, especially such as still retained their warlike character, also produced poets of considerable merit, but none who have left any large number of poems. Such are the Macraes, MacKenzies,‡ Morrisons, (to whom the *Clarsair Dall* belonged), MacKinnons (*Lachainn mac Thearlaich oig*, 1665-1734), Mathiesons (*an t-aosdana Mac*

* The elegy on Rob Roy beginning '*Rinn mi suidh' aig a' charn*' is of no special merit. One whose prowess was more esteemed by his clan was *Iain dubh gearr*, whose praises are sung in the excellent song *Na tulaichean*: *Iain dubh* succeeded Gilderoy as chief of the MacGregors. v. *Scot. Review*. Oct. 1890, p. 306.

† The list of MacDonald poets comprises:—Domhnall MacFhionnlaidh (author of *Oran na comhachaig*); an Ciaran Mabach (Archibald MacD. of Sleat): Iain Lom: Gilleasbuig na Ceapaich: his son Aonghas Odhar and daughter Silis na Ceapaich: Raonall na sgeithe: am bard Mucanach: Alasdair Bhoth-Fhiuntainn: Domhnall donn mac fhir Bhoth-Fhiuntainn: Iain dubh mac Iain mhic Ailein: Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair: Iain Mac Codrum. Among the MacLean bards are Echann tigherrna Chola, Eachann bacach, Lachann Mac mhic Iain, Caitriona ni'n Eoghainn mhic Lachainn: Iain mac Ailein; Mairearad ni'n Lachainn. John MacLean (1787-1848) was the last clan bard.

‡ The clan-song of the MacKenzies however, *Cabar feidh* (stag's head) was composed by a MacLeod of Assynt (*Tormod ban MacLeod*).

Mhathan), MacPhersons (*Niall mac Mhuirich*) etc. There is also a number of songs relating to members of the smaller clans by unknown authors, and some of these are much more worth preserving than many of those by the more famous bards. Of these the MacGregors possess several very fine pieces, such as the lament for Gregor MacGregor by his wife,* that for MacGregor of Ruaro (*Ruadh shruth*) by an unknown hand, and the 'Song to the Clan Gregor,'†—compositions which are an honour to the genius of that unfortunate clan.

Such is the native literary material from which we may obtain a glimpse into old Highland life, coloured indeed by the imagination and diction of the poet, but in the main truly rendered. Extensive as the literature is in quantity it is limited in range, and much of it might have been lost without seriously diminishing the information to be drawn from it. The remainder of this article will be devoted to a sketch of the chief and the clan as they appear in the works of the bards, and if Ari the Learned thought himself justified in writing history from the songs of the skalds, we may be fairly entitled to use these compositions, so similar in their aim, if not in their

* Turner, p. 286, 'Moch madainn air la Lunasd' (early on Lammas morning): Sinclair, *Gaelic Bards*, p. 18. has a slightly different version. The story of Gregor's wife is a sad one. A daughter of a Campbell (either of Glenlyon or Glenurchy) her father wished her to be married to the Baron of Dall, but she preferred the 'lawless and landless' MacGregor. Gregor was executed at Castle Balloch (Taymouth) by Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy in 1570.

† Turner, p. 283, 'S mi 'm shuidhe 'n so 'm ónar' (I am sitting alone), in the Inverness collection of 1806 the first verse begins 'N nochd cha dean mi gair' eibhinn,' which seems better. This song is attributed to a woman, who composed it to throw the pursuers off the track of some MacGregors who had taken refuge in her house 'when the chase was on them and the black dogs after them.' While she sat by the wayside and sang this the MacGregors escaped by the back of the house. It begins by wondering where the MacGregors are: she had heard of them being about Lochfine and in Clachan-an-Diseirt: and ends with the prayer. 'May the King of the elements guard you from the venomous powder, and from the sparks of fire: from bullet and arrow: from the slender-pointed knife (*sgian*) and the sharp-edged sword.' The pursuers were convinced that the clan had not come that way and went off in another direction.

form, for a less serious purpose, since fortunately the history of the clans may be got at from more prosaic and less ambiguous sources.

As a large proportion of the songs were handed down orally for a century, more or less, it would be no wonder if tradition had become confused as to the persons to whom they related or the authors themselves,—all the more since it is often impossible from the vague remarks of the poet to draw any certain conclusion on the point, even when the chief's name is given. As a matter of fact, however, tradition has in most cases preserved with apparent accuracy both the name of the chief and poet, since the discrepancies in independent collections are very few.* But for the heading their proper date and place would often be difficult to discover. The clan, however, is not hard to find, as the poet must somewhere or other praise it, and he always mentions the person's name: but as several chiefs in succession often bore the same name this is not always a certain index. Such a title as 'Lament for young John of Scalpa' gives little information, and the song itself often little more, or even less, being nearly all composed of vague expressions of sorrow and praise. Where the chief was concerned in any important event the mention of this helps to fix the date, but many a chief passed his whole life without any greater achievement than an occasional raid on his neighbours. A large number of the songs preserved, however, naturally relate to well-known chiefs, whose lives can be traced from clan-histories, state-papers, and other memoirs: such as Alasdair mac Cholla, the MacLeans of Duart, the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Bernera, the MacDonalds of Sleat, Keppoch, and Glengarry. From the part they play in history

* Such are the poem on Killiecrankie ascribed to two different authors; the one beginning *Mìle mallachd do'n ol* ('a thousand curses on drinking') assigned to Patrick Roy MacGregor (*Para ruadh Mac Griogair*: v. Highland Legends by Glenmore, i.e., Donald Shaw of Inchrorie in Strathavon), and to Donald Donn of Bohuntin (Sinclair, *Gaelic Bards*, p. 120); the former seems more likely. Several others are equally doubtful; nevertheless the general agreement of the accounts is a remarkable proof of the interest taken by the Highlanders in the works of the bards.

we can often see the character of these chiefs, some of them like Sir Hector of Duart, bold and impetuous, ever ready for battle, but with no prudence or self-restraint: others, like Sir Ewen Camerou of Lochiel, as far-seeing and persevering as they were brave: others like Alasdair mac Cholla, mere freebooters, earning their livelihood by plunder and mercenary warfare: but all these distinctions are lost in the indiscriminating panegyric of the bard. There is no real effort made to paint individual character. A minute of the Privy Council or the record of a state trial will often give more insight into the character of a chief, than the longest effort of a bard who thoroughly admired him. To the bard he is faultless, and possessed of all virtues: he is always a pattern of bravery and wisdom,—‘milder than a maiden’ in peace: ‘fiercer than a lion’ in war. He is ‘the big strong heroic man that was a mirror for all.’ His sense and prudence are constantly extolled, and even his characteristic pride is not reckoned as a blemish. ‘It is little wonder though you are proud with the blood of so many noble lines in your veins,’* is the usual expression. Mary MacLeod says of her chief, ‘thou art a true drop, fair and courteous, with the nobility of the peacock (*uaisle na peucaige*). Nor is the personal appearance of the chief to be learned very much from the songs, though often implied in the name commonly given him, such as ‘short black John.’ His hair, his eyes, his complexion, etc., are all praised in a conventional way that would suit any other person almost equally well. Sometimes a departure is made from this, not with the best of success. In a song referring to Mackinnon of Strath, the bard, more honest than his fellows, says, ‘there was no fault about you from your elbow to your fist, from your crown to your shoe, except the crook in your nose, and *it wasn’t ugly*.’ † In a similar strain another says of Alasdair mac Cholla, ‘There was no fault about you to speak of, although it were written on paper, except the amount of pride in your nose,’—from which

* The usual Gaelic for this is the curious phrase ‘about your shoulders’ (‘s a liuthad fuil rioghail ’tha sioladh *mu ’d ghuaillibh*. Turner, p. 196.)

† Ach a’ chruime bha ’d shróin ’s cha b’ éitidh. (Glenbard Coll., p. 272.)

we may perhaps infer that Alasdair's nose was a turned-up one.

The chief's descent was an important part of his fame, and also reflected honour on the clan which was supposed to be connected with him by blood, though this was certainly a mere exercise of the imagination. 'Keen historians knew this tale,' how the chief came from Dermid, or Conn, or Ruairi, and were not slow to tell it. Mary MacLeod constantly refers to the Norse origin of her chiefs: 'Bold men of Lochlann were the beginning of your history, the expert race of the stock of Magnus': 'race of Olgar of the swords'; 'from Olgar art thou,'* are her phrases. 'Thy descent and nobility, 'tis no mean thing to trace them: of the direct blood of the kings of Lochlann, that was the beginning of your history: your kinship can be easily traced to every earl in Alban, and to the nobles of Erin.'† So the fairy's lullaby (*taladh na beanshith*), ‡ sung to an infant heir of Dunvegan, speaks of the 'Race of the MacLeods of the swords and mail-coats, Lochlann was the land of your ancestors.' The MacLeans, too, are the 'race of kings,' and the MacDonalds are 'of the race of the kings of the fair-strangers (Fionna-ghall—Norsemen) of the white handled cups and the chequered banners.' The MacDonalds collectively§ are generally called 'the race of Conn' (*siol Chuinn*), and are addressed as 'children of Conn of the hundred battles,' in MacVurich's war song. Their ancestor, Somerled, is also occasionally referred to: 'since Somhairle begat them no disgrace was ever found in them.' The Campbells have several names which are more commonly used than the simple *Caim-beulaich*. From their mythical ancestor Dermid (*Diarmaid ua*

* *Lochlannaich threun Toiseach bhur sgeil, sliochd seolta bh' air freumh Mhanuis,—sliochd Ollaghair nan lann,—Ollaghair each thu.*

† *Iuinneag mhic Leoid*, v. 4.

‡ Printed in the *Gael*, vol. i., p. 236.

§ The different branches of a clan were denoted by the name of the founder; thus the chief of the Glencoe MacDonalds was *Mac-'ic-Iain*: that of the Glengarry family *Mac-'ic-Alasdair*: the Callart branch of the Camerons was called *Sliochd Iain mhic Ailein* (race of John, son of Allan, i.e., *Ailean nan creach*, the first laird of Callart, etc.)

Duibhne) they are called *stiochd Dhiarmaid* and *Diubhnich* (often corrupted into *Guimhnich* and *Guinich*) and *clann O' Duibhne*. The MacDougalls are in one place called 'the race of Olaf of red shields,' who was king of Man. The more ambitious *senachies* carry the genealogies back according to the approved Irish history to Gathelus, or Ebhir, or Erimon. 'Race of high earls; 'tis long since ye came from Spain,' says Mairearad ni 'n Lachainn of the MacLeans. So, too, Iain mac Ailein, 'ye are the descendants of kings from the bounds of Spain, of the race of Gathelus of bold deeds. From him sprang nobles that were victorious and famous; of these were the sons of Milidh (Milesius) of the brave exploits; they conquered Erin with the strength of their hands.' It is not to be expected, however, that the songs should enter into the intricacies of Gaelic genealogy which it was the peculiar pride and privilege of bard and *senachie* to unravel (and invent).

With such noble history to look back on, it is little wonder that to every bard his own chief was a power in the Highlands. 'Peacemaker of the Hebrides,' 'battle-pillar of the Isles,' are the titles given them. 'If you were at home you would be at the head of the men of Alban,' says another. Of MacLean of Duart it is said, 'between Scalpa and the Sound of Islay, though wide are the bounds, a part of every land of them was paying tribute to you.' In the praise of Alasdair mac Cholla the poetess says, 'War cannot be made without you, nor peace without your consent.' The Campbell bards are not less sparing in their statements, perhaps with more reason, since the Argyle family were so often invested with royal authority. 'Thou did'st obtain from the King (and well wast thou worthy of it) to be high chief over the men of Alban, and supreme judge of goods and lives. Thou art high keeper and warder on yonder borders; thou did'st come to overcome thy enemies and obtain peace. In the high council of Alban thou didst steer all; none ever heard of one so good since the time of William Wallace, chief of men, without equal among mankind; Cailean after him is peerless, the Earl of Aray.' The main test of a chief's fame seems to have been that it had

reached Ireland: 'Famous among the Irish was the valour of your hand.'

The chief himself is always famous as a warrior and a hunter: 'Thou art a pillar of battle before thousands.' 'Thou wast valiant with good semblance as was Oscar among the Fiann.' As a hunter he is the 'man of readiest hand by the side of rivers and hills,' 'Hunter of wild-goose and *cathan*,* and the blunt-nosed seal by the sea.' 'Thou wast foe to the badger that comes from the braes of the den, and to the salmon that leaps in the stream,' 'Thou wast slayer of the fish with the torch.' † But it is the chase of the deer that is the noblest occupation. ‡ This was carried on by the aid of deer-hounds, and both the bow and gun were employed. 'When you would go to the moor the chase would succeed right well with you, with your leash of trained dogs behind you when you go, as well as the slender sure rifle, hard and straight without bend in it; thou wast hunter of the doe, of the cock and the heath-hen.' 'Dear to thee the swift dogs to go travelling the hills, and the gun that failed not its hammer. § 'Thy greyhounds would be on the leash waiting for the chase in the fair corries.' 'When you went to the chase it was heavy on your ghillies with your big dogs.' The 'folk of the white tails and red coats,' as Mary Macleod calls the deer, may well have been pleased when some of the chiefs died. Now that Sir James MacDonald is dead, says the bard, his clan are 'without youths to travel the hills, without desire to seek the seal, without greyhounds straining their leashes: in peace to-night is the deer on the hills.'

The delight of the Celt in ornament and show of every kind is well shown by the manner in which the songs describe the

* A species of wild-goose.

† Spearing salmon with the trident (*morgha*, *muirgheadh*) by torch-light.

‡ The delight of the Highlander in deer-stalking is well expressed in the 'Song of the Owl,' (*oran na comhachaig*). 'So long as I remain here with the breath of life in my body, I would stay beside the deer: that is the herd in which I delight.'

§ i.e. That always went off when wanted, which was not a constant occurrence with a flint-lock.

dress and arms of the chief and his clansmen. By this time the sentimental affection for the Highland dress had not appeared, but the bard takes a genuine delight in picturing the handsome man in a handsome garb. The plaid (*breacan*) and kilt (*feile*) are constantly mentioned: 'well the plaited plaid becomes you about the rounded kilt,' and similar phrases, occur *passim*. MacDonald describes his clansmen in war-array in this wise:—'That is the band that would be handsome with blue bonnets and cockades in them, and their plaids in the fashion, with scarlet garters, the plaited kilt on their haunches, a pair of pistols and a Spanish sword.* The kilt however was not the invariable dress,† especially on the west coast and among gentlemen, and the songs make frequent mention of the trews (*triubhais*, called also *triubhais chaol*, the narrow trews); 'well the trews become you, neither strait nor scant; and no worse do the hose set you, and the stout shoe with slender sole,‡ is the description of Donald Campbell, piper to Archibald of Keppoch, and a dress of this kind is elsewhere summed up as, 'coat and collar, blue trews, shoes and bonnet.' The trews or kilt made the Highlander; the Lowlanders are distinguished by wearing trousers (*luchd brìgis*). In these descriptions of dress even the linen shirt (*leine 'n anairt*) is not forgotten; 'there is not a shirt that he put on him that my own daughter did not sew,' occurs in a lament for Lachlan

* The custom of throwing off the plaid before entering into battle is several times referred to. MacDonald in praise of drink says, 'Tis thou that would leave us bold in the pursuit, when the sharp blades are drawn to the nose, when the plaids are cast off by the host, and the claymore comes out of the sheath.' So in Silis of Keppoch's account of the battle of Sheriffmuir, 'We got orders to leave our plaids and it was not to sermon that the clan went on;' and at Killiecrankie we hear of the 'Gael without plaids charging the red-coats.'

† One of Lord George Murray's orders before the battle of Culloden was, 'The Highlanders to be in kilts,' showing that the wearing of it was not looked on as a matter of course.

‡ Compare Cleland's lines:—

With brogues, trues, and pìrnie plaids,
 With good blue bonnets on their heads
 A slash't out coat beneath her plaides.

MacLean by his sister. Clothes brought by merchants were especially admired; 'a bonnet from the booth would cover the curling locks of my love, and a light dark-blue coat from London;' 'a coat of Spanish cloth you'll wear, that guinea and crown will go to pay,' and so much did the Highland chiefs in the end of last century go in for this foreign finery that the bards finally began to satirize it as a departure from the simplicity of their ancestors.

The Act forbidding the wearing of the Highland dress only increased the attachment to it, and the poets become more enthusiastic in its praises. The most famous song of this kind is MacDonald's *Am breacan uallach*, in which he scorns the 'English cloth' that other bards had extolled when on the persons of their chiefs. The kilt is the 'hero's garb,' 'the soldier's true dress,' 'the real garb for a pursuit, for putting swiftness in the legs.' It is the best for the chase or for going to the church, for lying down or getting up, for protection from the weather, for showing off shield and sword, and keeping the gun dry,—in fact for everything. A more humorous production on the same subject is one by Iain MacCodrum; 'curses on the King,' he says, 'that took the plaid from us. . . . You gave us the breeks, you fettered our hips; I would rather have the loose plaid, the light active garment. It's a bad wear for night: I can't stretch my legs, I can't get any sleep: better were the ten yards I would put in the kilt, when I rise in the morning; that's the comely raiment to keep off wind and rain. The curse of the two worlds on the man that put it out. . . . You never saw a mother's son, on street or field, that is more active than a son of the Gael with his comely person. The plaid above the kilt, his pistols in order that will not fail the spark, a shield upon his shoulder and a slender sword beneath his arm: there is not a Lowlander in the world that would not fade away at the sight of him. When the Gael gather for the battle with their sharp Spanish blades and the gleaming of helmets they will pay dearly in blood and gore and the day of Culloden will be avenged. . . . The MacDonalds, the tailors of the red cloth, not to sew it but to rend it with their sharp-shearing blades cutting ears and skulls.'

Two songs by Lachlan MacPherson of Strathmashie are also fairly humorous on the subject of the 'breeks.' In one of these, 'the song of the dun breeks' (*oran na brìgis lachduinn*) he suggests that it is the women who ought to wear them, and specially objects to them as being uncomfortable to go through water with. In the other a deer makes sport of the hunter who has come out to the chase in this unaccustomed guise. The latter protests that it is not of his own free will he came in that way, he would prefer the kilt and plaid, but the hard-hearted stag threatens to go and denounce him as having a gun and plaid in his possession.

Among a people like the Highlanders of that period, who still maintained the warlike habits of their ancestors, there was naturally a great admiration for good weapons, which still continued long after they had become mere ornaments for bodies of militia or for Highland gatherings. Accordingly we find the description of arms occupying a large part of many of the songs, giving indications of the Highlander's preferences in the way of weapons. Some of the later accounts are no doubt mere poetic traditions or flights of fancy, but in the main the accounts are quite accurate. The favourite weapon was the sword (*lann*; *claidheamh*), sometimes silver-hilted (*chinn airgid*) or 'head-ribbed' (i.e., with basket hilt, *cinn-aisneach*) 'with its hard cutting keen blue edge.' The broad-sword (*claidheamh mor*, whence *claymore*), and small sword (*cl. caol*), were the two kinds in use. The Spanish blade (*lann Spainteach*) was greatly esteemed, and *spainteach* by itself is used for a sword, as well as for a gun. The Isla hilt was also famous: 'many an Isla hilted sword' is assigned to the MacDonalds. From the groove (*clais*) down the centre of the blade a sword was also called *claiseach*, and special mention is made of swords with three grooves: 'the sword that is called the three-grooved, and a good Isla hilt in it too:' 'a sharp Spanish blade of three grooves,' etc., occur in the older songs, and Duncan Ban uses the phrase several times.

The other edged weapons used were the 'pointed keen-cutting' dirk (*bidhag*), and the knife (*sgian, corc*). The latter is generally spoken of as the murderer's weapon, as by Iain Lom

in his poem on the Keppoch murder; 'they were my dear ones, the fair bodies in which the knives were thrust so thickly.' The axe (*tuagh*), which was not a native Celtic weapon, is rarely mentioned; 'of the axes,' however, is an epithet of the MacLeans (*Clann Ghilleain nan tuagh*) from their ancestor 'Gilleoin of the axe.' The pike (*pic*) is also spoken of occasionally but not with any special admiration.

The shield (*sgiath*) or target (*targaid*) was an important part of the equipment, and together with the helmet (*clogaid, ceann-bheirt*) formed the defensive armour.* The helmet was dropped towards the close of the 17th century, but the target lasted to the end. The former was of steel,—'helmets of steel to cover the hair and the nose;' the latter of wood covered with hide and studded with nails, whence the common epithet 'speckled' (*breac*): 'a knotty speckled shield,' 'a firm shield of hard knots.'†

Though fire-arms were in common use ‡ the bow was long used for the chase; as an instrument of war it was discontinued in the 17th century, and is not mentioned in the disarming Act. There are a number of elaborate descriptions of it, one of the best being that by Mary MacLeod.§ The bow

* The gorget (*gorsaid*) is also mentioned, as in MacDonald's 'Bark of Clan-ranald; many curious pieces of armour are described as found in the Highland host in 1678 in a letter of that period; (*Blackwood*, April 1817, p. 68), . . . 'head pieces and steel bonnets raised like pyramids. . . . And truly I doubt not but a man curious in our antiquities might in this host find explications of the strange pieces of armour mentioned in our old lawes, such as basnet, iron hat, gorget, pesane, wambrassers, reerbrassers, panns, leg-splents, and the like, above what an occasion in the Lowlands would have afforded for several hundreds of years.'

† 'A target of timber, nails and hides;' Cleland.

‡ 'Since the invention of guns they are very early accustomed to use them and carry their pieces with them wherever they go.' Martin's *Western Isles*.

§ In *an talla 'mbu ghnath le MacLeod*, verses 8 to 11. Silis of Keppoch mentions the bow in an interesting connection, addressing the army of the Prince Charles, 'when you reach London you will be measuring the silk on the bridge with your elegant bows.'

itself (*bogha, pic* *) was sometimes made of birch (*beith*) but generally of yew (*iubhar*), whence *iubhar* is constantly used as meaning the bow itself. It was often stained red; 'with your hard, ruddy, well-coloured bow,' and 'red English bows,' are mentioned in the *Caismeachd Ailein nan sop*. The bow-string (*taifeid*) was sometimes of silk, sometimes of hemp (*cainbe, corcach*; Flanders hemp is particularly specified). The arrows (*saighead, fiubhaidh, crann*) were winged with eagles' feathers (*ite an fhir-eoin*) fastened with wax or resin (*ceir, rosaid*) and carried in a quiver (*glac, balg, dorlach*) often made of badger skin. The shaft of the arrow is called *gainne*, the end next the bow-string *smeoirn*, and the barbed head *corran*: 'When it was let go from your hand there would not be an inch of it unburied between the barbs of the shaft and the end.'

Of fire-arms several kinds are mentioned. These are the simple gun (*gunna*), the musket (*musg*), rifle (*isneach*), carbine (*cairbinn*), and culverin (*cuilbheir*, generally called 'slender'), a name which continued in Gaelic to denote a hand gun, while elsewhere it became the name of a small cannon. The first and last of these are the common names, the *cuilbheir* being especially used for hunting. 'Climbers of the hills, with their ready culvers in their hands,' the MacDonaldis of Glencoe are called. 'Slender culvers that were bought full dear' are among the treasures of MacLeod, of whose followers the same song says 'there is found on each haunch of them rifle and carbine, and hard sound bows with hempen strings.' Belonging to the gun, and mentioned along with it in the songs, is the powder-horn (*adharc*) often richly ornamented with studs (*balla-bhreac*),† with its silken string and stopper of silver, and the measure for the powder (*miosair*). The guns when not in use were kept in a stand (*ealachan*) or hung on a

* The dictionaries only give *pic* as meaning a 'pike,' but the word occurs in contexts where it clearly means a bow, e.g., *piccean daite a' lub-adh*, bending dyed bows; *pic do'n iubhar*, a bow of yew; a *pic de 'n t-Sasannaich dheirg* (cf. above) is used in the chase.

† 'Powder-horns hung in strings, garnished with beaten nails and burnished brass.' Account of the Highland host.

peg (*steill*).* Besides the gun the pistol (*dag, piostal*) was also in common use; 'a pair of good pistols in a belt of wreathed studs' is the general possession of a chief. An inlaid pistol is described as 'small-speckled' (*meanbh-bhreac*).

As instruments of war, however, fire-arms were no favourites with the Highlanders, who regarded the use made of them by the Lowlanders as an unfair advantage, which did not allow them to display their dexterity in handling broadsword and shield.† In battle the gun was thrown down as soon as fired. Patrick Roy MacGregor expresses his disgust with the gun, trust in which had betrayed him into his enemies' hands.‡ 'My curse for ever on the gun as a weapon, after the deceit and shame I have suffered; though I should get for myself a fold full of cattle, rather would I have had a sword and shield at that time.'

The ordinary Highlander went on foot, the chief was distinguished by being mounted, hence his ordinary epithet, 'rider of steeds' (*marcach nan steud*), and its variations—'lively rider of saddles on the shod horse (*each cruidheach*) that shies not, that has no fear or terror when the fire is doubled'; 'cheerful rider of blue shod-horses' (*blue* is the favourite colour); 'when you would go to battle in the army of the king your saddle

* Knives appear to have been thrust into the wall. 'Better they should come yet, the MacLeans of the axes, and there would not be a knife in the wall nor sword in the sheath.' (Iain Lom).

† Compare the opinions on the assault of Dunkeld and the Battle of Culloden previously given. The Government troops were distinguished by the gun being their main weapon, and the soldiers defeated by Sir Ewen Cameron at Stron-nevis are called by Iain Lom 'men of the dark-blue reeds to which the powder was responsive when the hammers would strike the hard flints.' The songs have many names for the royal troops; a soldier is *fear casaig, fear ruadh* (a coated man, a red man), or they are called 'Saxons' (*Sasunnaich*), 'red-fellows' (*dearganaich*), men of the coats, of the red coats, of the madder coats (*luchd nan casag—chotacha dearga—chotacha madair*); sometimes from their language 'English speakers' (*luchd Beurla*); King William's troops are commonly called 'whelps' (*na cuileanan; siol nan cuilean*).

‡ According to tradition the waiting-maid at the inn where the MacGregors were drinking had emptied sowens into the barrels of their guns.

would be on a blue war-horse' (*mil-each gorm*); 'not weak nor mild were you, riding up before the brigade on a high-spirited horse of four shoes': and the keeping of good steeds is the mark of a great chief: 'they were no harrow-like fillies that were fed in your stable, but horses with shoes and reins;' 'there would be slender horses leaping, and running races at speed, and men tightening the reins on their mouths.' The small size of the old Highland ponies probably prevented their general use for riding purposes.

Among the Western Isles a journey of any length, of course, involved a passage by sea, and such sea-voyages are often mentioned. An interesting description of a great expedition is given in the poem to the Earl of Argyle (*Triallfa mi*, etc.): 'When Earl Colin and his people set out he puts on the sea from the harbour a ready fleet. A broad, strong, heavy-laden flotilla, shapely and tight, of smoothest side to go to windward, oak-hard, and well-oared. Then the white-swaying masts, with their gearing, are hoisted up; many a rope is being made fast what time they sail, the stays are drawn tight and looped round the fore-breast, the great sails are raised in beauty, with fore-sails crossing. Their ears are fastened in the cat-head, as she goes to windward, like a swift steed with the stream pressing her and the sea beating her. Many a hero, bold, enduring, white-fisted, sturdy, that would make a bend in her oars, steady, hard-breathing.' The chief himself is described as a good steersman, and there are not a few spirited sea-songs which describe voyages between the islands.‡ One of them, by Murdoch Mór M'Kenzie of Achilty, begins by comparing the mare he chanced to be riding with the boat he was wont to sail in, which had the advantage of going without being spurred, and did not require to be fed: 'its sound when under sail was as a harp to me; that were my joy and desire though

‡ e.g., *Caisimeachd Ailein nan Sop*; *An iorram dharaich* (Iain Lom), Alexander MacDonald's *Iorram Cuain*, and *Birlinn Chlann-Raonuill*, the latter one of the most wonderful compositions in the language. The whole tackling of the ships is described in these. The popular tales have also some curious 'sea-runs.'

my head were grey, and not to have a rod and rein in my hand.' Even the larger boats were rowed as well as sailed, and the *iorram* was intended to be sung by the rowers.

The main occupation of the more untamed and uncivilised clans, besides war and the chase, was making raids (*creachadh*)* on their neighbours, which was considered an honourable trade for a chief, and often mentioned in the songs. 'There was plentiful warring and raiding in Lochaber at that time,' says the owl to Donald M'Inlay; 'when I would see the raids and the terror going past I would take a little turn from the road and stay a while in Craig-guanach'; but most of the references to it are of this brief kind.† The usual spoil was of course cattle. Of a dead chief, it is said that if sword or gun had slain him 'there would be lifting of cows ‡ and driving off spoils in plenty, and many a son without father, and wife without husband.' In Gillies' collection (p. 132) there is a curious composition by the Rev. Alexander MacFarlane praying to be kept from the sin of stealing, beginning, 'In spite of man, or without his knowledge, shall I lift a prey or steal his gear,' and after pointing out that the end of such proceedings was usually the gallows (this must have been in degenerate days), he ends with what may be rendered—

' Keep my heart, O King and Father,
From love of gear that is not mine,
From stealing cattle in Thy presence
Do thou my soul and hand incline.'

Probably the reverend gentleman thought the prayer very necessary for his congregation.

The summons made by the chief to gather his men to battle was called *crois-tara*,§ which is mentioned in Iain Lom's *Iorram dharaich*. 'Many a sturdy youth with bent grasp

* The noun *creach* denotes both the plundering and the plunder.

† e.g. *Mac Aoidh nan creach—Bhuailte creach agus speach mhor leat—Creach 'g a togail le strith*, etc.

‡ *Togail air martaibh*; a part of the raiding march of the MacFarlanes is still preserved, '*Thogail nam bó*, etc.

§ The actual 'fiery-cross' seems nowhere described, though this is sometimes given as the meaning of *crois-tara*.

on the moors: they rise up early and search for the water-cresses, she sits upon some old lean horse tearing out its entrails.'

In earlier times the clans were incited to battle by the song of the bard, but in the 17th century the bagpipe comes into prominence, and the bard was not required in this capacity. Consequently the bards do not always display very friendly feeling towards the pipes, and speak of it in very uncomplimentary terms, much as an southerner might do at the present day. There is a 'Praise of the Pipe,' by Gilleasbuig of Keppoch, who call it 'the incitement of the host to brave heroism; the great pipe with which every courage is aroused:—my love is the harp, my best love the pipe (*mo ghaol clarsach, ro ghaol piob*). I will not dispraise the song, but it would be better in time of peace: the song would never go so boldly against the foe as the pipe.' Gilleasbuig's poem is endorsed by one of Iain Mac Ailein's, who blesses him for giving such honour to the pipe; 'I am certain,' he says, 'there is many an earl in Alban to-night, who when he sets a force on foot, for hearing the pipes early and late would give as reward money without stint.' This song is parodied verse for verse by Lachann Mac Mhic Iain, who gives the other view of the case. 'There's many an earl in Alban in his bed to-night, after filling his belly with sowens, rolling himself often about, if the clamorous jade came near him early or late the reward he would give to the man who played it would be to set the dogs on him. . . . Whatever fool first began to extract music from a skin, it is plain that there was plenty of dreaming and raving in his head.' He compares it to the cackle of geese, and suggests that it would be better to scare horses from the hay with than to stir up a host. As to its use in battle he recalls how the boy who carried Conduili's pipes ran off at Sheriffmuir, and hence he says it is a cowardly instrument. There is also the 'Genealogy of the pipe' (*seanachas sloinnidh na pioba*) by Niall MacMhuirich, who is even less complimentary, calling it 'the instrument that would waken the devils,' and likening it to the 'roaring of a lean cow in spring.'

Such views were of course by no means universally held.

beyond the weapons that adorned the walls, and the wealth of drinking vessels that strewed the tables. 'There would be candles burning in holders of brass, and thy chambers all lighted with wax,' the latter being a mark of wealth. Every hall is provided in abundance with gold and silver cups (*piosan*; *cupachan*) with drinking horns (*adharc*, *corn*) or bowls (*cuach*, *bola*), the possession of which is one of the stock-epithets of chiefs: 'race of soldiers and heroes, of pennons and plate and white cups': 'no niggardly dwelling, with the gleaming of cups, consuming of wine, and pouring it out into the work of the gold-smith.' Even pewter (*feodar*) is not unseen among the richer metals, and the drinks are various enough for every taste. The more lofty bards do not come below wine (*fiòn*), of which large quantities certainly were consumed, but others, especially Iain Lom, enumerate beer (*beoir*), brandy (*branndaidh*) and whisky (*uisge beatha*), which does not appear so often as one might expect. The chief is 'the man that buys the wine and is able to pay it,' 'the jovial host that can give drink to hundreds,' and judging from the large part which this kind of entertainment plays in the songs, there may be some truth in Macpherson's attribution of the praise of the bards to 'the strength of his cups.' Many a flowing verse records such scenes; 'about the board without sadness or gloom, with drinking and playing, and music sweeter than the cuckoo in May.' The chief was early initiated into this manner of pleasing the clan; 'many a glass did the young fellows of your country get from your hand before you grew up to be higher than my knee.' The results of this hospitality were not always of the best: one bard more honest than his fellows thus describes the retainers of MacLean of Muck: 'there would be draining of cups with the greatest of mirth, and your lads would be joyfully sporting, with plenty of courage in their heads but little wisdom in their speech.' Even in the pathetic lament for the massacre of Glencoe the poet calls the murdered MacDonalds 'drainers of casks' (*luchd a thraghadh nam buideal*), qualifying it by saying that they were not 'beastly' in that respect (*bu neo-bhruideil mu 'n chupan ud sibh*).

respected, their satire being a thing to be avoided as far as possible, but naturally nothing of this comes into the songs.

'When you were tired of musicians, the Bible would be read with true belief of heart as the Son of God commanded, and the teaching of the clergy would be received in peace'; and 'the Scriptures were read in your hall before rising from table,' give another side of the picture, probably of rarer occurrence than the former ones, although it is recorded of one chief that he built a church 'and did not live to slate it. Yet it is curious how little of the darker beliefs of the Celts come into these songs: instances from the Bible are not uncommon, but there is hardly a single reference to the popular traditions, beyond those relating to the Fiann, and that generally a comparison of the poet after some great loss to Ossian left behind his fellows. It is once suggested that witchcraft may have had to do with a man's death, but in general the bard keeps altogether clear of popular beliefs.

The chief was required to be generous in giving as well as hospitable in entertaining; he had to be famous 'in war and in peace, and in giving of money.' In order to procure this the chief was not unacquainted with the plan of imposing heavy rents on his tenants, and the bards consider themselves justified in praising one who did not take that course. 'You were liberal to your gentlemen and for as much money as you spent on them there was no want among your tenantry:' 'you are the son of the virtuous chief that did not oppress his people: 'you were the friend of the peasantry, and were not hard on them for their mail; though their money was short you would not refuse them credit:' 'it was not the custom of others that you took for your habit, to oppress the tenants for the rents. The state of affairs in the Highlands was thus very likely akin to that which the Brehon laws depict as existing in Ireland where a 'rack-rent' was a legitimate imposition. It was however clearly for the interest of the chief to secure the goodwill of his clan by all possible means, and Celtic patience was considerably elastic when the demands on it were made by the head of the tribe.

In praising the chief the bard delights to speak of the clan

the edges of our swords would make them take the use of their feet.' To the piper, after referring to the colour of his nose, his pock-marked face, and 'the wry seal's mouth of your clan,' he says, 'you belong to a clan of deceivers, cheats, and liars; the head was taken off your arch-traitor.' He wishes he could get State permission for the Campbells and MacDonalds to fight the grudge out man for man; and probably very little encouragement would have been required to bring about another North Inch of Perth.

To oppose the power of the Campbells was however no easy task, and it was great praise to tell a chief that he could hold his own with Mac Caillein, but to say that he could do so against Mac Caillein *plus* someone else was the height of laudation. 'You took Cnoidart and more from him,' says Iain Lom to Angus Og of Glengarry, 'and he did not win Mull till you died.' The desire to see a good hemp rope round Argyle's neck is not unusual; 'it is sad that I am not as I would wish, with the head of Mac Caillein under my arm, softly would I sleep then though the rock were my bed.' Sometimes the bard professes to despise the Campbell power: 'All the Highlands will be bold and bloody in the battle, and although the Campbells come not, we care little for that pack,' occurs in an address to Prince Charles.

MacDonald's reply to *Cabar feidh* contains some biting sarcasms on the MacKenzies. He reminds them of their behaviour at Auldearn, and how little they helped the cause of King Charles. 'The heavens wept, the stars vomited, crying to you not to hurry; you almost ran to Egypt, and if there had been a smooth road you would have gone there.' 'There was'n't a Lot's wife among them for they never looked back.' Much of this may have been only meant as a display of wit, but it was not calculated to foster friendly feelings with the clan so attacked.

Whatever faults and defects these songs may have as poetical compositions, however much in them may be conventional and rhetorical, there is no mistaking the genuine earnestness with which the loss of a chief or kinsman is mourned. 'It was not the strength of men that took you from

my head were grey, and not to have a rod and rein in my hand.' Even the larger boats were rowed as well as sailed, and the *iorram* was intended to be sung by the rowers.

The main occupation of the more untamed and uncivilized clans, besides war and the chase, was making raids (*creachadh*), on their neighbours, which was considered an honourable trade for a chief, and often mentioned in the songs. 'There was plentiful warring and raiding in Lochaber at that time,' says the owl to Donald M'Inlay; 'when I would see the raids and the terror going past I would take a little turn from the road and stay a while in Craig-guanach'; but most of the references to it are of this brief kind.† The usual spoil was of course cattle. Of a dead chief, it is said that if sword or gun had slain him 'there would be lifting of cows; and driving of spoils in plenty, and many a son without father, and wife without husband.' In Gillies' collection (p. 132) there is a curious composition by the Rev. Alexander MacFarlane praying to be kept from the sin of stealing, beginning, 'If spirit of man, or without his knowledge, shall I lift a prey or steal his gear,' and after pointing out that the end of such proceedings was usually the gallows (this must have been in degenerate days), he ends with what may be rendered—

'Keep my heart, O King and Father,
From love of gear that is not mine,
From stealing cattle in Thy presence
Do thou my soul and hand incline.'

Probably the reverend gentleman thought the prayer very necessary for his congregation.

The summons made by the chief to gather his men: *barra* was called *crois-tara*,‡ which is mentioned in Iain Lachlan's *Iorram dharach*. 'Many a sturdy youth with beard gray

* The noun *creach* denotes both the plundering and the plunder.

† e.g. *Mac Aoidh nan creach*—*Bhualte creach eyes speach nan creach*—*Creach 'g a togail le strìth*, etc.

‡ *Togail air maraibh*; a part of the raising march of the MacFarlanes is still preserved, *'Thogail nan bó*, etc.

§ The actual 'fery-cross' seems nowhere described, though this is sometimes given as the meaning of *crois-tara*.

behind his shield will come with you, and answer to your cry without fear or weakness when they hear your battle-warning.' A bold use of it is made in a poem on the state of the country in 1716 (*Glenbard Collection*, p. 375):—'O God, leave us not in want, at the mercy of foes: raise thou thy *croistara* to bring our friends to land: we are in purgatory, graciously give us peace.'

The clan was marshalled under its banner (*bratach*) generally made of silk, which seems to have been considered an indispensable part of the muster, and is constantly referred to: 'of the banners' is a constant epithet of chiefs (e.g., *Mac Griogair nam bratach*), and the fluttering of the pennons combines with the scream of the pipes to stir up the martial spirit of the clans. The historic green banner of Clan Chattan is mentioned: 'the young laird of Cluny with the green silken banner;' and there are some spirited lines about banners in MacDonald's 'Praise of the Lion.' Closely connected with this are the badges and arms of the clans, which are often spoken of, as MacDonald, 'whose badge is the tufted bush of heather,'* 'dark blue heather in tufts.' The arms of the MacDonalds are not seldom described; 'Thy fair arms are the ship, lion, and salmon on the bright bottomed sea, the fig tree without blight that would give wine (!) in plenty, and the red hand of the hero not weak.' Several of the most spirited war-songs relate to the distinctive crests of the clans, such as the 'Stag's head' (*Cabar feidh*) of the Mackenzies, and the 'Dispraise of the stag's head' (*Dimoladh chabair feidh*) by Alexander MacDonald, together with his own 'Praise of the Lion' (*Moladh an leoghain*). The first of these, which was provoked by a raid of the Monroes upon Assynt, makes a very unfavourable comparison between the habits of the deer and the eagle, the latter the crest of the Monroes; 'There is not a bird in the heavens so dirty as the eagle: it has no habits in common with the deer that dwell

* 'Among the ensignes also, besides other singularities, the Glencoe men were very remarkable, who had for their ensigne a faire bush of heath, welspread and displayed on the head of a staff, such as might have affrighted a Roman eagle.' Description of the Highlanders in 1678 already referred to.

on the moors: they rise up early and search for the water-cresses, she sits upon some old lean horse tearing out its entrails.'

In earlier times the clans were incited to battle by the song of the bard, but in the 17th century the bagpipe comes into prominence, and the bard was not required in this capacity. Consequently the bards do not always display very friendly feeling towards the pipes, and speak of it in very uncomplimentary terms, much as an southerner might do at the present day. There is a 'Praise of the Pipe,' by Gilleasbuig of Keppoch, who call it 'the incitement of the host to brave heroism; the great pipe with which every courage is aroused:—my love is the harp, my best love the pipe (*mo ghaol clarsach, ro ghaol piob*). I will not dispraise the song, but it would be better in time of peace: the song would never go so boldly against the foe as the pipe.' Gilleasbuig's poem is endorsed by one of Iain Mac Ailein's, who blesses him for giving such honour to the pipe; 'I am certain,' he says, 'there is many an earl in Alban to-night, who when he sets a force on foot, for hearing the pipes early and late would give as reward money without stint.' This song is parodied verse for verse by Lachann Mac Mhic Iain, who gives the other view of the case. 'There's many an earl in Alban in his bed to-night, after filling his belly with sowens, rolling himself often about, if the clamorous jade came near him early or late the reward he would give to the man who played it would be to set the dogs on him. . . . Whatever fool first began to extract music from a skin, it is plain that there was plenty of dreaming and raving in his head.' He compares it to the cackle of geese, and suggests that it would be better to scare horses from the hay with than to stir up a host. As to its use in battle he recalls how the boy who carried Conduili's pipes ran off at Sheriffmuir, and hence he says it is a cowardly instrument. There is also the 'Genealogy of the pipe' (*seanachas sloinnidh na pioba*) by Niall MacMhuirich, who is even less complimentary, calling it 'the instrument that would waken the devils,' and likening it to the 'roaring of a lean cow in spring.'

Such views were of course by no means universally held.

'Sweet to me is the sound of thy pipes,' says Iain Lom to the chief of Glengarry, and Mary MacLeod when away from her native isle remembers the pipes of Mac Crimmon, 'By the side of the sea sad is my cheer; I was once that this was not my wont: but the great sounding pipe, that all music excels, when played by the fingers of Patrick.' The wild sounds of the pipe-music are recalled by the very Gaelic phrases of the bards,—*piob nuallanach mhór*—*piob mhór nan toirn-fheadan*—*piob sgallach nan dos Le ceol caitheamach, bras, luath, eibhinn*. Several of Duncan Ban's poems celebrate the praises of the pipes, being prize poems composed for the meetings of the Highland Society.

When not engaged in fighting or lifting cattle the chief led a life of ease, surrounded by his devoted adherents, who supported his dignity and shared his wealth. Not a few of the chiefs were certainly fairly well-educated, intelligent men, but these features were not those which specially appealed to the bard, though the chief's linguistic powers are sometimes referred to: 'among Gael and stranger where your speech was heard, you had Latin and French and English.' The bard however is more impressed with the state which the chief maintained in the family seat, some curious pictures of which are given by southern travellers of the 17th and 18th centuries. The hall of the chief is the centre of the clan, and the songs constantly refer to the 'white castles,' the 'precious halls,' 'the high turretted towers,' where he dwells, whether in 'Duart of the arches, the high tower where the bards make their gain,' or 'Bunawe, where the travellers come and find there the mirth of the harp.' 'There you raised the comely tower a little way from Loch Lochy. I saw Invergarry merry, joyous, melodious,' says Iain Lom to young Angus of Glengarry; and Mary MacLeod begins one of her laments: 'O God, how sorrowful I am without pleasure or mirth, in the hall where MacLeod used to dwell: a great house, blithe and merry with youths and with maidens, where the clanging of horns was loud. Great and precious thy hall, without watch or ward on it, where I saw them a-drinking the wine.' Of the internal arrangement of these little is said

beyond the weapons that adorned the walls, and the wealth of drinking vessels that strewed the tables. 'There would be candles burning in holders of brass, and thy chambers all lighted with wax,' the latter being a mark of wealth. Every hall is provided in abundance with gold and silver cups (*piosan*; *cupachan*) with drinking horns (*adharc*, *corn*) or bowls (*cuach*, *bola*), the possession of which is one of the stock-epithets of chiefs: 'race of soldiers and heroes, of pennons and plate and white cups': 'no niggardly dwelling, with the gleaming of cups, consuming of wine, and pouring it out into the work of the gold-smith.' Even pewter (*feodar*) is not unseen among the richer metals, and the drinks are various enough for every taste. The more lofty bards do not come below wine (*fiòn*), of which large quantities certainly were consumed, but others, especially Iain Lom, enumerate beer (*beoir*), brandy (*branndaidh*) and whisky (*uisge beatha*), which does not appear so often as one might expect. The chief is 'the man that buys the wine and is able to pay it,' 'the jovial host that can give drink to hundreds,' and judging from the large part which this kind of entertainment plays in the songs, there may be some truth in Macpherson's attribution of the praise of the bards to 'the strength of his cups.' Many a flowing verse records such scenes; 'about the board without sadness or gloom, with drinking and playing, and music sweeter than the cuckoo in May.' The chief was early initiated into this manner of pleasing the clan; 'many a glass did the young fellows of your country get from your hand before you grew up to be higher than my knee.' The results of this hospitality were not always of the best: one bard more honest than his fellows thus describes the retainers of MacLean of Muck: 'there would be draining of cups with the greatest of mirth, and your lads would be joyfully sporting, with plenty of courage in their heads but little wisdom in their speech.' Even in the pathetic lament for the massacre of Glencoe the poet calls the murdered MacDonalds 'drainers of casks' (*luchd a thraghadh nam buideal*), qualifying it by saying that they were not 'beastly' in that respect (*bu neo-bhruideil mu 'n chupan ud sibh*).

Besides drinking, the chief amusements in the hall were playing games of chance or skill (*iomairt*), music, and tale-telling: 'there would be a while at chess, and the sound of the harp, as was fitting to the son of MacLeod: after that a while at the old tale of the Fiann and the white-buttocked antlered herds.' 'When the horizon was darkening harps would be playing, their music not left laid up in them but brought out by the fingers, until you wished to retire to rest. The gamesters would be playing chess in turn, and the chessmen rattling: the noise of cards: Spanish dollars and shillings being paid without grudge.' 'The fleet will come with the wind to the town of heroes, although the straits be white. To the hall of cups where the wine is noisy, where a thousand ships are welcomed. There will be lyre and harp and fair-bosomed women in the tower where chess is played. The sound of pipes and lispig organ; and cups filled to the brim. Wax-lights gleaming all night long, as they listen to the strife of bards.' Such are the pictures of life given by the bards of the 17th century. 'I saw thy board without playing or drinking,' are the words of one, whose chief was dead and his castle in ruins; and again 'the great house where the people gathered, now without drinking or mirth or joy, without feasts consuming on the board,—alas, O Father of storms: without war-song or the strife of strings, without poem recited to the harp, without poet to put on record the exploits of thy clan for ever: without brave men to go in rank, without chess, or horn, or cup, etc.' The delight of the Celt in music is well brought out by the frequency with which it is mentioned. The chief's abode was the paradise of the bard, where he paid for his entertainment by his encomiums, or avenged its neglect by biting satires. He expected everywhere to find patrons like 'MacKenzie of Kintail, that would give to the bards their reward,' and in return spread their fame wherever he went; 'The poets declared of you, as far as their wanderings went, that they never saw a more hospitable face.' How far the chief was always honestly glad to see the bards is a different matter; not a few of them were probably more dreaded than

respected, their satire being a thing to be avoided as far as possible, but naturally nothing of this comes into the songs.

‘When you were tired of musicians, the Bible would be read with true belief of heart as the Son of God commanded, and the teaching of the clergy would be received in peace’; and ‘the Scriptures were read in your hall before rising from table,’ give another side of the picture, probably of rarer occurrence than the former ones, although it is recorded of one chief that he built a church ‘and did not live to slate it.’ Yet it is curious how little of the darker beliefs of the Celt come into these songs: instances from the Bible are not uncommon, but there is hardly a single reference to the popular traditions, beyond those relating to the Fiann, and that generally a comparison of the poet after some great loss to Ossian left behind his fellows. It is once suggested that witchcraft may have had to do with a man’s death, but in general the bard keeps altogether clear of popular beliefs.

The chief was required to be generous in giving as well as hospitable in entertaining; he had to be famous ‘in war and in peace, and in giving of money.’ In order to procure this the chief was not unacquainted with the plan of imposing heavy rents on his tenants, and the bards consider themselves justified in praising one who did not take that course. ‘You were liberal to your gentlemen and for as much money as you spent on them there was no want among your tenantry:’ ‘you are the son of the virtuous chief that did not oppress his people:’ ‘you were the friend of the peasantry, and were not hard on them for their mail; though their money was short you would not refuse them credit:’ ‘it was not the custom of others that you took for your habit, to oppress the tenants for the rents.’ The state of affairs in the Highlands was thus very likely akin to that which the Brehon laws depict as existing in Ireland, where a ‘rack-rent’ was a legitimate imposition. It was however clearly for the interest of the chief to secure the good will of his clan by all possible means, and Celtic patience was considerably elastic when the demands on it were made by the head of the tribe.

In praising the chief the bard delights to speak of the clans

with which he is connected either by supposed community of blood or by friendly ties, and enumerates the various chiefs who would rise to help him in time of trouble. As a matter of fact this willingness to render assistance seems to have been more imaginary than real, as a clan was generally left to fight its own battles as best it could, except where there was expectation of danger in allowing a powerful clan to crush a smaller one. Any encroachment on the territory of a neighbour was regarded with great jealousy by all the surrounding clans, and the Campbells came in for a full share of this odium. Though indications of no friendly feeling between other clans are not wanting, as in *Cabar feidh* or MacDonald's reply to it, or the song on the fight at Mulroy, yet the full measure of clan hatred is reserved for the Argyle men, more especially as so many of the bards were MacDonalds. Iain Lom in particular had a most intense hatred of 'the beasts,' as they are usually called, and was delighted with every one who inflicted injury on them. He is in raptures with Alasdair mac Colla for the way he chased them at Inverlochy. 'If you had had all your warriors, those that escaped would have had to stay. . . . You chased the grey Lowlanders, and the kail they had supped you let it out of them. The claws of the Campbells were on the ground after their sinews were cut. Many a man with hat and periwig and straight slender gun was stretched out in Inverlochy, and the darlings of the Cantyre women were there. Many a naked unclothed body was losing blood from narrow wounds.—You have heard of Gortan Odhar: it is well manured this year for us, not with dung of sheep or goats, but with the frozen blood of Campbells. Perdition seize me if I pity your crying or the distress of your children, or the wailing of the Argyle women lamenting the men that stayed on the battle-field.' He was also greatly pleased with the defeat the Athole men inflicted on them.

When Donald Donn of Bohuntin composed the song in praise of the Campbell piper, he was attacked for it in another song by Gillesbuig of Keppoch, for 'exalting the Campbells; we would much prefer them under our feet; if they would only fight a battle with us in return for our burnt homesteads,

the edges of our swords would make them take the use of their feet.' To the piper, after referring to the colour of his nose, his pock-marked face, and 'the wry seal's mouth of your clan,' he says, 'you belong to a clan of deceivers, cheats, and liars; the head was taken off your arch-traitor.' He wishes he could get State permission for the Campbells and MacDonalds to fight the grudge out man for man; and probably very little encouragement would have been required to bring about another North Inch of Perth.

To oppose the power of the Campbells was however no easy task, and it was great praise to tell a chief that he could hold his own with Mac Cailein, but to say that he could do so against Mac Cailein *plus* someone else was the height of laudation. 'You took Cnoidart and more from him,' says Iain Lom to Angus Og of Glengarry, 'and he did not win Mull till you died.' The desire to see a good hemp rope round Argyle's neck is not unusual; 'it is sad that I am not as I would wish, with the head of Mac Cailein under my arm, softly would I sleep then though the rock were my bed.' Sometimes the bard professes to despise the Campbell power: 'All the Highlands will be bold and bloody in the battle, and although the Campbells come not, we care little for that pack,' occurs in an address to Prince Charles.

MacDonald's reply to *Cabar feidh* contains some biting sarcasms on the MacKenzies. He reminds them of their behaviour at Auldearn, and how little they helped the cause of King Charles. 'The heavens wept, the stars vomited, crying to you not to hurry; you almost ran to Egypt, and if there had been a smooth road you would have gone there.' 'There wasn't a Lot's wife among them for they never looked back.' Much of this may have been only meant as a display of wit, but it was not calculated to foster friendly feelings with the clan so attacked.

Whatever faults and defects these songs may have as poetical compositions, however much in them may be conventional and rhetorical, there is no mistaking the genuine earnestness with which the loss of a chief or kinsman is mourned. 'It was not the strength of men that took you from

us; had it been that, the steel-helmeted warriors would have risen by your side—men like cold, rough tempests, that would take with them what they could find.' A common comparison is that of the clan after the death of its chief to a ship in a storm; 'helm, and sail, and yard, every tackling on the mast one hour has taken from us.' The Clan M'Lean are said to be 'like geese that have been plucked,' and Iain Lom seriously uses this image of himself after the death of Angus Og of Glengarry at Stron-a-chlachain, and goes on, 'I am like Ossian in the house of Patrick. Though I left my father there, I speak not of that, but of the wound the sword made in your loins.' In the lament for Hector Roy MacLean, who fell with 700 followers at Inverkeithing, the bard thinks only of his chief: 'Though it was hard for me to lose the friends that left me that day, it is not them I take account of but my strong surety and thy waste land, O thou that gavest me fortune with untarnished friendship.' 'I ask no more of the world: I would lie with the beetles of the clod in the narrow strait bed, stretched by the side of thy coffin,' says Gilleasbuig dubh of Sir James MacDonald of Sleat, whose son, Sir Donald, Iain Lom also laments: 'I have lost the chiefs of my support, my strong shield and pillar; they dwell in the grave with grass over them. . . . It has choked my joy and pride that beetles are hollowing your side: my choice of jewels is gone 'neath the gravestone,' and the same sentiment recurs in every *cumha* and *marbhrann* from the earliest to the latest. The death of a chief was followed by the wailing of the women, who beat their hands and tore their hair with a Celtic abandonment of grief. 'I left not a hair of my head untorn, nor the white skin on my hands,' says one woman, and the *mnatha caointeach nan luath-bhos* were the constant mourners for a chief's death. A strange custom, which is several times spoken of, is that of drinking the blood of the loved dead: 'They placed his head on an oaken spike and they poured his blood on the ground: if I had had a cup there I had drunk my fill of it' (Lament of Gregor MacGregor's wife). 'I opened the door of your chamber, and it reached the thongs of my shoes, your heart's

blood pouring forth; I had all but drunk my fill of it,' (Lament for Alasdair and Ronald of Képpoch by their sister).

The funeral was conducted with great pomp and dignity. 'If you were brought home dead, the pipes would be sounding and banners waving above your fair corpse.' Many of the western chiefs were buried in Iona, and if any of them was not laid there beside his kin it was considered a cause for sorrow. 'Alas, I am vexed that they did not take you over to the Monks' burying-ground, where your friends are lying, beside your father and grandfather, where we might draw near to your cairn.'

Such is a brief outline of the Highland chief and the surroundings among which he passed his life, so long as the old Celtic customs continued to hold their own beside the new-world fashions that steadily pressed against them, and in this light he comes before us in the songs of the bards. The history of Gaelic civilisation in Scotland is in many respects obscure, both in its origin and development, but any attempt to depict its final phases cannot choose but to draw its most valuable materials from the works of men who lived in it and reflected its spirit most completely.

ART. IV.—THE NORSE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

The Finding of Wineland the Good: The History of the Icelandic Discovery of America. Edited and Translated from the Earliest Records. By ARTHUR MIDDLETON REEVES, with Phototype Plates of the Vellum MSS. of the Sagas. London: 1890.

SOMEHOW American historians are very difficult to persuade that the discovery of the northern part of their continent nearly five centuries before the date of Christopher Columbus by the Norsemen rests upon anything like historical data. The whole of the historical records of the event, which have been

preserved by the fellow-countrymen of the discoverers, they are disposed to set aside, and are unwilling to regard the story they present as little, if any, better than a piece of pure mythology. That their continent might, and may, have been discovered by those venturesome sea-farers, they admit, but the authenticity of the documents which testify that it was, they deny, and maintain that, with a single solitary exception, historical evidence of the fact is entirely wanting.

Many years ago Mr. Bancroft wrote: 'The story of the colonization of America by the Norsemen rests on narratives mythological in form, and obscure in meaning, ancient, yet not contemporary. The intrepid mariners who colonized Greenland could easily have extended their voyages to Labrador, and have explored the coasts to the south of it. No clear historic evidence establishes the natural probability that they accomplished the passage, and no vestige of their presence on our continent has been found.' Mr. Winsor, the latest historian of America, practically repeats this opinion. 'The extremely probable and almost necessary pre-Columban knowledge of the north-eastern parts of America follows,' he writes, 'from the venturesome spirit of the mariners of those seas for fish and traffic, and from the easy transitions from coast to coast by which they would have been lured to meet the more southerly climes. The chances from such natural causes are quite as strong an argument in favour of the early Northmen venturings as the somewhat questionable representations of the Sagas.' Elsewhere in this connection, he remarks: 'Everywhere else where the Northmen went, they left proofs of this occupation on the soil, but nowhere in America, except on an island on the east shore of Baffin's Bay, has any authentic runic inscription been found outside of Greenland,'* And speaking of the records themselves, he says: 'In regard to the credibility of the Sagas, the northern writers recognize the change which came over the oral traditional chronicles when the romancing spirit was introduced from the more southern countries, at a time

* Vol. I. pp. 66, 67.

while the copies of the Sagas which we now have were making, after having been for so long a time orally handed down; but they are not so successful in making plain what influence this imported spirit had on particular Sagas, which we are asked to receive as historical records.*

These passages not only bear out what has been said above; they show that their authors confuse colonization with discovery, and refuse to believe in the credibility of the Icelandic records, mainly, if not entirely, because of the absence in America of runic inscriptions and other archæological remains, which it is supposed the discoverers ought to have left behind them. But the rigid application of the test here suggested would, as Mr. Reeves remarks, render the discovery of Iceland itself problematical. Discovery, moreover, is not necessarily followed by colonization; nor is there any statement in the Icelandic records to the effect that the Northmen founded a permanent colony on the American Continent. These records do indeed tell how an attempt was made to found one, but they tell also how the attempt came to grief and was finally abandoned. The main facts to which they bear witness are that about the year 1000 North America was accidentally discovered by the Northmen, that several voyages were made to it, and that after a series of sad experiences, the thought of making a permanent settlement there was entirely given up.

It is to the question of the credibility of these records that the handsome volume which we have noted above, is mainly devoted. Mr. Reeves accepts them as beyond doubt authentic, and has brought together such an array of evidence in support of his opinion, that it will be well nigh impossible for any one who will take the trouble to go over them carefully, to differ from him or to regard the discovery of the North American continent by the Northmen as anything else than established on a firm historical basis. The work is one of admirable scholarship and great learning. Besides reproducing the texts of the three Sagas in which the story of the discovery is nar-

* Vol. I. p. 87.

rated and doing for them almost all that modern scholarship can, he has gathered together the various references to America and its discovery which are scattered up and down in the early literature of Iceland, noted their inconsistencies and agreement and made such discriminations in the material as the facts of the case seem to warrant. One thing he has not done. He has not, like Rafn, to whom we owe the original publication of the material, encumbered his pages with dubious theories or hazardous conjectures. Beyond such historical and other notes as are requisite for the understanding of the texts and the relations of the manuscripts to each other, he has left the records to speak for themselves.

In the following pages it is impossible to follow Mr. Reeves through all the minute details of his argument; all we shall attempt is a mere outline. On essential points we are of course at one with him, but on some points of detail we are not.

The oldest surviving manuscript in which any mention is made of America or of Wineland the Good, as the most southern part reached by the Icelandic discoverers is called, was written about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The discovery was made about the year 1000. Three centuries is a long time, and quite sufficient to allow of the growth of legend. But whatever legendary matter may have been incorporated into the Sagas, there is abundant evidence that the discovery and the principal facts connected with it were well known in Greenland and Iceland long before our present manuscripts were written. There is documentary evidence reaching as far back as about the year 1110.

Wineland the Good is first mentioned in Icelandic literature by Ari Thorgilsson, or Ari the Learned, as he is commonly called. He was born in Iceland in 1067, of a noble family sprung from the celebrated Queen Aud, and King Olaf the White, from whom he was eighth in descent, and died at the ripe age of eighty one. He was also called Ari the Historian, and sometimes, in order to distinguish him from another of the same name, Ari the Elder. Wineland the Good could scarcely have been mentioned in Icelandic literature earlier, for Ari is

the father of Icelandic historiography. Snorri, the author of *Heimskringla*, says of him: 'He was the first of men here in the land [*i.e.* Iceland] to write ancient and modern lore in the northern tongue; he wrote chiefly in the beginning of his book concerning Iceland's colonisation and legislation, then of the law-speakers, how long each was in office, down to the introduction of Christianity into Iceland [A.D. 1000], and then on to his own day. Therein he also treats of much other old lore, both of the lives of the kings of Norway and Denmark, as well as of those of England, as likewise of the important events which have befallen here in the land, and all of his narratives seem to me most trustworthy.' He then goes on to tell how Ari was reared and educated, and whence he obtained much of his information. When he was seven years old, he says, he came to Haukadale to Hal Thorarinson, and was there fourteen years. Hal Thorarinson, who died in 1089 at the advanced age of 92, is described as a man of great knowledge and excellent memory, who 'could even remember being baptized when he was three years old by the priest Thangbrand, the year Christianity was established in Iceland by law.' Ari's teacher was Teit, son of Isleif, the first bishop of Iceland, 'who gave him information about many circumstances which he afterwards wrote down.' 'Ari also,' Snorri continues, 'got many a piece of information from Thurid, a daughter of the Godi Snorri. She was wise and intelligent, and remembered her father Snorri, who was nearly thirty-five years of age when Christianity was introduced into Iceland, and died a year after King Olaf the Saint's fall.'* 'It is not strange, therefore,' he concludes, 'that Ari should have been well informed in the ancient lore, both here and abroad, since he had both acquired it from old and wise men, and was himself eager to learn and was gifted with a good memory.' Ari, therefore, though not born until 67 years after the discovery of Wineland the Good, was acquainted with those who were alive at the time the event happened, was on

* The priest Snorri was born 964 and died 1031.

familiar terms with them, and had every opportunity of ascertaining the truth about it.

The references to the country in the works ascribed to him, and of which he was either the sole or joint author, are four. All of them are of the briefest. He neither gives an account of its discovery nor describes the country. His references to it are merely incidental and illustrative of what he is saying. In the *Landnámabók*, which according to Dr. Vigfusson was written about the year 1110 and not later than 1120, he says, when treating of the adventure of Ari Marsson: 'Their * son was Ari. He was driven out of his course at sea to Whitemen's Land, which is called by some persons Ireland the Great; it lies westward in the sea near Wineland the Good; it is said to be six "dœgra" sail west of Ireland; Ari could not depart thence, and was baptized there. The first account of this was given by Rafn, who sailed to Limerick, and remained for a long time at Limerick in Ireland. So Thorkel Geitisson stated that Icelanders report, who have heard Thorfinn, Earl of the Orkneys, say that Ari had been recognised there, and was not permitted to leave, but was treated with great respect there.† There is no difficulty in identifying Ari Marsson and his family, but Whitemen's Land is still an enigma, and particulars which might serve to throw light on the narrative or to aid in determining whence Rafn and Earl Thorfinn derived their intelligence, are lacking. Still the fact remains that here in Ari the Historian's earliest work, 'Wineland the Good,' is distinctly referred to. It is mentioned again in the same work in a list of the descendants of Snorri Head-Thordsson, where it is said that the son of Snorri Head-Thordsson and Thorhild Ptar-migan was 'Thord Horsehead, father of Karlsefni, who found Wineland the Good.' In the *Kristni Saga*, which is regarded as a sort of supplement to the *Landnámabók*, we have the following words: 'That summer King Olaf [Tryggvason] went from the country southward to Vinland [the land of the

* Mar of Reykholar and Thorkatla.

† Book 2, Chap. 22.

Wends]; then, moreover, he sent Leif Ericsson to Greenland to proclaim the faith there. On this voyage Leif found Wineland the Good: he also found men on a wreck at sea, wherefore he was called Leif the Lucky.'

But, perhaps, the most important of Ari's references to Wineland the Good occurs in his *Libellus*, a work which he prepared as a sort of abridged and revised edition of his *Islendingabók*. The original work which he calls the *Liber*, was written about 1127, but is now lost. The *Libellus*, which is also known as the *Islendingabók*, was written in the days when Rafn was Lawman, 1135-9, and has survived. In the preface to it he says: 'I first composed an *Islendingabók* for our Bishops Thorlak and Ketil and showed it to them, as well as to Sæmund the Priest. And forasmuch as they were pleased [either] to have it thus, or augmented, I accordingly wrote this similar in character with the exception of the Genealogy and Lives of the Kings, and have added that of which I have since acquired closer knowledge and which is now more accurately set forth in this [the revision] than in that' [the original work]. Of this work the parchment MS. is lost, but at the end of one of the two oldest paper copies of it, known as 113 *a* fol. of the Arna-Magnæan Collection in the University Library, at Copenhagen, the scribe, John Erlendson, who is known to have made transcripts of many Sagas for Bishop Bryniolf and in all probability made this for him, has written: 'These "Schedæ" and narratives of the priest Ari the Learned, are copied from a vellum in his own hand, as men believe, at Viltingaholt, by the priest John Erlendson, Anno Domini 1651, the next Monday after the third Sunday after Easter.' The other paper copy, known as 113 *b* fol., is in the same hand. Both were obtained in Iceland by Arni Magnusson when he visited it between 1702 and 1712, and in the MS. 113 *b* he has inserted the following memorandum:

'The various different readings noted here throughout in my hand are taken from another copy [113 *a*] written by the Rev. John Erlendson in 1651. This was formerly the property of the Rev. Torfi Jonsson of Bear, who inherited it from Bishop Bryniolf Sveinsson. I obtained it, however, from Thorlak, son of Bishop Thord; it formed originally a portion of a

large book, which I took apart, separating the treatises. This copy I have called "Codex B.," signifying either "Baiensis" or the second, from the order of the letters of the alphabet. Concerning "Codex B" it is my conjecture that the Rev. John copied it first from the vellum, that Bishop Bryniolf did not like the copy [on account of its inaccuracy] . . . wherefore the Rev. John made a new copy of the parchment manuscript, taking greater care to follow the original literally, whence it is probable that this Codex A was both the later and the better copy.'

The two codices were written it is believed in the same year. Each of them contains the reference to Wineland and the paragraphs in which it occurs are almost identical, the Icelandic name in A being spelt Winland and in B Vinland, a difference of not the slightest significance. The paragraph which in Ari's history is number six, is as follows: 'That country which is called Greenland, was discovered and colonised from Iceland. Eric the Red was the name of the man, an inhabitant of Broadfirth, who went out thither from there, and settled at that place which has since been called Eric'sfirth. He gave a name to the country, and called it Greenland, and said that it must persuade men to go thither, if the land had a good name. They found there, both east and west in the country, the dwellings of men, and fragments of boats, and stone implements, such that it may be perceived from these, that that manner of people had been there who inhabited Wineland, and whom the Greenlanders call Skrellings. And this, when he set about the colonisation of the country, was fourteen or fifteen winters before the introduction of Christianity here in Iceland, according to that which a certain man who himself accompanied Eric the Red thither, informed Thorkel Gellisson.'

For the matter in hand this mention of Wineland is of the greatest importance. It occurs in two copies of a manuscript believed to be from Ari's own hand. It occurs too in his *Libellus* or revised version of the now lost *Islendingabók*, and contains his latest word. But its greatest value is not in what it says, but, as Mr. Reeves has pointed out, in what it leaves unsaid. 'For,' to use the words of Mr. Reeves, 'had Ari not known that his reference to Wineland and its inhabitants would be entirely intelligible to his readers, he would hardly

have employed it, as he does, to inform his *Greenland Chronicle*. The passing notice, therefore, indicates a general diffusion of the knowledge of the Wineland discoveries among Ari's contemporaries at the time when the paragraph was composed' (p. 10). Next to taking part in the discoveries and being contemporary with them, Ari, in fact, occupied the best position possible for ascertaining the truth about them, and is one of the best witnesses we can have. His character for truthfulness, wisdom, and good memory is admitted on all hands. Most of his time was spent in perfecting his knowledge. He was acquainted with those who were living at the time the discoveries were made. He believed in the discoveries himself, and he believed that his countrymen believed in them, and the way in which he speaks of them is explicable only on the ground of their being matters of public notoriety. That they rest on historical data, and that the documents in which they are recorded are credible and authentic are facts which seem to us to be beyond question, and which only a perverse scepticism can refuse to accept.

Ari's writings, however, are not the only pieces of Icelandic literature, outside the Sagas narrating the discovery, in which mention is made of Wineland. It is mentioned in a very beautiful manuscript, known as the Friis Book, and also as the Book of Kings. According to Dr. Gustav Storm it was written about the year 1300, but according to Dr. Vigfusson as early as 1260-80. If either date be correct, it is considerably older than Hauk's Book, the earliest manuscript mentioning Wineland, of whose date there is any certain knowledge. Its words (col. 136, p. 34, *b*) are:—

'Wineland the Good found. Leif, a son of Eric the Red, passed this same winter in good repute with King Olaf and accepted Christianity. And that summer [the summer of the year 1000] when Gizur went to Iceland, King Olaf sent Leif to Greenland to proclaim Christianity there. He sailed that summer to Greenland. He found in the sea men upon a wreck and helped them. Then found he also Wineland the Good, and arrived in the autumn at Greenland. He took with him a priest and other spiritual teachers, and went to make his home at Brattahild with Eric his father. People afterwards called him Leif the Lucky. But Eric his father said that one account should balance the other, that Leif had rescued the

ship's crew at sea, and this that he had brought the trickster to Greenland. This was the priest.'

Almost identical with this is the history of the discovery in the so-called longer Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, occurring in a manuscript dating from about the year 1400. The passage is as follows:—

'King Olaf then * sent Leif Ericsson to Greenland to proclaim Christianity there. The king sent a priest and other laymen with him to baptize the people there, and to instruct them in the true faith. Leif sailed that summer to Greenland. He rescued a ship's crew at sea who were in great peril and were clinging to the shattered wreckage of the ship, and on this same voyage he found Wineland the Good, and at the end of the summer arrived in Greenland and went to make his home at Brattabild with Eric his father. People afterwards called him Leif the Lucky. But his father Eric said that the one [deed] offset the other, in that Leif had, on the one hand, rescued and given life to the men of the ship's crew, and on the other, had brought the trickster to Greenland, for thus he called the priest.'

In the *Collectanea of Middle-age Wisdom*, known as No. 194, 8vo, of the *Arna-Magnæan Library*, a manuscript written partly in Icelandic and partly in Latin between the years 1400-1450, occurs the following:—

'Southward from Greenland is Helluland, then is Markland; thence it is not far to Wineland the Good, which some men believe extends from Africa, and, if this be so, then there is an open sea flowing in between Wineland and Markland. It is said that Thorfinn Karlsefni hewed a house-neat-timber, and then went to seek Wineland the Good, and came to where they believed this land to be, but they did not succeed in exploring it, or in obtaining any of its products. Leif the Lucky first found Wineland, and he then found merchants at sea in evil plight, and restored them to life by God's mercy; and he introduced Christianity into Greenland, which waxed there, so that an Episcopal seat was established there, at the place called Gardar. England and Scotland are one island, although each of them is a kingdom. Ireland is a great island. Iceland is also a great island [to the north of] Ireland. These countries are all in that part of the world which is called Europe.'

The same position is assigned to Wineland in vellum fragment, AM., No. 736, 4to. 'From Greenland to the southward,'

* The summer of the year 1000, when, according to the same paragraph, he sent Gizur and Hjalti to Iceland on a similar mission.

it is said, 'lies Helluland, then Markland; thence it is not far to Wineland, which some men believe extends from Africa.' So again in another vellum fragment, containing a 'brief description of the whole world,' and probably written about the year 1400, it is said: 'From Biarmaland uninhabited regions extend from the north, until Greenland joins them. South from Greenland lies Helluland, then Markland. Thence it is not far to Wineland. Iceland is a great island,' etc. The *Eyrbyggja Saga*, the oldest manuscript, remains of which date back to about the year 1300, while the most complete extant vellum of it was probably written some fifty years later, has the following:—

'After the reconciliation between Steinthor and the people of Alfta-firth, Thorbrand's sons, Snorri and Thorleif Kimbi, went to Greenland. From him [Thorleif Kimbi] Kimbafirth [in Greenland] gets its name. Thorleif Kimbi lived in Greenland to old age. But Snorri went to Wineland the Good with Karlsefni; and when they were fighting with the Skrellings there in Wineland, Thorbrand Snorrason, a most valiant man, was killed.'

Mention is also made of Wineland in the Icelandic Annals. These are lists of notable events which happened in and out of Iceland. The oldest of them is supposed to have been written in the south of Iceland about the year 1280, though the oldest annalist known is a priest named Einar Hafidason, who was born in 1307 and died in 1393. His work is contained in the parchment manuscript, AM. 420 *b*, 4to, which has received the name, *Lawman's Annals*. Under the year 1121 it has the entry, 'Bishop Eric Uppsi sought Wineland.' A similar entry is found under the same year in the Annals written by the priest Magnus Thorhallsson, and appended to the *Flatey Book* in the so-called *Annales Reseniani*, in those known as the *Annales Regii*, in the Annals of Henrik Höyer, and in the *Gottskalk Annals*. For what purpose the Bishop undertook the voyage, what was its result, or whether he ever returned, is unknown. Mr. Reeves puts all that can be fairly inferred from the brief notices of the Annals and the information which may be gleaned elsewhere when he says:

'It seems altogether probable that he was the "Greenlanders' Bishop Eric Gnuþ's son" mentioned in a genealogical list in *Landnáma*, and

it is clear that if this be the same Eric, he was by birth an Icelander. This view is in a slight measure confirmed by an entry in the Lawman's Annals under the year 1112 [in the Annals of the Flatey Book under the year 1113] wherein the journey of Bishop Eric is recorded, a "journey" presumably undertaken away from Iceland, and probably to Greenland. In the ancient Icelandic scientific work called Rimbegla, in a list of those men who had been bishops at Gardar, the Episcopal seat in Greenland, Eric heads the list, while in a similar list of Greenland bishops in the Flatey Book, Eric's name is mentioned third. No record of Bishop Eric's ordination has been preserved, and none of his fate, unless indeed it be written in the brief memorial of his Wineland voyage.' 'It has been conjectured,' he continues, 'that this voyage to Wineland was undertaken as a missionary enterprise, a speculation which seems to have been suggested solely by the ecclesiastical office of the chief participant. It has been further conjectured, since we read in the Annals of the ordination of a new bishop for Greenland in 1124, that Eric must have perished in the undertaking. The date of his death is nowhere given, and it is possible that the entry in the Annals under the year 1121 is a species of necrological record. It is, in any event, the last surviving mention of Wineland the Good in the elder Icelandic literature,' (p. 84).

In the Elder Skáholt Annals, however, in which there is a lacuna covering the year 1121, and which is believed to have been written about the year 1362, against the year 1347, there is the following entry: 'There came also a ship from Greenland, less in size than small Icelandic trading vessels. It came into the outer Stream-firth. It was without an anchor. There were seventeen men on board, and they had sailed to Markland, but had afterwards been driven hither by storms at sea.' The incident is also recorded in the Annals of Gottskalk and in those of the Flatey Book under the same year. But while the former simply says: 'A ship from Greenland came into the mouth of the Stream-firth,' the latter have the more particular record: 'A ship came there from Greenland which had sailed to Markland, and there were eighteen men on board.' Markland, it will be remembered, is said to lie north of Wineland the Good, and to be not far from it. Referring to these entries in the Icelandic Annals Mr. Reeves remarks:

'This scanty record is the last historical mention of a voyage undertaken by Leif's fellow-countrymen to a part of the land which he had discovered three hundred years before. The nature of the information indicates that the knowledge of the discovery had not altogether faded from the memories

of the Icelanders settled in Greenland. It seems further to lend a measure of plausibility to a theory that people from the Greenland colony may, from time to time, have visited the coast to the south-west of their home for supplies of wood, or for some kindred purpose. The visitors in this case had evidently intended to return directly from Markland to Greenland, and had they not been driven out of their course to Iceland the probability is that this voyage would never have found mention in Icelandic chronicles, and all knowledge of it must have vanished as completely as did the colony to which the Markland visitors belonged,' (p. 83).

So far we have dealt with what may be called purely historical references to the Norse discovery of America. These go back to about the year 1110. The earliest of them were written by one who has given abundant evidence of his truthfulness, and who, moreover, was acquainted with the contemporaries of the discoverers. His references to the discovery also are such as to show that among his countrymen the knowledge of it was widely diffused. And the facts which have hitherto come out are that the Continent was accidentally discovered by Leif Ericsson about the year 1000 while voyaging from Norway to Greenland, that it was known at three points, viz., Helluland, Markland, and Wineland the Good, and that the people inhabiting the last, the most southern point reached, were similar to those of whom Leif's father, Eric the Red, found traces in Greenland when he first discovered it.

The Sagas which narrate the voyage of the discoverers, and their attempts at colonisation, carry us further. They differ among themselves in several particulars, but on the main facts they agree. In all essential particulars they are in perfect agreement with the facts already adduced; and the fuller information they contain is, to use the words of Mr. Reeves, 'of such a character that it is natural to suppose that it was derived from the statements of those who had themselves visited the lands described; it is not conceivable from what other source it could have been obtained, and, except its author was gifted with unparalleled prescience, it could not have been a fabrication' (p. 4).

The sagas referred to are in all three. They divide themselves into two classes. In the first are the sagas of Eric the

Red and of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Snorri Thorbrandsson; in the other is the saga of Eric the Red contained in the Flatey Book. The two first are substantially the same and may be regarded as different versions of one and the same saga. That of the Flatey Book is different. The heroine of the other two, and the fortunes of her family, are unknown to it, a totally false account is given of her when she is introduced in quite a subordinate position, and her place is taken by a heroine of a different type. Other points of difference occur, as will be seen further on. The two sagas mentioned first are said by Dr. Vigfusson to have originated in the west of Iceland, and that of the Flatey Book in the north.* The Western saga of Eric the Red is found in the vellum codex known as Number 557, 4to, of the Arna-Magnæan Collection. The vellum itself is not older than the beginning of the fifteenth century. But that the saga itself is older there can be no doubt. The other version of it is found in Hauk's Book with the title 'the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Snorri Thorbrandsson.' The title, however, is not contemporary with the manuscript, but was inserted in the place left vacant for the title by Arni Magnusson. The manuscript is named after its first owner, Hauk Erlendson, for whom it was doubtless written, and who himself took part in the labour of its preparation. He is first mentioned in the year 1294 in connection with his appointment as lawman, and died in the year 1334. From data given in the genealogy appended to the saga, and in which Hauk traces his own ancestry to Karlsefni's Wineland-born son, Mr. Reeves has shown that the manuscript could not have been written earlier than 1299. It could not have been written later than 1334, as Hauk died in that year. Probably it was written about the year 1330. At any rate it is considerably older than AM. 557, 4to, in which the saga of Eric the Red occurs. Speaking of the relations of the two Mr. Reeves observes:

'That both Sagas were copied from the same volume is by no means certain; if both manuscripts be judged strictly by their contents it becomes

* Prolegomena, p. 50.

at once apparent this could not have been the fact, and such a conjecture is only tenable upon the theory that the scribes of Hauk's Book edited the Saga which they copied. This, while it is very doubtful in the case of the body of the text of the Hauk's Book Saga of Thorfinn may not even be conjectured of the Saga of Eric the Red. The latter saga was undoubtedly a literal copy from the original, for there are certain minor confusions of the text, which indicate, unmistakably, either the heedlessness of the copyist, or that the scribe was working from a somewhat illegible original whose defects he was not at pains to supply. If both sagas were copied from different early vellums, the simpler language of the Saga of Eric the Red would seem to indicate that it was a transcript of a somewhat earlier form of the saga than that from which the Saga of Hauk's Book was derived. This, however, is entirely conjectural, for the codex containing the Saga of Eric the Red was not written for many years after Hauk's Book, and probably not until the following century. So much the orthography and hand of 557, 4to, indicate, and, from the application of this test, the codex has been determined to date from the fifteenth century, and has been ascribed by very eminent authority to *ca.* 1400' (p. 24).

It does not follow, however, that the text of A.M. 557 is not older than that of Hauk's Book. The probability is that it is. Anyhow it is to be preferred, 'because,' as Dr. Vigfusson points out, 'it has preserved a certain charm of style and beauty of diction which, though the difference sometimes consists merely in the arrangement of words, is not found in the somewhat wooden stiffness of the sister text.'* The same learned authority, when referring elsewhere to these texts, remarks: 'This Saga presents the unique phenomena of two entirely different versions, which though corresponding on the whole, are both separately derived from oral tradition.'† And in the same place he subsequently observes: 'The correspondence of these distinct versions throws great light on the vitality and faithfulness of tradition, and is a strong confirmation of the credibility in main points of a Saga which is especially important for historic reasons.' When the Saga was first written down is not known. This much, however, is clear, it must have been committed to writing considerably before the transcripts in Hauk's Book were made, that is earlier than the end of the thirteenth century.

* *Icelandic Reader*, p. 377.

† *Prolegomena*, p. lix.

The Flatey Book in which the remaining text of the Saga is found, is a huge encyclopædia of Northern history. 'It is the biggest of Icelandic MSS.,' Dr. Vigfusson writes, 'and comparable to such giants as the Vernon MS.; the printed version takes no less than 1,700 packed pages of 39 lines. It was written in the fourteenth century at Wide-dals-tunga, not far from Thingore, which had no doubt a goodly library capable of affording materials to its scribes.*' John Haconsson, for whom it was written by John Thordsson and Magnus Thorhallsson, was born in 1350 and is last mentioned in 1398. The manuscript is notable among other things as the only Icelandic manuscript which possesses a title page. In this is given its early history and contents. Singularly enough its narrative of the discovery of America is split up into two parts, separated from each other by over fifty columns of extraneous historical matter. The first is called 'A Short Story of Eric the Red,' and the second 'A Short Story of the Greenlanders.' The original manuscripts of these narratives have, like all the other originals from which the transcripts in the Flatey Book were made, entirely disappeared.†

The pages of these manuscripts in which the story of the discovery of America is related, have all been beautifully photographed by Mr. Reeves, and on the opposite pages of his volume he has printed them out in full, and normalised their spelling. For some reason, however, probably because the manuscript is the older, he has placed the text of Hauk's Book, *Karlsefni Saga*, first, and that of AM. 557, second. In our opinion their position should be reversed. In the same way he has preferred the text of Hauk's Book for his translation, and has given the different readings of the sister text at the foot of the pages. As the simpler, better, and probably older text, it seems to us that AM. 557 should have been preferred. In many places, indeed, Mr. Reeves has substituted its readings for those of Hauk's Book.

In attempting to give an account of the contents of the Sagas, we shall avail ourselves of Mr. Reeves' excellent trans-

* *Icelandic Sagas*, Vol. I., p. xxv.

† *Loc. cit.*

lation. Here and there we may substitute the readings of AM. 557. For the present we shall leave the account given in the Flatey Book, which has been followed by Mr. Du Chaillu,* aside, and return to it later on. As already said, the texts of the two Sagas of Eric the Red and Thorfinn Karlsefni are substantially the same. They contain much other matter than that relating to Wineland the Good. Parts of it, as for instance the story of Gudrid, the heroine, the admirable picture of the old Sibyl, and many other passages, are of the greatest interest. But over these we must pass, referring the reader to Mr. Reeves' volume. Our object is to bring out the additional information the Sagas contain respecting the discovery of America.

As in the historical fragments, the discovery is attributed to Leif, the son of Eric the Red, the discoverer of Greenland. The narrative is as follows:—

'Leif had sailed to Norway, where he was at the Court of King Olaf Tryggvason. When Leif sailed from Greenland, in the summer† they were driven out of their course to the Hebrides. It was late before they got fair winds thence, and they remained there far into the summer. . . . Leif and his companions sailed away from the Hebrides, and arrived in Norway in the autumn. Leif went to the Court of King Olaf Tryggvason. He was well received by the King, who felt that he could see that Leif was a man of great accomplishments. Upon one occasion the king came to speech with Leif, and asks him, 'Is it thy purpose to sail to Greenland in the summer?' 'It is my purpose,' said Leif, 'if it be your will.' 'I believe it will be well,' answers the king, 'and thither thou shalt go upon my errand, to proclaim Christianity there.' Leif replied that the king should decide, but gave it as his belief, that it would be difficult to carry this mission to a successful issue in Greenland. The king replied that he knew of no man who would be better fitted for this undertaking, 'and in thy hands the cause will surely prosper.' 'This can only be,' said Leif, 'if I enjoy the favour of your protection.' Leif put to sea when his ship was ready for the voyage. For a long time he was tossed about on the ocean, and came upon lands of which he had previously no knowledge. There were self-sown wheat fields and vines growing there. There were also those trees which are called 'mansur,‡' and of all these they took specimens; some of the timbers were so large that they were used

* *The Viking Age*, Vol. II. p. 519.

† The summer of the year 999.

‡ A kind of wood unknown, but supposed to be maple.

in building. Leif found men upon a wreck, and took them home with him, and procured quarters for them all through the winter. In this wise he shewed his nobleness and goodness, since he introduced Christianity into the country and saved the men from the wreck, and he was called Leif the Lucky ever after (pp. 35-36).

The news of Leif's discovery soon spread. Men began to talk about it, and an expedition was fitted out to explore the country.

'The leader of this expedition was Thorstein Ericsson,* who was a good man and an intelligent, and blessed with many friends. Eric was likewise invited to join them, for the men believed that his luck and foresight would be of great furtherance. He was slow in deciding, but did not say nay, when his friends besought him to go. They thereupon equipped that ship in which Thorbiorn had come out, and twenty men were selected for the expedition. They took little cargo with them and mostly weapons and provisions. On that morning when Eric set out from his home he took with him a little chest containing gold and silver; he hid his treasure and then went his way. He had proceeded but a short distance, however, when he fell from his horse and broke his ribs and dislocated his shoulder, whereat he cried, Ai, ai! By reason of this accident he sent his wife word that she should procure the treasure which he had concealed, for to the hiding of his treasure he attributed his misfortune. Therefore they sailed cheerily out of Eric's firth in high spirits over their plan. They were long tossed about upon the ocean, and could not lay the course they wished. They came in sight of Iceland, and likewise saw birds from the Irish coast. Their ship was, in sooth, driven hither and thither over the sea. In the autumn they turned back, worn out by toil, and exposure to the elements, and exhausted by their labours, and arrived at Eric's firth at the very beginning of winter (p. 37).'

Next the Saga tells of the marriage of Thorstein to Gudrid, and after a description of the coming of Karlsefni and Snorri, and of Karlsefni's marriage to Gudrid after the death of Thorstein, we have the following account of Karlsefni's adventurous voyage.

At this time † there now began to be much talk at Bratahild, ‡ to the effect that Wineland the Good should be explored, for, it was said, that country must be possessed of many good qualities. And so it came to pass that Karlsefni and Snorri fitted out their ships, for the purpose of going in

* Leif's brother.

† Probably A. D. 1002.

‡ Eric's home in Greenland.

search of that country in the spring.* Biarni and Thorhall joined the expedition with their ship, and the men who had borne them company. There was a man named Thorvard; he was wedded to Freydis,† a natural daughter of Eric the Red. He also accompanied them, together with Thorvald, Eric's son, and Thorhall, who was called the Huntsman. He had been for a long time with Eric as his hunter and fisherman during the summer, and as his steward during the winter. Thorhall was stout and swarthy, and of giant stature; he was a man of few words, though given to abusive language when he did speak, and he ever incited Eric to evil. He was a poor Christian; he had a wide knowledge of the unsettled regions. He was on the same ship with Thorvard and Thorvald. They had that ship which Thorbiorn had brought out. They had in all one hundred and sixty men, when they sailed to the Western settlement and thence to Bear Island. Thence they bore away to the southward two "dœgr."‡ Then they saw land, and launched a boat, and explored the land, and found there large flat stones [*hellur*], and many of these were twelve ells wide; there were many Arctic foxes there. They gave a name to the country, and called it Helluland [Flatstoneland]. Then they sailed with northerly winds two "dœgr," and land then lay before them, and upon it was a great wood and many wild beasts; an island lay off the land to the south-east, and there they found a bear, and they called this Biarney [Bear Island], while the land where the wood was they called Markland [Forestland]. Thence they sailed southward along the land for a long time, and came to a cape; the land lay upon the starboard; there were long strands and sandy banks there. They rowed to the land and found upon the cape there the keel of a ship and they called it there Kialarnes [Keelness]; they also called the strands Furdustrandir [Wonder-strands], because they were so long to sail by. Then the country became indented with bays, and they steered their ships into a bay. It was when Leif was with King Olaf Tryggvason, and he bade him proclaim Christianity to Greenland, that the King gave him two Gaels; § the man's name was Haki, and the woman's Hækia. The King advised Leif to have recourse to these people, if he should stand in need of fleetness, for they were swifter than deer. Eric and Leif had tendered Karlsefni the services of this couple. Now when they had sailed past Wonder-strands, they put the Gaels ashore, and directed them to run to the southward, and investigate the nature of the country, and return again before the end of the third half day. They were

* Probably of the year 1003.

† As will be seen further on she accompanied the expedition.

‡ One dœgr is twelve hours.

§ Literally, Scottish (Skotzka), but used indifferently of Lowlanders and Highlanders, also of the Irish. The names as well as description of the dress of the two spoken of in the text would seem to indicate that they were Celts, and that their dress was strange to the Icelanders.

each clad in a garment, which they called 'Kiafal,' which was so fashioned that it had a hood at the top, was open at the sides, was sleeveless, and was fastened between the legs with buttons and loops, while elsewhere they were naked. Karlsefni and his companions cast anchor, and lay there during their absence; and when they came again, one of them carried a bunch of grapes,* and the other an ear of new-sown wheat. They went on board the ship, whereupon Karlsefni and his followers held on their way, until they came to where the coast was indented with bays. They stood into a bay with their ships. There was an island out at the mouth of the bay, about which there were strong currents, wherefore they called it Straumey [Stream Isle]. There were so many birds there, that it was scarcely possible to step between the eggs. They sailed through the firth, and called it Straumfird [Streamfirth], and carried their cargoes ashore from the ships, and established themselves there. They had brought with them all kinds of live-stock. It was a fine country there. There were mountains thereabouts. They occupied themselves exclusively with the exploration of the country. They remained there during the winter, and they had taken no thought for this during the summer. The fishing began to fail, and they began to fall short of food. Then Thorhall the Huntsman disappeared. They had already prayed to God for food, but it did not come as promptly as their necessities seemed to demand. They searched for Thorhall for three half days, and found him on a projecting crag. He was lying there, and looking up at the sky with mouth and nostrils agape, and mumbling something. They asked him why he had gone thither; he replied, that this did not concern anyone. They asked him then to go home with them, and he did so. Soon after this a whale appeared there, and they captured it, and flensed it, and no one could tell what manner of whale it was; and when the cooks had prepared it, they ate of it, and were all made ill by it. Then Thorhall, approaching them, says: "Did not the Red Beard [*i.e.* Thor] prove more helpful than your Christ? This is my reward for the verses which I composed to Thor, the Trustworthy; seldom has he failed me." When the people heard this, they cast the whale down into the sea, and made their appeals to God. The weather then improved, and they could now row out to fish, and thenceforward they had no lack of provisions, for they could hunt game on the land, gather eggs on the island, and catch fish from the sea.'

During the winter the adventurers became divided in counsel. Thorhall wished to sail northward beyond Wonder-strands. Karlsefni, on the other hand, desired to sail south. When the season arrived, Thorhall and nine men sailed away to the

* A.M. 557 reads *vin-ker*, a wine-vessel, evidently a clerical error for *vin-ber*, grapes. 'This incident shows at least,' Dr. Vigfusson remarks, 'that they reached south of the St. Lawrence.'

north beyond Wonder-Strands and Keelness, and encountering easterly gales, were driven ashore in Ireland where they were thrown into slavery, and Thorhall lost his life 'according to that which traders have related.' Karlsefni cruised southward off the coast with Snorri and Biarni and their people. At last they came to 'a river which flowed from the land into a lake, and so into the sea.' The mouth of the river was impeded by 'great bars,' and could be entered only at the height of the flood-tide.

'Karlsefni and his men sailed into the mouth of the river and called it there Hóp. They found self-sown wheat fields on the land there, wherever there were hollows, and wherever there was hilly ground, there were vines. Every brook there was full of fish. They dug pits, on the shore where the tide rose highest, and when the tide fell, there were halibut in the pits. There were great numbers of wild animals of all kinds in the woods. They remained there half a month and enjoyed themselves, and kept no watch. They had their live-stock with them. Now one morning early, when they looked about them, they saw a great number of skin-canoes, and staves were brandished from the boats, with a noise like flails, and they were revolved in the same direction in which the sun moves. Then said Karlsefni: 'What may this betoken?' Snorri, Thorbrand's son, answers him: 'It may be, that this is a signal of peace, wherefore let us take a white shield and display it.'* And thus they did.'

The strangers then rowed toward them and went upon the land. They were 'swarthy men, and ill-looking, and the hair of their heads was ugly. They had great eyes and were broad cheeked.'† After tarrying awhile, marvelling at all they saw, they rowed away southward round the point. Karlsefni and his men remained in this place during the winter. 'No snow came there,' it is said, 'and all their live-stock lived by grazing.' Next spring they were again visited by the natives. Early one morning a great number of skin-canoes were discovered rowing from the south past the cape, and 'so numerous were they, that it looked as if coals had been

* The signal of peace.

† They are usually supposed to have been Eskimo, but Professor Storm would, on philological and ethnographical grounds, identify them with the Beothuk or Micmac Indians.

scattered broadcast out upon the bay,' and on every canoe staves were waved.

'Therefore Karlsefni and his people displayed their shields, and when they came together, they began to barter with each other. Especially did the strangers wish to buy red cloth, for which they offered in exchange peltries and grey skins. They also desired to buy swords and spears, but Karlsefni and Snorri forbade this. In exchange for perfect unsullied skins, the Skrellings would take red stuff a span in length, which they would bind around their heads. So their trade went on for a time, until Karlsefni, and his people began to grow short of cloth, when they divided it into such narrow pieces, that it was not more than a finger's breadth wide, but the Skrellings still continued to give just as much for this as before, or more.'

This peaceful intercourse was suddenly put a stop to. A bull belonging to Karlsefni and his people ran out of the woods where it was grazing, and began to bellow loudly. The Skrellings at once ran to their canoes in terror and rowed away. For three weeks nothing more was seen of them. Then an immense number of canoes were seen approaching from the south, containing a great multitude of the natives, uttering loud cries and waving their staves in a direction opposite to the course of the sun.

'Thereupon Karlsefni and his men took red shields* and displayed them. The Skrellings sprang from their boats, and they met them and fought together. There was a fierce shower of missiles, for the Skrellings had war-slings. Karlsefni and Snorri observed that the Skrellings put up on a pole a great ball-shaped body, almost the size of a sheep's belly, and nearly black in colour, and this they hurled from the pole up on the land above Karlsefni's followers, and it made a frightful noise where it fell. Whereat a great fear seized upon Karlsefni and all his men, so that they could think of nought but flight, and of making their escape up along the river bank, for it seemed to them that the troop of Skrellings was rushing towards them from every side, and they did not pause until they came to certain jutting crags, where they offered a stout resistance. Freydis came out, and seeing that Karlsefni and his men were fleeing, she cried: "Why do ye flee from these wretches, such worthy men as ye, when, meseems, ye might slaughter them like cattle. Had I but a weapon, methinks I would fight better than any one of you!" They gave no heed to her words. Freydis sought to join them, but lagged behind, for she was not hale; she

* The signal among the Norsemen for war.

followed them, however, into the forest, while the Skrellings pursued her. She found a dead man in front of her ; this was Thorbrand, Snorri's son, his skull cleft by a flat stone, his naked sword lay beside him ; she took it up and prepared to defend herself with it. The Skrellings then approached her, whereupon she stripped down her shift and slapped her breast with the naked sword. At this the Skrellings were terrified, and ran down to their boats and rowed away.'

In this encounter Karlsefni and his party lost two men. How many of the natives were slain is not known. According to one recension a 'great number' fell, but according to the other only four.

After this Karlsefni and his friends thought it no longer safe to remain where they were. They prepared, therefore, to leave and to return to their own country. Steering northward they found 'five Skrellings, clad in skin-doublets, lying asleep near the sea,' with vessels beside them 'containing animal marrow mixed with blood.' The Northmen concluded that the Skrellings must have been banished from their own land, and put them to death. Then, continuing their course, they 'found a cape, upon which there was a great number of animals, and the cape looked as if it were one cake of dung, by reason of the animals which lay there at night.' Shortly after they arrived at Stream-firth 'where they found great abundance of all those things of which they stood in need.' The next move seems to be uncertain, for the saga continues : 'Some men say that Biarni and Freydis remained behind here with a hundred men and went no further, while Karlsefni and Snorri proceeded to the southward with forty men, tarrying at Hóp barely two months, and returning again the same summer.' The story then continues : 'Karlsefni then set out with one ship in search of Thorhall the Huntsman, but the greater part of the company remained behind.' They sailed away northward round Keelness, and then bore away to the west, having the land to the larboard. Here the country was 'a wooded wilderness as far as they could see, with scarcely an open space.' After going a considerable distance they sailed into the mouth of a river 'flowing from the east toward the west,' and lay to by the southern bank. Here one morning, in an

open space in the woods above them, they saw 'a speck which seemed to shine towards them.' 'They shouted at it; it stirred, and it was a Uniped, who skipped down to the bank of the river by which they were lying. Thorvald, a son of Eric the Red, was sitting at the helm, and the Uniped shot an arrow into his inwards. Thorvald drew out the arrow . . . and died soon after from the wound.' The Uniped ran back to the north pursued by Karlsefni and his men, but they failed to overtake him. 'The last they saw of him he ran down into a creek.'

After this misfortune, the adventurers, fearing to risk their lives any longer, and concluding that the mountains near to which they were, formed one chain with the mountains of Hóp, sailed back to the North and spent the winter, the third since they had left Greenland, at Stream-firth. 'Then the men began to divide into factions, of which the women were the cause; and those who were without wives endeavoured to seize upon the wives of those who were married, whence the greatest trouble arose. Snorri, Karlsefni's son, was born the first autumn, and he was three winters old when they took their departure.' On their return voyage 'they sailed away from Wineland' with a southerly wind, and 'so came upon Markland.' Here they found five Skrellings; one was bearded, two were women, and two were boys. The boys they captured. Their mother's name, they said, was Vætildi, and their father's Uvægi. 'They said that kings governed the land of the Skrellings, one of whom was called Avalldamon, and the other Valldidida.' 'They stated that there were no houses there, and that the people lived in caves or holes. They said that there was a land on the other side over against their country, which was inhabited by people who wore white garments and yelled loudly, and carried poles before them, to which rags were attached, and people believed that Whitemen's Land. Now they arrived in Greenland, and remained during the winter with Eric the Red.' Biarni seems to have parted company with Karlsefni, for the Saga goes on to relate how he was 'driven out into the Atlantic,' and came into a sea which was filled with worms. Here, we are told

he and half of his companions perished, in consequence of their ship becoming worm-eaten and unseaworthy, while the rest managed to escape in a boat coated with seal-tar, a substance which the sea-worm, it appears, does not penetrate.

The story contained in the Flatey Book, as already mentioned, is in some respects different. One or two points have already been noticed. There are others. Here the first discovery is attributed not to Leif Ericsson, but to Biarni Heriulfsson. Biarni, it is said, was driven to the southward out of his course when voyaging from Iceland to Greenland, and thus came upon unknown lands, and as the direct result of his reports, Leif Ericsson is said to have been moved to go in search of the lands Biarni had seen, but not explored. He found them in due course, the Saga says, 'first the land which Biarni had seen last, and finally the southermost land,' to which, 'after its products,' he gave the name of Wineland. Over against this, however, must be put the historical accounts as well as those of the Western Sagas, all of which agree in attributing the original discovery to Leif, and under precisely the same circumstances. Further, not only is Biarni's discovery unknown in any other Icelandic writing now existing, no other mention of Biarni himself is to be found, notwithstanding that his father is said to have been 'a most distinguished man,' the grandson of a 'settler' and a kinsman of the first Icelandic colonist. Moreover, the discovery is antedated by about fifteen years, and Leif's voyage thrown forward to the year 1002. Eric the Red, again, is said to have died before Christianity was introduced into Greenland, whereas according to the historical statements, it was introduced before his death. Leif, again, is made to sail on his errand from Olaf Tryggvason, the year after Olaf was slain. The chronology of the Saga, in fact, is all awry. Some of its statements of fact are also wrong; for instance, Runolf, the father of Bishop Thorlak, is said to have been the son of Hallfrid the daughter of Snorri, Karlsefni's Wineland-born son, whereas he was Hallfrid's husband. Some of the incidents, as already stated, are also different from those of the Western recensions, but for these we must refer the reader to Mr. Reeves' volume. These diver-

gencies, however, it must be noted, do not militate against the fact of the discovery. At most they simply make a show of telling against the veracity of the Sagas on points of secondary importance.

One other point deserves to be mentioned. The news of the discovery was not confined to the Northmen. It was made known to foreigners by the prebendary Adam of Bremen, as early as the year 1076. In his work entitled *Descriptio insularum aquilonis*, the materials for which he obtained during a sojourn at the Court of the Danish king Svend Estridsson, and which he appears to have completed in the year just mentioned, he writes: 'Moreover he spoke of an island in that ocean discovered by many, which is called Wine-land, for the reason that vines grow wild there, which yield the best of wine. Moreover, that grain unsown grows there abundantly, is not a fabulous fancy, but, from the accounts of the Danes, we know it to be a fact. Beyond this island, it is said, there is no habitable land, but all the regions which are beyond are filled with insupportable ice and boundless gloom, to which Martian thus refers: "One day's sail beyond Thile the sea is frozen." This was essayed not long since by that very enterprising Northmen's prince, Harold, who explored the extent of the northern ocean with his ships, but was scarcely able by retreating to escape in safety from the gulf's enormous abyss, where, before his eyes, the vanishing bounds of earth were hidden in gloom.' Whether Columbus was acquainted with Adam's *Description* before he sailed on his famous voyage is uncertain. It is possible that he was, but the probability is he was not.

ART. V.—BEGINNINGS OF THE SCOTTISH NEWS-PAPER PRESS.

IN the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, are two or three small quarto volumes containing all, probably, that the Scottish capital possesses of the news-sheets which enlightened the burghers of 'Auld Reekie,' and informed an alien soldiery during the

Cromwellian era. They are scattered numbers, as if collected by one who thought of posterity when it was almost too late, and are bound up with a few pages of faded chirography, decipherable only by an expert, and numerous controversial pamphlets and polemical tracts—the foam on the sea of that stormy period, and, like the foam, effectual neither in helping nor retarding the advancing waves. Turning over those age-bedimmed sheets in the seclusion and monastic gloom—beloved of students!—that dwell beneath the Parliament House, one may recall the circumstances under which they were produced—the bustle in the camp when a messenger arrives with despatches from the Parliament; the eagerness of Kit Higgins' 'devil' as he catches the packet of London Diurnals flung to him by the now dismounted horseman; the sharp click of types in the printing-house 'over against the Tron-Church,' as 'stick' by 'stick,' and column by column the papers are reproduced; the hurried making up of formes and their final deposition on the bed of the press; the aforesaid 'devil' daubing on the ink, and the sinewy pressman snapping down the 'tympan' and jerking the 'chill' with a strength that has left a matrix of the letters in the time-worn paper even unto this day! Then behold the distribution of the damp sheets, first to the English soldiery, and afterwards to the coffee-houses of the town, where the citizens most did congregate, each man an arsenal of offensive and defensive weapons, for the cautious Scot, it is said, did not abandon the use of armour until the year of grace 1710.

In 1536 the first *Gazetta* of Venice, a little manuscript sheet, was read to a group privileged to hear its contents, on payment of the coin which gave its name to the paper, and in that act christened many generations of long and short-lived publications. A few years later England saw the modest beginnings of a journalism that, in despite of press censorship and Star Chamber ordinance, was fostered by the indefatigable Nathaniel Butter, and developed in the more relaxed times of the Commonwealth, when Milton's *Areopagitica* anticipated the complete freedom of a later day. But it was not until 1652 that Scotland had any record of public affairs printed within her borders, and then the newspapers issued by Christopher Higgins, mainly for the infor-

mation of Cromwell's army, were facsimiles of English sheets published with the approval and patronage of Parliament. The cause of the delay is easily found. The very life of the press is freedom of thought and of action, and the greater the measure of freedom, and the more abounding the political and commercial activity of a people, the more vigorous and energetic is the vital influence of the press. Scotland had but little commerce to support, and scant science and art to enlighten and refine her sons, and while she gave a whole-hearted allegiance to the reformed church, which alone of all the forces in the State upheld the liberty of the citizen, the body ecclesiastic bound its members to the sway of a despotism that forbade the very appearance of liberty of thought. Besides, the uniform course of legislation had been to annul nearly all the advantages which the invention of printing afforded. From the moment of its introduction into the country, the art was hampered and restricted, and the license that James IV. granted to Walter Chapman and Andrew Miller, 'burgesses of Edinburgh,' implied an exercise of royal or governmental prerogative that does not appear to have been seriously contested. Such licenses granted the power to print books, Acts of Parliament, etc., but all publications were subjected to the inspection of a censor—ultimately to the purview of the Privy Council—and nothing had a chance of circulation that contained matter which these vigilant authorities could construe as offensive. The Government and the Church united in enforcing repressive measures, and in 1646 the Estates passed an Act prohibiting the printing of anything concerning religion or ecclesiastical affairs without the approval of the General Assembly. It was the necessary complement to a rule which excluded the ventilation of all ideas except such as kept well within the narrow path of Calvinistic doctrine—for nearly all the literature of this period was theological—that the dissemination of news should have been regarded with a jealous eye, on the one side by Government, and on the other by the Church. Hence we find that in 1643 the Commission of the General Assembly included among certain 'remedies of the present danger to religion,' suggested in a 'humble remonstrance to the Convention of Estates, the following remarkable petition :

‘Because thruch want of sure and tymous intelligence a greate pairt of the people are ather left to wncertane rumoures or flichted by the negligence of common beareres Or abuseit with malignant informationes that thei nather know thair awin danger nor the danger of religioun in the countrey A solide ordour would be set down Whereby intelligence may goe furth from Ed^r to everie shyre, and so to everie particular pastor That the people may be informed both of thair danger and dewtie And an accompt taken of the faithfulness of men to whom matteres of so necessarie and publict concernement salbe comitted and of particular ministeres how thej acquite themselfis in matteres of so great traist.’

This plan for making the clergy universal newsmongers has little to commend it. Had it ever been adopted, it would probably have resulted in the publicity of just so much information as, between political exigency and ecclesiastical fearfulness, it would have seemed wise to avow; the good grain would have been sedulously destroyed, and the people fed upon chaff. In Cromwell’s day the Privy Council seems to have been invested with plenary powers in their dealings with printers; but before this time it had exercised similar and, probably, as extensive functions. In 1574 the Regent Morton obtained from the Council an edict prohibiting the issuing of any book, ballad, or other work, without previous examination and license, under pain of death and confiscation of goods. The instructions of Cromwell to General Monk and the other members of his Privy Council, dated 30th March, 1655, are as follows:—‘The said Councell are hereby authorised and impowered to erect and make use of and command any Presse or Presses there for the printing and publishing any Proclamaçons, Declaraçons, Orders, Bookes, or other matteres w^{ch} they shall thinke fitt for the publike service, and to prohibit the use thereof by any other persons, or in any cases where they shall see cause.’ This order is, however, to be judged by the light of its own time, and not to be summarily condemned because we hear in it an echo of warlike reverberations. But in the harshest spirit of such instructions the Council seem always to have acted against printers and all vendors of news, printed or in manuscript. Prior to 1652, the Scottish

people, who cared for such things, had received solely the newspapers of England and such smatterings of intelligence as the 'Tis said's' and 'We hear's' of the newsletter-writers could give. The profession of the correspondent was established long anterior to the Commonwealth, and it continued to live on, notwithstanding the opposition of the press, and the satires of dramatists, years after newspapers had gained a firm footing in Scotland itself. One such correspondent was located in Edinburgh, the diarist John Nicol, who every week provided the good folk of Glasgow with their pabulum of gossip—an insufficient quantity of it, we are led to suppose from the fact that the magistrates therein appointed one John Fleming 'to write to his man wha lies in London' to cause to be sent 'ane diurnal' for the town's use. Even the productions of such scribblers—providers of 'confections to feed the common people withal,' as an old play has it—lay not beyond the knowledge and jurisdiction of the Argus-eyed Privy Council, and we have records of more than one case where even the recipients of newsletters were brought under the lash of a despotic law.

As already indicated, until Cromwell's invasion, Scotland had produced not a single news-sheet, and all information as to events in other countries had been gained from English prints and through the doubtful medium of the professional letter-writer. If, however, Scotsmen were ignorant of the world's affairs, as they were known in those days, there was on the southern side of the border an equal carelessness of Scotsmen and their doings. This may be explained partly by the difficulties of communication—nothing like a regular post was attempted until 1635—and partly by a natural lack of sympathy between the people which especially made the more cultured English regard the Scotch with supercilious contempt. We may therefore accept as fully reliable the statement of Clarendon, that until the tumults of 1637, when Hamilton crossed the Tweed with an army of 15,000 men, there was so little desire in England 'to know anything of Scotland or what was done there, that when the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany, Poland, and other parts of Europe, no man ever enquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had the kingdom a place or mention in one page

of any Gazette.' Such a reproach could not long be justly made, and about the era of the Solemn League and Covenant, the English people endured a surfeit of journals 'published in London and devoted to Scotch politics. In 1642, appeared '*The Scots Scout's Discoveries*' and in September, 1643, were issued simultaneously, '*The Scots Intelligencer, or the Weekly News from Scotland and the Court*' and '*The Scots Dove*'—the latter bearing the barbarous legend,

' Our Dove tells Newses from the King's,
And of harmonious letters sings.'

A copy of the *Dove* which I have seen teaches most effectually the happy advances of the last two centuries. There are startling depths of scurrility and obscenity revealed by nearly all the journals of this period; the *Dove*, despite its blameless name and its claim to voice 'harmonious letters' sinks to the lowest deep and revels in filth. '*Weekly Intelligence from the South Border of Scotland*,' was published in 1644; in 1651 came '*Mercurius Scoticus*,' and in 1652 '*The Theme, or Scoto-Presbyter*,' which last, says Chalmers, 'with admirable ridicule enquires, "whether it be not as little dishonourable for the Scots to be conquered by the English in 1652, as to have been these twelve years past slaves to the Covenant."'

When Cromwell had established himself at Leith, Christopher Higgins begins to reprint for the use of the English soldiery the London '*Diurnal of some Passages and Affairs*.' Chalmers says (in his *Life of Ruddiman*), 'King Charles carried Robert Baker with him to Newcastle in 1639, and General Cromwell conveyed Christopher Higgins to Leith in 1652.' The old antiquary here, as elsewhere, is too fond of an imaginary coincidence, and a passage from that scarce little book, James Watson's *History of the Art of Printing*, will be useful not only as correcting an error that Chalmers' successors have implicitly copied, but as giving in a quaint way a picture of matters typographical in Edinburgh during the civil war. 'After the reign of the royal martyr,' writes Watson, 'our noble art fell into a visible decay. Ewan Tyler, who was then the King's printer, as well as Robert Young, having printed for the usurper against the King, was

justly forfeited at Scoon and declar'd a rebel by King Charles II., anno 1650, and so left this kingdom: and Duncan Mond, stationer in Edinburgh, had a gift of King's printer conferr'd on him, which entirely cut off Tyler, and Robert Young by this time was dead. But the usurper still prevailing, Tyler made over his part of the forfeited gift to some stationers at London, who sent down Christopher Higgins and some English servants with him; they printed only some newspapers and small books, and those very ill done to.'

A Diurnal of some Passages and Affairs was the official organ of the parliament, and the copy in the Advocates' Library, dated from Wednesday the 7th to the 14th of April, 1652, has the imprint, 'Printed at London and re-printed at Leith,' Higgins having had his press in that seaport previous to removing to Edinburgh. The small quarto of eight pages includes propositions humbly tendered to the committee for propagating the Gospel, 'for the supply of all parishes in England with able, godly, and orthodox ministers;' despatches from Rotterdam, Paris, and other places abroad; a reply of the Commissioners of Glasgow to the Parliament assenting to union with the Commonwealth of England, and parliamentary and other items—a record of events of the most meagre character and the driest possible reading to all except the student of the minutiae of history. The next paper Higgins reprinted was *Mercurius Politicus*—published by the order of Parliament. This was one of the publications edited by that splendid turncoat, Marchmont Nedham, the superior in ability to the only other noteworthy diurnal-writer of that era, John Birkenhead, but disgraced to all posterity by his chameleon-like politics. When a young man, Nedham threw in his lot with the popular party and wrote *Mercurius Britannicus* as a counter-blast to the *Mercurius Aulicus* of the royalist Birkenhead. Afterwards we find our versatile politician deserting to the other side, and as heartily anathematising people and Parliament in the pages of *Mercurius Pragmaticus* as aforesaid he had blessed them. *Pragmaticus*, notwithstanding occasional lapses into insensate abuse, contained some really smart writing, as the appended verses testify:—

' A Scot and Jesuit, joined in hand,
First taught the world to say
That subjects ought to have command
And princes to obey.

' Then both agreed to have no King :
The Scotchmen, he cries further,
No bishop—'tis a goodly thing
States to reform by murther.

' Then th' Independent, meek and sly,
Most lowly lies at lurch,
And so, to put poor Jocky by,
Resolves to have no Church.

' The King dethroned, the subjects bleed,
The Church hath no abode ;
Let us conclude they're all agreed
That here there is no God.'

After this satire the Commons resolved to suppress Marchmont, but for some years he continued, moving from place to place to avoid arrest, to issue *Pragmaticus*. At length, Charles I. being beheaded, and the cause of the Stuarts descending below the horizon of men's hopes, Nedham fell, perhaps not unwillingly, into the hands of the Parliament, and compounded for his past offences by agreeing once more to become the champion of the Commonwealth. So came about the publication on June 13th, 1650, of *Mercurius Politicus*, and so happened, according to Mr. Fox Bourne and other historians, that curious accident which closely associated Nedham with John Milton—for Milton was censor of the press from January, 1651, till the same month of 1652, and his was the restrained tone which for a time animated the new journal. Perhaps the straightforward Milton held his slippery colleague in as much regard as honest Ajax did the subtle Odysseus.

In 1659, Higgins was still reprinting *Mercurius Politicus*, and at the close of the same year he issued a paper entitled *Mercurius Britannicus*, or a Collection of such real and faithful Intelligence as can be gathered from England and in Scotland concerning the present transactions from them both. By an officer of the Parliament's army in Scotland. The number dated Tuesday 20th to Friday December 23rd, is a small quarto of twelve pages

with the imprint, 'Edinburgh, Printed by Christopher Higgins in Hart's Close, over against the Trone-Church, 1659.' Noticing the omission from the imprint of any indebtedness to London, which seems always to have been acknowledged when due, and the fact that the paper is avowedly written by a person in Scotland, it may reasonably be asked, if this *Mercury* is not the earliest of its kind north of the Tweed—not a native product, or even altogether the original work of an English officer, but a collection from various diurnals with such fresh information as could be gathered in Edinburgh, appearing under the title mentioned? The 'author' assures his readers that 'these following papers' came 'suddenly and unexpectedly into my hands in that very nick of time that my last papers had passed the Presse.' So desirous, therefore, is he for all to share in the feast of good things that, says he, 'I will not longer keep you at the porch, but rather invite you to come in and read, I hope to your real contentment and delight.' Judged by the modern *menu* the repast provided is a meagre one. The number contains a letter to the Protector from 'the noblemen, gentlemen, justices, and freeholders of the shires of Fife and Kinrosse,' addressed because the writers 'conceive ourselves bound to pay our thankfull acknowledgments of those many and great obligeements you have put upon us.' The cautious editorial comment—it might have been written by a Scotchman rather than a Southerner—is, 'the letter is honest, full, and I doubt not but cordial; being owned by the manual subscription of about one hundred and thirty of them.' News and letters in the paper appear in italics, and the 'author's' matter in a larger, bolder character, but here, and still more in other copies of these ancient sheets, there is astounding irregularity in the use of type, pages facing each other and containing the several parts of a communication being 'set' the one in what is known as 'long-primer,' the next in 'minion' or 'nonpareil,' while, in the case of a Scriptural quotation, the proprieties were observed by its embodiment in big 'Old English' letters. Between the longer paragraphs are items of interest placed thus:—

' Not a penny will be paid after this month, nor will the people pay a penny tax, without consent of Parliament.'

By way of conclusion, the writer, addressing himself to 'gentlemen and Fellow-Souldiers,' says, 'And so I shall shut up my present Intelligence; not doubting for the future a frequent and sufficient supply: for, though they double their guards and circumspection in their accustomed restrictions; yet the All-wise Providence can so order the way that a Bird in the Aire shall tell the matter.' Providence is not so kind to the ardent reporter now-a-days. Another copy of *Mercurius Britannicus* furnishes a fair sample of what may be termed 'the editorial vituperative,' wherein an enthusiastic Roundhead slashes a rival Royalist in a gross but surely effective manner. 'Politicus,' he avows, gives 'a sad Prognostick of the Cause he so feebly maintains by turning ubiquitary in writing at Newcastle and London, and both in an instant.' 'The various shiftings of this Gypsie,' *Britannicus* adds, 'is too tiresome for my wearied legs.' Further, this unfortunate rival is 'a pitiful fellow,' who would gladly be taken for 'a Critic before he can display the meaner Ensigns of a Schoolboy;' 'an impudent fly-catcher;' an inventor of 'frothy passages;' counting it 'no shame to betray his thick and muddy skull,' and now beginning to 'give a prospect of his brazen face,' and perhaps to venture 'a sorry, skinny jest.' The *coup de grâce* is thus given, 'Thou beastly scullion. Canst thou not have a Partridge or Pheasant prepared for thy Master's use, but your Sauce-ship must necessarily lard it with the ranke Collops of thine own Goose-grease? Hah! away and begon, if you love your health; for a stay and a surfet here can by no means be separated.'

In 1659, also, Higgins issued what I have no hesitation in describing as indubitably the first original newspaper published in Scotland, of which any copy is extant. A clause in the sheet would seem to indicate that it was one of a series which had their origin in Edinburgh, but of these it is probably the solitary survivor. It is entitled 'The Faithfull Intelligencer From the Parliament's Army in Scotland. Written by an Officer of the Army there;' bears the imprint, 'Edinburgh, Printed by Christopher Higgins in Hart's Close over against the Trone-Church, anno 1659,' and is dated from Tuesday November 29th to Saturday December 3rd. The author informs his readers that 'through a gracious Providence' his condition is of

a 'much more contenting and better Edition than that which amounts to a Diurnal-Writer'—for whom he appears to have had no little contempt—but confesses that he is unable to withhold himself when he finds 'so many sad and infamous Scandals pind upon all concernments amongst us, from the General to the sentinel, from the Magistrate to the Peasant, from the Priest to the meanest of the People.' His purpose is rather 'to become an honest fool in print than a real and easy slave under ignorance and silence,' and some cynics may have thought that he succeeded in his object, for after giving a number of letters he occupies the remainder of his space with a reply to 'a numerous and uncouth Catalogue of Lyes which I find not to be more impudently pend than arrogantly intruded upon us by the late *Politicus*.' This was a work of supererogation—a beating of the dead horse; but the writer's heart was evidently in it, and in the odd page or so remaining to him in the little quarto he gave rein to a vigorous partisan spirit. This curious little journal has been entirely overlooked by historians of the press, who indeed accredit to Higgins the republication of only two sheets, the *Diurnal of Some Passages and Affairs*, and *Mercurius Politicus*, and as there can be no doubt of its genuineness, it affords strong evidence that it, and not *Mercurius Caledonius* (written by Thomas Sydserf in 1661), is entitled to rank as the first Scotch newspaper, though the latter has the added interest of being of Scottish manufacture.

Higgins apparently concluded his labours as newsmonger to the northern Kingdom with the reprinting of *Mercurius Publicus*, which he issued until after the return from exile of Charles II. Later in the year 1660 *Mercurius Publicus* was produced with a somewhat altered second title, but the familiar imprint of the old publisher had disappeared from the sheet, which bore only the words, 'Printed at London and re-printed at Edinburgh.' Whether Higgins found it impossible after the Restoration to retain his influential position, or whether his decease was contemporaneous with the final overthrow of the Commonwealth, history recordeth not. Conning over, page by page, the desperately ugly specimens of typography he gave to Scotland (yet they constitute the beginnings of the now powerful

Scottish press), one cannot but regret that these are the sole memorials of the printer, these and the words I have so often quoted, 'Christopher Higgins, in Hart's Close, over against the Trone-Church.'

J. D. COCKBURN.

ART. VI.—SCOTCH DIVINES AND ENGLISH
BISHOPS, 1606.

IF a naked sword had been brandished in the face of James I. at the Hampton Court Conference—and he was proverbially terrified at the sight of cold steel—it could hardly have excited greater dismay and indignation in his breast than the word 'Presbytery' in the mouth of that moderate Nonconformist, Dr. Reynolds. 'Ye are aiming at a Scotch Presbytery,' he cried passionately, 'which agreeth with a monarchy as God with the devil. Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that from me, and if then you find me fussy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken unto you, for, let *that* government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath.' Certainly, on his own showing, James had had no time to grow fat and scant of breath during the early part of his reign, when every year brought him more and more acutely into collision with the Church. 'A Scottish Presbytery agreeth with a monarchy as God and the devil!' that is the epigrammatic way in which James describes the conflict. With far more passion, and with a solemnity of which he was incapable, the ministers declared that it was the Lord Jesus Himself 'Whose crown and kingdom are violently invaded; with Whom the king has entered in action for redding of Merches' (*i.e.*, settling of boundaries); he, a 'lytle erthlie Regulus,' against 'the Heir of the World and the King of Glory!'

Not that there was any actual doctrinal disagreement between them. James I. particularly plumed himself on his religious orthodoxy. No title was pleasanter to him than that of 'Defender of the Faith,' no exercise more delightful to his in-

ordinate vanity and subtle wits than religious controversy. Nor was he naturally intolerant; his extensive reading and excellent understanding, as well as the frivolity of his character—which prevented his having any strong religious convictions—made him more liberal in opinion than most of the men of his age. But there was one dogma he held with a personal and passionate fervour far beyond what he felt for any religious truth—the dogma of the ‘divine right of Kings.’ It is difficult to see distinctly where he got that singular dogma. At the Reformation, doubtless, much of the divine authority which had been hitherto vested in the Pope was transferred to the monarch, as temporal head of the Church. In England this had certainly been so, but who can say that it had been the case in Scotland, where John Knox had, by his relentless logic, once and again reduced Mary Stuart to tears? and where the Republican and severely Protestant George Buchanan had but scant respect for the divine right of his royal pupil! Dislike to that stern pedagogue, and reaction against all he taught, must go for something in the formation of James’s opinions. The Duc d’Aubigné, moreover, the first of his long list of favourites, who had gained the boy’s entire confidence ‘at the entrance of his springald age,’ may have imbued him with the ideas that prevailed at the French Court.

Be this as it may, we must still give James credit for having to a great extent elaborated out of his own brain that dogma which was destined, throughout four generations, to be the destruction of his ill-fated race, leading them to death, exile, and finally to abject personal deterioration. There is an irony in the fact that it was precisely the later Stuarts, with their miserable personalities, who were infatuated with the belief in their indefeasible divine right!

It was in virtue of this divine right that James claimed control in matters ecclesiastical; the sole right to summon and prorogue General Assemblies, to upset the Presbyterian government of the Church of Scotland, and establish bishops according to his favourite maxim, ‘No bishop no king.’ It was on these two points that constant battles were fought between him and the ministers. To us the position they assumed of complete independence of the civil power, and the claim they made at the

same time to discipline and control all social life, seem extreme and inadmissible. But there is much in the character both of the time and the country in which they lived to explain, if not to justify, their claims, and even more in the beliefs which they held in common with all the Reformed Churches. In Scotland, where the nobility was for the most part rapacious and unscrupulous, and where the hearts of the people had not yet awakened to a consciousness of citizenship, the Church was absolutely the only power which made, not only for enlightenment, but for bare law and order. So it was natural enough that ministers felt the need of discipline and authority to enforce the teaching of the Word. Moreover, in that Word itself they thought they found ample justification for what they claimed.

The Bible was to them a complete and absolute rule of life, prescribing the forms in which God was to be worshipped as distinctly as the spirit in which He was to be served. Science had not as yet removed God to an infinite distance from the worshipper who can only seek after Him as manifested in His laws, nor had history revealed the many ways in which He has fulfilled Himself to the various peoples and nations of the earth. To the Scotch Calvinist He was as much 'God, *our* God' as to the Jews of the exile, and the law of the Priestly Thora was hardly less binding on his observance than the Sermon on the Mount.

Granted this complete revelation of God in the Scriptures, the difficulty of the interpretation of the same still remained, but it was impossible for earnest and devout men—believing fervently in the indwelling Spirit—to believe that they had failed to grasp the meaning of what they studied so constantly and with such complete devotion.

They were far from being unlearned these divines of the generation which intervened between the first Reformers and the men of the Covenant. The fathers are quoted freely in their writings—and always as evidence on the side of Presbyterianism!—and classical illustrations are introduced with an often curious and naïve pedantry. But they owed to their humanistic training something far greater than rhetorical decorations. They had caught from the study of antiquity something of that

republican spirit which, in the next generation, was to make Milton the sternest opponent of kings.

Armed, then, with what they held to be a divine authority, with a faith for which they were cheerfully prepared to die, and with a frank and fearless manner of speech which knew no respect of persons, these Scotch ministers came once and again into the royal presence. One wonders what the bishops of Elizabeth—accustomed to be rated and scolded by their royal mistress—would have thought if they could have heard how, in his own palace of Falkland, the Scottish king was taken to task by Mr. Andrew Melville for permitting the return of the Papist lords, an act sound in policy however repugnant to the feelings of zealous Protestants.

‘Mr. Andro brak aff upon the King in sa zealous, powerfule, and unresistable a manere that, howbeit the King used his authoritie in maist crabbit and cholerick manere, yet Mr. Andro bure him dune and uttered the Commission as from a michtie God, calling the King bot “God’s sillie vassel.” And taking him by the sleeve sayes this in effect through manie interruptions and mickle hot reassouning. . . . “Thair is twa Kingis and twa Kingdomes in Scotland. Thair is Chryst Jesus the King, and His Kingdome the Church, whase subject King James the Saxt is, and in that Kingdom not a King, nor a Lord, but a member,” with much more to the same effect.’

This Mr. Andrew Melville was by far the most prominent and important man in the Scottish Church, indeed he is the only one amongst the ministers upon whom the mantle of John Knox can be said to have fallen. A less rich-natured man than Knox, he had neither his genius nor his statesmanlike qualities, while an equal measure of his predecessor’s violence seems to have fallen to his share. One great and important advantage he possessed over Knox, he was one of the most learned men of his time. In his youth he had been one of those wandering Scotch scholars who, following in the footsteps of Buchanan, had made a name for themselves at French universities. At Geneva he had sat at the feet of Beza, and had imbibed the ideas of Calvinism at its fountainhead, so that his nephew and most affectionate disciple, Mr. James Melville, might well say of him,

‘As to that he brought hame with him : It was that plentiful and inexhaust treasure of all guid letters and lerning baith of human and divyne things ; and that quhilk superexcelles, an profound knowledge, upright sinceritie and fervent zeal in trew religion, and to put the same in use for the profit of his kirk and countrey, an unwearied painfulness and insatiable pleasoure to give out, and bestow the same without any recompence or gain.’ For the first six years after his return to Scotland his was the worthy and congenial task of bringing the new humanistic learning into the Scottish universities. The six years course of study he introduced at Glasgow would have satisfied the requirements of Cardinal Newman as a scheme of university training. For the various branches of knowledge studied in the first five years culminated in, and were all subservient to the study of Theology, which occupied the sixth year.

Theology was indeed the universal study of that age, and Humanism, which in Italy had almost restored Paganism, was in Protestant countries brought into bondage to Theology. To use the curious expression of a Scotch divine of the time, ‘As the Israelites borrowed jewels of Egypt which they dedicated to their tabernacles, so whatsoever golden and precious sentences may be read among the ethnick philosophers, orators, and poets, may be consecrated to the worship of God.’ It was impossible for letters to flourish vigorously in this subordinate position, and, for the next hundred years at least, all the thought and active energies of the Scottish nation were concentrated on religion, a vast gain doubtless to the life of the people, but, like all great gains, demanding a heavy price.

There are few figures more dignified and attractive than that of some scholar or man of letters who, in times of religious or political controversy, has known how to withdraw himself from the current of public life, and in some quiet shelter has been content to realise in himself the truths for which other more active men are contending, and which they are striving to introduce by force or even violence into the general life of society. Men like Lord Falkland, George Herbert, Archbishop Leighton, are nearer our modern sympathies than Cromwell, George Fox, and the Covenanters. And yet, comparing

such peaceful and dignified figures with those who, worn and wounded in the arena, have 'entered into life maimed,' who shall dare to say that it is the first who have chosen the more excellent way?

Had Andrew Melville willed it, he might have spent an honoured and dignified life teaching those humanistic studies he loved so well; Court favour would have been showered upon him, and he might have exchanged epigrams and pedantries with James I. to their mutual satisfaction. But Mr. Andrew thought otherwise, for though he believed 'his tyme to be maist profitabil bestowit in doing, teaching and framing of guid instruments for the maintenance of the treuth and wark of the ministrie and schools,' the Church, at that time, had need not only of able teachers but of stout defenders. It was less, perhaps, deliberate choice than the promptings of his perfervid spirit that induced Mr. Andrew to exchange the quiet usefulness of teaching for the wear and tear of defending the Church. It was not only his ease and his tastes that he gave up. Much that was most delightful in his character was sacrificed also. As a teacher he had infinite patience, 'When it twitched his awin particular no man could crab him (*i.e.*, where it concerned his own interest no one could put him out of temper); where the interests of the Church were concerned he was violent, imperious, irrepresible, as we have seen him at Falkland.' A man like James I., whose policy was often so fatally perverted by a weak affection for his favourites, must have been almost equally moved by his antipathies, and doubtless his dislike of this loud-voiced, fearless, logical opponent must have helped to accentuate his detestation of Presbyterianism. For Mr. James Melville, the nephew, he seems to have had a certain kindness, believing, perhaps, from the gentle and courteous demeanour of the minister of Anstruther that he might be more easily won over by Court favour than his uncle. Wherein, however, James, with all his astuteness, was much mistaken. For though 'ane meik and peaceabil man,' Mr. James was no whit behind his uncle in 'heroicall stoutness.' It is from the pen of this most genial of Scotch controversialists that we have a very living picture of the religious life of his time. If it is his misfortune to have to chronicle the moves and

countermoves, the arguments and replies of endless ecclesiastical disputes, it is his great merit to have done so with such liveliness and power that the old time begins to live before us, and we realise how those old dead questions were not factious quibbles, but matters vitally concerning the spiritual lives and liberties of thoughtful, passionately earnest men. There are few pages of this delightful diary more interesting, and certainly none more diverting, than those which describe the visit of the writer, his uncle, Mr. Andrew, and six other ministers, to England in the year 1606.

After James had been removed from 'the faithful dealing' of the ministers of his native land and placed in the society of English Bishops, who held the dogma of the Divine Right of Kings as implicitly, and possibly as sincerely as he did himself, his dealings with the Church of Scotland had waxed more and more arbitrary till they had culminated in the suspension of the General Assembly and the imprisonment of several of the best and ablest ministers. The indignation and dismay felt by the principal men in the Church at this high-handed act were not allayed or soothed by the sight of the new-made bishops riding in state to take their places in Parliament for the first time since the overthrow of the Old Church. Surely evil days had fallen upon the Church of the Lord, and it was with misgivings as well as considerable embitterment of spirit that Andrew and James Melville and six other ministers accepted the King's invitation to come to Hampton Court to talk over Church matters with him.

The ships that daily brought to the port of London swarms of ambitious courtiers, needy adventurers, enterprising tradesmen, certainly never landed a stranger company than that little band of grave, soberly suited divines, who entered London in the last week of August, 1606, and took up their abode at Blackfriars. Through the heart of the great city, so opulent, so exuberantly full of life and enterprise and enjoyment, they passed very much as Christian and Faithful walked in Vanity Fair, and like those pilgrims they too might have declared in all good faith, 'We buy the Truth.' And at that very time Shakespeare's plays were being acted within a stone's throw, and the Mermaid Tavern was at no

great distance! And yet what an infinite gulf divides Ben Jonson and his witty crew from these serious men expounding the Scriptures to one another at every meal, and conversing only with a few members of certain poor obscure sects!

On September 19th, they are called to the King's presence, he at that time being at Hampton Court, and are civilly enough received. The next day being Sunday, they are summoned to attend the King's Chapel, it being a hopeful and ingenious idea of the King's to convert these stubborn northern subjects by making them hear sermons on the divine institution of Episcopacy and the royal supremacy in a place where there could be no possibility of reply. But 'the long well-joyned sermons written and briefly compacted in ane lytel buik', preached on consecutive Tuesdays and Sundays by four different bishops did little to impress men who had spent their lives in searching for contrary arguments in the Scriptures and Fathers. So seven of them merely 'hard them patiently,' while Mr. Andrew employed himself in polishing Latin epigrams on the Popish furnishings of the altar, an amusement which was to cost him dear, as we shall see. Had these ministers not been so completely and comfortably wrapt up in their prejudices surely they must have discerned a difference between a worldly and courtly Bishop Barlow and a saintly and scholarly Bishop Andrews. But we '*hard* them patiently,' we certainly didn't *listen* to them!

The day fixed for the hearing of the Scottish ministers was the 23rd. It was an august assembly into which they were ushered. The King was surrounded by his English Counsellors and Bishops, as well as by his Scottish Counsellors. Moreover, the lately made Scottish Bishops and Church Commissioners—to a man in the interests of the King—were also present, so that the ministers found themselves face to face with all their enemies at once. There was the metropolitan Gladstones, so lately a convert from their own ranks; Spotswood the Bishop of Glasgow, whose own father had protested so hotly against Episcopacy, as the ministers remembered with rising indignation; the King's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, and his Great Commissioner, Lawriestone, who had so shamefully

perverted justice at the trial of the protesting ministers just six months before.

It would be most desirable that we might have an account from the pen of some observant English spectator, of the appearance made by those eight grave, intensely earnest men, absorbed in questions which, to English statesmen, must have seemed trivial and incomprehensible, and to English Bishops, hopelessly wrong-headed. Moreover, to men accustomed to that intellectual paganism and courtly frivolity with which Elizabeth had surrounded herself in the last years of her reign, the sight of their monarch condescending to argue points of doctrine and discipline with his subjects must have been sufficiently astonishing. But their wonder must have grown—and surely was not unmixed with amusement—when they heard the manner of speech of these plain, uncompromising men. Though Mr. James kept that courteous moderation, which with him was less the fruit of caution than of his gentle nature, the irrepressible Mr. Andrew ‘talkit all his mind, after his awin manere, roundly, soundly, fully, friely, and fervently, for the space of a whole hour.’ Another minister, Mr. Scot, was taken to task by the Advocate, and (the national love of argument being as strong in the Scottish lawyer as in the Scottish minister) there ensued ‘ane prettie piece of logicall and legall reassonnings quhilk delighted the judicious auditore,’ which one is rather surprised to hear. The ministers, indeed, at this point seem to have been comforted by a consciousness that there was a secret sympathy with them on the part of their English hearers. For two other ministers spoke their minds ‘friely, stoutly, and plainly, to the admiration of the English auditeur, quho were not accustomed to hear the King so talkit to and reassonnit with.’ Such freedom of speech was indeed a new thing at the English Court, where even the Non-conformists, with whom James had condescended to dispute at the Hampton Court Conference, had acknowledged the King’s supremacy in terms that would have stuck in the throat of the obscurest Scotch minister.

So far the audience had gone off quietly enough, but Mr. Andrews, who was not only like Elihu in being ‘full of words

and constrained by the spirit within him,' but also in 'respecting no man's person,' 'craiffit license humblie to speak bak again, and then broke out in his awin manner,' defending the imprisoned ministers and arraigning their accusers there present, till James, wearied and irritated, could hold out no longer, and 'curtly rying and turning his back sayes, "God be with you, sirs."' This was the last personal interview James and his old opponents were to have. A few days later, Mr. James and his uncle were summoned before the Scottish Council sitting at Hampton Court.

Nothing makes one realise better how far Scotland was behind England at this time in the essentials of civilization than the unscrupulous way in which justice was perverted in the Northern Kingdom. In Scotland, as we have said, the Church alone offered any resistance to arbitrary power; in England the liberties of the people were guarded not only by the House of Commons and by forms of law that might not be questioned nor put aside, but also by the habit of demanding and expecting justice, which had for generations been growing up in the nation at large. But this Council being composed of the least scrupulous and most subservient of the Scotch nobility, did not hesitate to put questions to Mr. James, with a view to making him admit such things as could be used against him. But it was not for nought that he had been endowed 'with some piece of naturall witt, and bein little lernit and taught in the scholles,' he declared 'he was of no law or reassoun bound to accuse himself,' and then with a fine touch of indignation—which must surely have made some of his hearers ashamed of themselves—'he desyrit the noblemen who were thair present to remember quhat they were, and to deal with him (howbeit ane pair man, yet a *frieborn, gentil* Scotisman) as they would be content to be usit themselves, that is, by the lawis of Scotland.'

Seeing that neither the sight of his present magnificence, nor the sermons of his Bishops, nor their own isolation in a strange land, could in the least abate the spirit of the eight ministers, James had recourse to his favourite art of 'King-craft.' It was his shrewd, treacherous, unkingly plan to keep these, his most important opponents, hanging on in London [howbeit they had come at his own royal invitation], while, in the North, his Coun-

sellors—the Bishops of his making—were reducing the Church of Scotland to obedience and introducing a settled Episcopacy.

So for several months the ministers stayed on in London, ‘keeping a good table’ at their own costs, having a most honourable horror of being confounded with those ‘needy Scots’ who swarmed up to London, and of whom ‘there was a common bruit and opinioun among the peopill of England, that alle Scottismen came hither to beg and purse up the money of the land and carrie it away with them hame, quhilk was none of our eirand who had sufficient to live on according to our several callings at hame.’ It was a weary time of waiting; they were excluded from Court, and had no powerful friends, so that they had the mortification of feeling that nothing was being effected, and every post from Scotland brought news of the triumph of their enemies and the overthrow of that godly order and discipline for which they had given their lives and labours. Moreover, the plague was raging all over Scotland that year, and many among their flocks were perishing with none to lend them the last comforts of religion, or to speak confidently and hopefully of the world to come, which must have been a grief of heart to the exiled pastors. In the meantime the King had found a handle against Andrew Melville in a copy of the Latin epigram on the furnishing of the altar, which somehow had fallen into his hands. It was a formidable matter to have to face the English Counsel on an accusation of treason, but to the warlike soul of Mr. Andrew, it presented merely a glorious opportunity of testifying against the prevailing corruptions of the Church of England. After briefly admitting the authorship of the verses, he boldly carries the war into the enemies’ country. Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, an ambitious and haughty man, more accustomed to brow-beat Non-conformists than to hear the plain truth from any one, must have fairly gasped when this fearless, unabashed stranger, standing as a culprit before him, *him*, the Primate of England, ‘sitting upmost at the Council table,’ ‘tuik occasion, plainly to his face, befor the whole Council, to tell him all his mynd, which burst out as enclosed fyre in water! He burdeinit him with all thair corrup-tiounes and vanities and superstitiounes, with profanatioune of the Sabath-day, silenceing, imprissouning, and beiring down of

the true and faithful preicheres of the word of God . . .
 And taking him by the quhyte sleeves of his rochet, and schaking
 them in his manere, friely and roundly callit them Romish Rags
 and a pairt of the Beaste's Mark.'

A bomb-shell suddenly exploding in their midst could hardly
 have been more startling to that decorous assembly, but,
 unwearied and unabashed, Mr. Andrew went on 'as lang as he
 gat audience and permissione, but he was aft interrupted, and
 at last put forth in a place by himself,' doubtless to the unspeak-
 able relief of everybody present, especially of the Primate, whose
 mind must have been as ruffled as his sleeves by such an
 onslaught. It speakes volumes for the courtesy and justice of
 that assembly of well-bred Englishmen that they thereupon
 'usit Mr. James verie courteouslie with a style of lairneing,
 gravitie, godlinesse, wisdom, honestie, and truthe.' Finally, Mr.
 Andrew is exhorted that 'with his learning and years he should
 joyne wisdom, gravitie, modestie, and discretion, and was then
 committit to the Dean of Paulis to remaine in his custodie during
 the King's pleasoure.' The poor Dean! How gladly would one
 have a confidential account of his feelings on the arrival of this
 strange guest, and of what manner of conversation he had with
 him. The other ministers continued to live on in London,
 'wrassling through the longsume winter with what patience we
 could,' till in March there arrives a mandate from the king which
 cuts their Scottish and Presbyterian souls to the quick.

Being possibly still desirous of reclaiming these obstinate
 subjects from their erroneous and inconvenient opinions, the king
 had hit upon the idea of domiciling them separately with several
 of his 'grave and lernit Bishops' to the intent that the Episcopal
 conversation might convert them from the error of their ways.
 The indignation of the ministers took form in an address to the
 English Council, wherein, with much passion and no little
 dignity, they demand 'quhy should we lose our liberty, dis-
 honour and obscure the æstimationne of our Kirk, and blott our
 awin honestie (quhilk is pure), making ourselves our Master's
 Bondsmen, daily approuveres, to the appeairance of men, of that
 quhilk our Kirk condemns, seeming to be loiterers, feeding idle-
 bellies at the taibles of strangers, haifing honest callings, pro-

visiounes, and houses, whereby to live as pastoris of congregatiounes and fathers of families at home.'

There is a curious interview described between the usually gentle, but now fairly exasperated, Mr. James and his proposed host, the Bishop of Durham. The Scotch minister begins by begging the Bishop to join with him in pointing out to the King the unsuitableness of the arrangement. In the first place he, Mr. James, 'was not accustomed to sit at other men's taibles, haifing an honest taible of his awin at home' (there speaks the Scotsman, the countryman of Richard Monieplies); secondly, there can be no comfort in men dwelling together who differ so completely in opinion (there speaks the theologian and the spirit of the sixteenth century); finally, he appeals to the Bishop, as himself a shepherd of souls, to consider the state of the poor deserted flocks in Scotland deprived of their ministers (there speaks the true pastoral spirit, perhaps, after all, the strongest element in Mr. James' character). If the Bishop's answer is a little 'sillie and confussit' a good deal may be said for an honest, elderly gentleman put in such a position. He is evidently anxious to obey the King, is ashamed of seeming to lack hospitality, and above all is desperately embarrassed by the earnestness of his guest, whose very speech he probably understood very imperfectly! In his reply he alludes to the King's supremacy, which gives Mr. James an opportunity of opening fire upon bishops in general, and the absence of all Scriptural warrant for them. To which the Bishop can only reply rather feebly that he had gone into all these matters at one time, and that 'he was ane old doctor, and had been oftentimes Chancelar of the University of Oxford.' Hardly a conclusive argument, as Mr. James tells him 'shortly and pleanly all this provit nor concludit naething. It wad be stronger reassounes that would reclame them.' So this odd interview comes to an end without much result to either party.

Nor was more satisfaction to be got out of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the Council had passed on the ministers' petition. It is a misfortune that we chiefly see the bishops of this time either as servile courtiers or as severe oppressors of the Nonconformists. As a servant of his own Church, Bancroft was

undoubtedly zealous, devoted, and enlightened. In the interview at Lambeth with Mr. James and his two colleagues he showed none of that ill-temper and insolence with which he had treated the Nonconformists at the Hampton Court Conference. On the contrary he treats them with the easy courtesy of a well-bred man of the world, who entirely ignores his guests' point of view, and hardly considers it worth understanding, knowing beforehand how unreasonable and fanatical it is likely to prove. He begins by trying to show that far from wishing to imprison or insult them it is of his kind care and courtesy that the king wishes them to be domiciled with his bishops. But, unmoved by this palpable falsehood, the ministers object that 'there is no injurie worse nor compulsorie kindness,' and go on to protest 'what kind of guests would they make in Bishops' palaces?' for it is evident to them at least that 'quhair opinionnes differ there affectiounne cannot be sownd.' To which the Archbishop agrees pleasantly and with a touch of delicate malice, saying, 'I do think, my Bretherin, that the Bishopes would have little pleisoure of you except to pleisoure the King's Majestie; for our custome is efter our serious matteres to refresche ourselves ane hour or two with cairdis and uther gamis efter mealis, but ye are mair precise.' Then, taking a graver tone, he goes on—in language which in our day we can thankfully acknowledge to have a real meaning and significance—affecting to conciliate them by declaring that they are 'Bretherin in Chryst,' and that 'we doe boith hauld and keip the trew grounds of religion'—one seems to see the look of grim dissent on the three Scotch faces—'and,' the Bishop continues, (and surely a look of malicious triumph must have broken through the decorous urbanity of his manner,) 'our difference is only in the governeing of the Kirk and some ceremonies, but I understand since ye cam from Scotland your Kirk is almost brought to be one with ours in this alsoe; for I am certified that thair is constant moderatouris appoyntit in your General Assemblies, Synods, and Presbyteries . . . and in everie Province and Diocese thair is a Bisshope answerabill all to the King.' Words which must have fallen like frost on the hearts of his hearers, who could not, as he well knew, deny the unpalatable facts. None of the three having the

audacity and passion of Mr. Andrew, Mr. Scot begins 'laying sic groundis as nicht beir upe a suir and grave wark,' but the March afternoon is wearing away, and the Bishop's patience is almost done, and he knows by this time pretty well what a Scotch discourse is likely to be, so with a certain contemptuous, English good-nature, he interrupts the speaker, 'smyling, and chapping on his arme, and saying, "Tush man! Tak' here a coupe of good sack,"' *which they did!* It must have flashed across the Bishop, as with his own hands he poured out the wine for his guests, that the task of accommodation would have been much easier if only Presbyterian fanatics and stubborn Nonconformists had been more addicted to 'cakes and ale.'

'So neir six houris of the eftirnoon' the Bishop sent them away, and 'we were no moir trublit with that matter of going to Bishops again.'

One more scene and then this curious page of history closes, closes sadly enough too, as we shall see. Untaught by experience, or rather undaunted by any risk he might incur, Mr. Andrew fell again into his dangerous trick of verse-making. The vain and superstitious celebration of St. George's Day had incensed his spirit and been the cause of certain verses, poor enough, one would have thought, to have escaped notice altogether. But on the 23rd of April, he lying then at Bow, two miles from London, a servant of my Lord of Salisbury arrives very early and courteously entreats him to come with all haste to Court to Whitehall to his master's chambers, and to be there by nine of the clock. Mr. Andrew who, after all, must have kept a good deal of a scholar's simplicity thinks this a mere act of friendship, and that my Lord would bid him to dinner. Posting with all speed to Whitehall, he stops at his nephew's lodgings to take a hasty breakfast, but Mr. James, (who far more than his uncle combined the wisdom of the serpent with the gentleness of the dove) becomes suspicious at once, and he and two of his colleagues making what speed they may, take 'the first convenient boating and arrive at Westminster, where they wait rather anxiously in the house of a friendly compatriot. When, about eleven, Mr. Andrew reappears he has rather a mortifying tale to tell. For two hours he had waited in a gallery outside my Lord's

chambers, no one taking any notice of him, and at last had seen the company go into dinner without him.

Somehow there is in this insulting neglect of the old scholar—a stranger moreover and a bidden guest—something which awakens a quicker resentment in us than many a harsh act of persecution. But Mr. Andrew had, in some sort, his revenge, for as he paced up and down the gallery he meditated on the Second Psalm, ‘Why do the heathen so furiously rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?’

Sitting at dinner with his colleagues he recited with much satisfaction his St. George's verses.

‘Well,’ said his cousin, ‘eit your dinner and be of good courage, for I sall warrand ye sall be before the Counsel for your verses.’

Such a speech is like the sound of a trumpet to an old war-horse. ‘Well,’ says he, ‘my hairt is full and emboldened, and I will be glad to have an occasion to disburden it and speak all my mind plainly to them for the dishonouring of Christ and wreck of so manie puir soulis of their doings.’

Dinner was but half over when some one comes from my Lord of Salisbury demanding Mr. Andrew's presence. Surely there is more of dignity than churlishness in his reply, ‘Sir, I waited very longe upone my Lord's dinner till I waxed very hungry. I pray my Lord to suffer me to tak a lytle of mine own dinner.’ But a second messenger arrives and there may be no longer delay, so, having risen and said a prayer, he goes off with Mr. Hay ‘with great commotioune of mynd.’

This was the only parting these two kinsmen were to have. Two-and-thirty years before, in the harvest days of 1574, in the old family home at Baldowy, Mr. Andrew, then a scholar of European reputation, had completely won the enthusiastic devotion of the boy-student, Mr. James, as they sat together over their Virgil and Homer. And through long years of common labours, conflicts, and sorrows the affection had grown deeper and stronger. And this was all the parting they had among hostile or indifferent strangers! A pressure of the hand, a hurried commendation to God, and the one is hurried away out of sight, and the other remains sorrowful and anxious.

‘ About three, one of our men, quhom we sent to attend at the Counsel door, comes to us with teires, and schowes us that he was carried direct from the Counsel by water to the Tower. We followit with diligence it could not meit with him by the way, neither could we get access to him by any means.’ Surely a more treacherous and unkingly act was never done than this which James did not scruple to commit. It is but the beginning of that arbitrary course which he had decided to adopt with regard to the eight ministers, his invited guests. On the sixth of May the seven ministers received letters, banishing each and all of them to various places in Scotland, all except Mr. James, who is ordered to repair with all convenient speed to Newcastle-on-Tyne, there to remain during the King’s pleasure. It was in vain that Mr. James begged to be allowed to stay in London to be near his uncle; his best friends counselled him to desist, lest both he and Mr. Andrew should be ‘ worse usit.’

‘ So convoyit with a guid number of most loveing and godly Bretherin to the Tower stairs, we tuk loiting the 2nd of July and devallit towards the ship with very sorrowful hairts because of him we left behind us in this danger, and of the scattering and dissipation of the mony guid Bretherin so firmly joynd togeddir in Christ his cause.’

FLORENCE MACCUNN.

ART. VII.—THE FORMER PROPRIETOR OF ABBOTS-FORD.

TOWARDS the close of last century and the commencement of the present there were three eminent ministers settled in parishes in the Border counties—Dr. Somerville of Jedburgh, Dr. Charters of Wilton, and Dr. Douglas of Galashiels—men who were in their day distinguished ornaments of the Church of Scotland. Dr. Somerville of Jedburgh adorned the ministerial office for the long period of sixty years; he was the friend and associate of many of the learned men of a learned age. If his histories of King William III. and Queen Anne are

now superseded by the more brilliant productions of Lord Macaulay and Earl Stanhope, they are still referred to as authorities, and his delightful autobiography, so well edited by the late Professor William Lee of Glasgow, introduces us to the great men of a past age, and gives a vivid description of the manners of a former generation. Dr. Charters of Wilton was a man of no ordinary abilities, and was justly regarded as one of the best preachers of that day. His sermons, now little known, rivalled those of Dr. Blair, and were regarded as models of pulpit eloquence; and in the opinion of Dr. Chalmers, no mean judge, if they had had more of the *sal evangelicum*, would have been almost perfect. The third, Dr. Douglas, was scarcely inferior to the other two in literary acquirements, and greatly their superior in energy of purpose. After the lapse of seventy years he is still spoken of in respectful terms, and it is freely acknowledged that it was greatly to his judgment and encouragement that the town of Galashiels owes its present prosperity as the centre of the woollen trade.

Dr. Douglas was the son of the manse; his father was the Rev. John Douglas, minister of Jedburgh, and his mother's name was Beatrice Ainslie. The Rev. John Douglas was not an unknown person, and had rather a curious history. He was ordained minister of Kenmore, in the Highlands of Perthshire, in 1743. During the troubles of the rebellion (1744-1746) he did his utmost to keep his parishioners loyal to the crown, and in consequence met with much hostility, since the Highlanders as a body were the partisans of Prince Charles. After the defeat at Culloden he interposed between the Government and those who were out in the rebellion, and by his influence, in consequence of his well-known loyalty, he saved the lives of many. The Government did not leave his services unrewarded, and in the year 1757 he was presented by the Crown to the parish of Jedburgh. Here, however, his troubles did not cease; Jedburgh was to him no bed of roses. There was much opposition to his settlement; the people had set their affections on the Rev. Thomas Boston of Oxnam, the son of the celebrated Boston of Ettrick, the author of *The Fourfold State*. A minister who had been presented withdrew on account of the

opposition of the people; but Mr. Douglas, in spite of that opposition, accepted the presentation. The reasons of his acceptance are on record; they were the smallness of the living of Kenmore, which was only £48, with a poor glebe, too little for the maintenance of himself and family, and the resolution of the Government not to present Mr. Boston. Mr. Douglas was settled in Jedburgh in 1758, but he had long to preach to empty benches, and to encounter hostile parishioners. 'The people of Jedburgh,' writes Principal Cunningham, 'resolved to abandon the walls of their old Abbey, and erect a meeting-house where they could hear the Gospel preached to them by the lips of a man whom they loved. By the month of December, 1757, their church was erected, and Boston, abandoning Oxnam, where he had only £90 a year, received £120 from the pious liberality of the people who rallied around him.'

Dr. Douglas was born in the manse of Kenmore on 17th July, 1747. We know nothing concerning his early life or at what University he received his literary and theological education, probably Aberdeen, as it was from that University that he received his degree of Doctor of Divinity. In the twenty-third year of his age he was presented by Hugh Scot of Gala to the church and parish of Galashiels, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Selkirk, by a singular coincidence, on his birthday, 17th July, 1770. In the Session records of that parish we have the following entry:—'Galashiels, July 17, 1770: Mr. Robert Douglas, son to the deceased Mr. John Douglas, late minister in Jedburgh, having past his previous trials before the Presbytery of Selkirk, was this day solemnly ordained in order to be minister of this parish.'

Among Dr. Douglas' numerous correspondents was Mrs. Cockburn, the gifted authoress of the 'Flowers of the Forest.' She was a daughter of Rutherford of Fairnalee, and one of the Doctor's parishioners. It was to him she wrote in 1777 that interesting letter contained in Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, in which the genius of Scott, then a boy of six, is first mentioned. 'She chanced,' observes Lockhart, 'to be writing next day to Dr. Douglas, the well known and much respected

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minister of her native parish Galashiels.' The letter dated: 'Edinburgh, Saturday night, 15th of the 5th when the people of England hang and drown them

In another of her letters to him, she writes from under date 30th December 1786: 'The town is a [the Ploughman Poet who receives adulation with na and is the very figure of his profile, strong and coar a most enthusiastic heart of love. He has seen Gordon and all the gay world; his favourite for manners is Bess Buruet (daughter of Lord Monbod bad judge indeed.' The 'Ploughman Poet,' it need b added, was Burns, who at the time was being feted burgh.

Dr. Douglas carried on correspondence with eminent of the Church; and interesting letters are preserved by Dr. Blair, Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, and Professor Adamguson. Dr. Hugh Blair was minister of the High Ch Edinburgh, Professor of Rhetoric in the University, an author of those famous sermons, which, being highly r mended by Dr. Johnson, were in a former age generally and which still maintain their place on the shelves of w well furnished theological library. Dr. Alexander Carl minister of Inveresk, known on account of his noble head a countenance as Jupiter Carlyle, and is still known as t leaders of the Church of Scotyle, and in his day one of t author of a most interesting autobiography published fif years after his death. Dr. Adam Ferguson was the Profess of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh and th author of the *History of the Roman Republic*, which, notwith standing all subsequent researches, is still regarded as an authority.

In 1783 Dr. Douglas first appeared as an author. The work which he published was in the form of a pamphlet of 108 pages entitled *Observations on the Nature of Oaths*. Its contention is that the number of oaths should be diminished; that all useless oaths are wrong and deteriorating to the moral character.

* *Life*, Vol. I., p. 87. Edit. 1837.

‘Oaths,’ he observes, ‘about trifles fail to command attention and respect. Besides, though they retained their influence, the feelings of human nature are affronted when the sacred majesty of an oath is thus debased.’ And he concludes the pamphlet with the following words: ‘Let Britons reflect that nothing can more effectually destroy our impression of the living and true God and our fears of future vengeance than to multiply oaths, to demand and administer them without necessity, to evade by forced constructions their obvious meaning, or to persuade ourselves that some of them are mere forms and of no obligation.’ Certainly Dr. Douglas is right, for all unnecessary oaths are sinful and wrong; they are at variance with that liberty which Christ confers on his people. Legislation has removed much of what Dr. Douglas complained. The writer of this paper, when presented to a parish had to take an oath that he renounced the Pretender, a most useless procedure as that unfortunate Prince had drunk himself to death more than eighty years before. Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, in a letter to Dr. Douglas, thus adverts to this pamphlet on oaths: ‘I advert to what you say about your pamphlet. But it has already gone to rest: and if Addison or Dean Swift were to return from the dead to write a criticism upon it, or even if Jem Rivington was to return from New York to puff it away by advertising at the rate of £5 per diem, it would be impossible to give it a resurrection. So the only thing you can do is totally to forget it.’ Not a very flattering notice and advice to a disappointed author.

In 1783 Dr. Douglas made a journey on horseback through England by way of Newcastle and York to London and thence to Bath, returning by Carlisle, a very different mode of conveyance from our modern railways, on which, as Ruskin observes, we are conveyed like parcels booked from one station to another. An interesting record of this journey has been preserved in a series of letters to his mother.

On his return Dr. Douglas found himself engaged in a great controversy, now wholly forgotten but which then violently agitated the Church, on the election of a successor to Dr. Drysdale, the Principal Clerk of the Assembly. The Moderate

party, led by Dr. Blair and Dr. Carlyle, had some difficulty in fixing upon a candidate; but ultimately they selected Dr. Douglas. Dr. Carlyle, in a letter to him in 1788, thus announces the fact. 'You will be surprised to hear that the candidate fixed upon is yourself, as one of the strongest we could fight in the present circumstances. I have no time to be more explicit. But let me request your zealous assistance. When you write, direct for me at Mr. Tawse, Writer, Parliament Square, as I shall be much in town.' It does not appear, however, that Dr. Douglas accepted the honour, for his name was certainly not brought forward. Ultimately the candidates were Dr. Carlyle himself and Professor Dalziel. In the Assembly Dr. Carlyle was elected by a majority of three; but after a scrutiny, the result was that Dalziel was declared elected by a few votes.

In 1797 Dr. Douglas received the well merited degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Aberdeen. He had now obtained an influential position in the Church of Scotland. He was not only the respected minister of what was then a rural parish, but exercised a considerable influence in Church Courts. He carried on a correspondence with the leading men of the Church, many of whose letters still remain, and throw light upon the parties into which the Church was then divided. He belonged to what was then termed the Constitutional section, which would now be regarded as the extreme Moderate party. He did not, however, imitate them in the frigidity of their preaching: but was, as we have reason to believe, evangelical in his discourses. None of his sermons, however, remain.

In 1798 his great work was published. It is entitled: 'General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, with observations on the means of their improvement, drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and internal improvement.' The work, he informs us, was undertaken at the united request of Sir John Sinclair and of several gentlemen in both counties. It is a work of great merit and research, and although since that time the style of agriculture has been entirely revolutionised, yet it is most interest-

thirteenth of the series—containing an account of the religion of France.

In 1814 the new parish church of Galashiels was opened. It was several years before the heritors could be persuaded to put their hands into their pockets. As early as 16th March 1808 Dr. Douglas applied to the heritors. He represented that during the last two winters his congregation have made frequent and loud complaints of the church being cold, damp, and uncomfortable; that several entertained suspicions of its being unsafe, and that at any rate it was extremely inconvenient, both for the speaker and the hearers, from its length and narrowness, being 75 feet long and scarcely 18 feet wide, and he submitted to the heritors to take such measures for removing these complaints as to them should appear necessary. Accordingly an architect was appointed to examine the church. His report clearly showed that the church was dangerous, unhealthy, and totally unfit for divine service. It is as follows: 'That the front wall of the house, owing to the spurring of the roof, is considerably off the plumb, and all the other walls are more or less so, none of them are straight but bilged and twisted in many places, and much wasted and decayed; the rain evidently penetrated through the walls in almost every part, rendering the whole insufficient and dangerous. The floor of the church is twenty inches below the level of the church-yard, consequently the church is very damp. I could not get access to examine the roof, but from the appearance of the outside without doubt it also is much decayed, the timbers being considerably bent in and the surface unequal. If the floor was levelled equal with the surface without, the present windows would be far too low to give proper light to the house, and from the ruinous state of the walls it would be extremely dangerous to attempt slapping them with new ones.' This is an instance of what Principal Cunningham remarks concerning the state of parish churches at the end of last century. 'In some,' he observes, 'there were no seats; in very many the earthen floor sent agues and rheumatisms into the feet of the worshippers. Some are described as much more like sheds for cattle than temples consecrated to God. The

damp air which met the parishioner as he entered, was like the noxious atmosphere of a burial vault, or an underground cellar. In stormy weather the wind came whistling through the broken panes, the wet streamed through the unlathed walls, and penetrating the roof, dropped upon the floor.' Notwithstanding this damaging report, sufficient to condemn any church, the heritors did nothing for four years. Dr. Douglas had to apply for the intervention of the Presbytery, and at length after many delays the heritors came to the resolution that a new church should be built.

It was not in Galashiels only that the beneficent effects of Dr. Douglas' ministry were felt. Selkirk was then the capital of the county; Galashiels was but a village. It was by the labours of Dr. Douglas that the library in Selkirk was founded. This benefit was recognised by the people of Selkirk presenting him with his portrait painted by the eminent artist Raeburn. The original is in the possession of Dr. Douglas' grand-children, kept by them as a valuable heirloom, but two replicas were taken, one of which is in Selkirk, and the other adorns the Town Hall of Galashiels.

But years began to tell on the now venerable Doctor; his health commenced to fail; in 1818 he had a slight shock of paralysis. It was in this year that one who is still alive, and who is among the oldest communicants of the Church of Scotland, was admitted to church ordinances. She informed the writer that there was an unusual number of young communicants, the reason being that Dr. Douglas was too old and infirm to ask questions. They were brought into his presence by his daughter and their names mentioned, and the old man laid his hands on the head of each and gave them his blessing.

In 1819 the presentation of a cup was made to him by the manufacturer of Galashiels, in token of their gratitude for his help, and of the high esteem in which he was held. One of my elders, now an old man, told me that he was present on that occasion. He remembers the old man, almost blind, led by his two daughters, and brought to the head of the stairs, at the front door of the manse, where the presentation was made. The following is the account given by Mr. Craig Brown

in his interesting work on Selkirkshire. 'On Tuesday, 12th October 1819, the quiet precincts of the manse garden were invaded by a crowd which composed nearly all the inhabitants of the town in holiday attire. To honour the old laird of Abbotsford, the new laird had sent his piper, John of Skye, who marched at the head of the procession. After the people had taken up their position round the garden, so that each might see what was going on, the good old man was led out to the landing by his two daughters. Upon seeing how severe had been the ravages of time upon their pastor, whom they had beheld in the prime and vigour of his manhood, many burst into tears. When he felt the cup in his hand Dr. Douglas, no longer able to speak or see, lifted up his face, as if toward heaven, and those who were near could see the tears running down his cheeks. Neither could his daughters who stood behind him refrain; and there were few among the hundreds of spectators whose eyes were not dimmed. This touching ceremony over, the old man was led back to his house, the band playing 'Auld Langsyne,' and the people filed slowly out of the garden to resume the simple festivities of the day.' Mr. David Thomson, a manufacturer who had shared the Doctor's ready help, thus commemorates the occasion :

'Hail, reverend Doctor ! Dearer still
Now, when thy light is all down hill.
There was a time, and not far gone,
When you stood forth, and stood alone ;
When our frail bark was tempest-tost
And neared the shallow, rocky coast,
Thou cheer'd the crew. A fav'ring gale
Auspicious fills the swelling sail,
The vessel stands again to sea
And rides the waves triumphantly
So in the Autumn of thy days
Accept our gratitude and praise
To cheer thee in thy latter end
Our guard, our pastor, and our friend.'

In May 1819, Dr. Douglas appeared for the last time in the pulpit, when he delivered his farewell sermon. This affecting scene is thus described by one who was present. 'I was

present when the Doctor preached his farewell sermon to his flock, most of whom he had baptised, and shall never forget the scene. One of his daughters had been lately married to a neighbouring minister, and the old blind man was guided by them to his wonted place, after which the simple service began. The ordeal he bore with fortitude till he had to speak in his own person and to the occasion, when his voice failed him. He groped back over his subject, and fragments of his thoughts found their way into words; but repetitions and incoherences brought his children around him. Then he was borne back in their arms to his own familiar seat amid the tears and blessings of his flock; and the service was concluded by his son-in-law.'

At length the fatal hour drew near. Dr. Douglas continued to linger for more than a year after this; but life was not to him desirable; he was blind, he had lost the use of his limbs, his mind was somewhat impaired; his work was finished; he had nobly done his part in the great battle of life, and on the 15th November 1820 he died of paralysis in the seventy-third year of his age and the fiftieth of his ministry. He is buried in the old churchyard of Galashiels with no inscription on his tombstone, but the mere record of his ordination and death. 'In memory of Robert Douglas, D.D., for 50 years minister of Galashiels: ordained 19 July 1770; died 15 November 1820.' So be it; he requires no epitaph of his virtues; his works speak for him; and, as long as Galashiels continues the manufacturing town that it is, his name will be remembered as chief contributor to its prosperity and fame.

Little more need be said: it is hardly necessary to describe his character. Dr. Douglas was a man of eminent shrewdness and foresight. This is seen from the manner in which he promoted the interests of the town of Galashiels and fostered the woollen manufactures. With this was combined an unwonted generosity; he freely advanced money to promote the interests of his parishioners, and in the time of great mercantile depression he came forward as their surety. Many of the most prosperous manufacturers acknowledge that they owe the rise of their houses to his assistance and sage advice. He was a man

of great benevolence; and numerous instances could be mentioned of those whom he assisted and raised. Nor was he less distinguished for his tolerance and freedom from bigotry. He visited the houses of dissenters as well as those of his own people, and it is the written testimony of one of them, who describes himself as a Seceder of the strictest denomination, that Dr. Douglas never omitted to visit their humble cottage, and with his accustomed urbanity, would say: 'I know you do not belong to my congregation, but that is no reason why I should not come in and have a chat with you, ask how you are getting on, and see if I cannot be in any way useful to you.' Such was Dr. Douglas, at once the pastor and the father of his people; he has left a fragrant memory behind him and his works follow him long after he has gone to his rest.

Miss Arabella Douglas, the last survivor of the family, left a legacy of £500 in her will for the erection of a memorial window to her father in the new church of St. Paul's, Galashiels. The subject to be designed was the 'Good Samaritan,' suggestive of Dr. Douglas' philanthropy and benevolence of disposition. On the window is the following inscription, Luke x. 30-37; Matt. xxv. 40; Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. In memory of Robert Douglas, minister of Galashiels 1770-1820, erected by his daughter Arabella.

PATON J. GLOAG.

ART. VIII.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND.

1. *Local Government and Taxation (Ireland) Inquiry.* Special Report of W. P. O'Brien, Esqr., Dublin, 1878.
2. *Local Government and Taxation of Towns (Ireland).* Report 20th July 1877, presented to the House of Commons.
3. *The County Councils Acts for England and Scotland*, 51, 52 Vict., Cap. 41; 52, 53 Vict., Cap. 50.

4. *Reports of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, and of the Royal Commission on Irish Public Works, 1887-90.*
5. *Reports of the Local Government Board of Ireland, 1887-90.*
6. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill, London, 1885.*

MR. BALFOUR has announced that Local Government and Administration in Ireland is to be reformed, and a measure of this kind will probably be the chief effort of Parliament in 1892. The subject suggests the gravest reflections to those, who consider Irish affairs, from a point of view higher than that of party, and are true to the cause of well ordered liberty. The present condition of Ireland, it has been justly remarked, has a striking resemblance, in some respects, to that of old France before the great Revolution. In both instances we see an aristocracy in decay; a bureaucratic *regime* possessing its powers; a centralised government of large prerogatives apparently strong, but really weak; and a revolutionary spirit, fierce and lawless, spreading through a community, not trained to freedom, without experience in self-government, and naturally passionate and easily led by demagogues. Those who know how terrible were the results of the sudden decentralisation of power in France, from 1789 to 1791, and of the hasty concession of local franchises to a people unaccustomed to their use; how these were seen in the flames of plundered châteaux, in the uprising of a degraded peasantry, in pitiless oppression of the upper classes, in the triumph of Jacobinism, and in general anarchy, must feel misgivings lest similar gifts may be attended with like consequences when extended to a state of society analogous in many essential points; and the history of Ireland, during the last twelve years, will certainly not make the apprehension less. The experiment, however, will have to be tried, and that for two reasons which appear decisive. It is a mistake to suppose that the existing system of Local Government and Administration in Ireland is a scheme of mere oppression and wrong, as has been alleged by traders in faction; indeed, many of its anomalies may be ascribed to the lavish benevolence of the Imperial Government. It is, nevertheless, a faulty system: it is part of an order of things that

is passing away; it contains institutions that cannot be justified in the present age, and that are nearly worn out; it rest on a narrow and exclusive basis, and represents ideas that have become obsolete; it is out of harmony with popular feeling, and, indeed, is largely in conflict with it; and although its results have been less mischievous than partisans make them out to be, they have not been, on the whole, fortunate. The whole character again, of Local Government and Administration in England and Scotland, has been changed within the last three years, and now stands on a popular footing; and though there are many reasons why this precedent should not be slavishly applied to Ireland, its principle must be extended to her, if the local arrangements of the three countries are to be reasonably alike in their essential character, and to confer similar rights and privileges. With your permission I shall discuss the subject; and the time is certainly opportune in the extreme. Ireland, for the moment, enjoys repose; and though this is only a passing calm, and elements of disorder fill the sky, there is at least a lull in the angry tempest which threatened, but lately, to overturn society. The occasion, therefore, is most favourable to examine what is defective and bad in Local Government and Administration in Ireland; to consider how it can be improved, consistently with the maintenance of social order, and to carry out a wise and comprehensive scheme of reform. Perhaps I may add that I have some claim to speak with authority on this matter. I have been a Grand Juror and a Poor Law Guardian in an Irish county for more than forty years, and am, therefore, familiar with County Government in Ireland in its various details. As a County Court Judge I have had a large experience of Irish Municipal Government in some of its aspects, and a seat on an important Commission of 1869-70, compelled me to study the whole subject in its history and constitutional bearings.

So much confusion of thought exists respecting Ireland, at the present time, that I must, at the outset, draw a distinction which should be kept in sight by the general reader. By Local Government and Administration I mean that assemblage of powers and functions, essentially of a subordinate kind, which attaches only to specified areas and circumscriptions of a given county, and

does not pertain to National Government, though in every respect dependent on it. The sphere of Local Government and Administration is separated from the sphere of the State, though included within that larger sphere; it is an inferior part of a vast domain, strictly confined within its peculiar boundaries. Local Government and Administration, therefore, in the case of Ireland, has nothing to do with the great question of Irish Home Rule, which implies an Irish Parliament, more or less supreme, and an Irish Executive dependent on it, that is an Irish National Government; and on this subject I shall simply remark that, being as I am a strong Unionist, I am opposed to Home Rule, in every form, and to any arrangement that might conduce to it. The Union, no doubt, has not been a blessing to Ireland, in all respects; it has not fulfilled the ideal of Pitt; it has brought a series of ills in its train. The Irish legislation of the Imperial Parliament has produced many beneficent measures, but it exhibits several disastrous failures; the Executive, in the main English, supreme at the Castle, is disliked in Ireland; and if the country has made a great advance in material well-being since 1800, its social structure is still ill ordered, and the community is disaffected in its largest parts. Absenteeism has increased since the Union; the Irish landed gentry have lost their influence, and have been supplanted by a bureaucratic rule, with the numerous vices that belong to it; the people has been made the shuttlecock of alien factions; and though Protestant Ulster has become loyal, the Catholic South seethes with angry discontent. Yet, admitting all this, the Union, I think, is the only tolerable system of governing Ireland: the authority of the Imperial Parliament, and of the executive formed by it, is necessary to maintain society, in a land of passionate feuds of race and faith, and separated into hostile classes; and Home Rule, I believe, would lead in Ireland to a revolution of the very worst kind. For these reasons I equally condemn the statutory Parliament of Mr. Gladstone, and the Irish National Councils of Mr. Chamberlain; the first would cause civil war, and would subvert order; and the second, in the emphatic language of Burke, as he contemplated a like state of things in France, would produce 'anarchy out of parochial tyranny.' The scheme of Local Government and Administration,

which alone, I consider, would be safe in Ireland, is practically that put forward by Lord Hartington, in this matter, I think, our wisest statesman. It should not interfere with the National Government; it should have nothing to do with affairs of State; it should be administrative only, without legislative powers; it should be subordinate to the Imperial Parliament; and it should be closely restricted to purely local duties. If, too, it should have a popular basis, and be largely filled with popular elements, it should be representative of all classes; it should have ample powers within its proper sphere, but these should be so balanced that they could not become the means of assailing social order, or of attempts to destroy property; and it should be under the control of a central authority, at every point of its jurisdiction, to keep it within its prescribed limits.

The reform of Local Government and Administration in England and Scotland affords, I have said, a most cogent argument for a measure of an analogous kind in Ireland. Here, however, we should bear in mind the remark of Burke, 'the circumstances are what render every civil and political scheme, beneficial or noxious to mankind;' and in this matter there is a striking difference between the circumstances of the greater and the lesser island. From the very beginnings of her history, local institutions have prevailed in England, and have possessed considerable force and energy; indeed, her Constitution has partly grown out of the Township, the Saxon Burh, and the Parish. The Shire-motes, long after the Norman Conquest, still bore a resemblance to local Parliaments; and though the jurisdiction of these was gradually transferred to the Supreme Assembly that sat at Westminster, and to the Executive of the Plantagenet Kings, they retained much vitality in the Middle Ages. Soon after the Shire-mote had disappeared, and the County Court had become a name, the organisation of the English Counties, though in many respects no longer popular, was essentially of a local type, and formed a scheme of Local Government and Administration, controlled indeed by the Central Government at every point, but with large authority over local areas, and almost always in touch with local opinion. The Lord Lieutenant, the Sheriff, and the Justices of the Peace in each county were nominated by the

Crown, but were invariably selected from the local gentry ; the Courts of Petty and Quarter Sessions practically did most of the work of the county : for example, ruled the County Police ; and English County Government has always been fairly in harmony with the community on the spot. It is unnecessary to point out how County Government has been made popular in a great degree in England by the establishment of the County Council, but the effects of this change have not yet been marked, though probably they will be so in time ; and English County Government still exhibits the well known character it has borne for centuries. If we pass from the shires to the towns of England, we find these in possession of local franchises and privileges from the earliest times ; and they had grown in strength under the Saxon Monarchy. Municipal freedom and self-government were, however, mainly a gift from Norman Kings ; as in the corresponding instance of France, they made use of the cities and towns as a counterpoise to the feudal nobles ; and this policy was the origin of our urban liberties. London, York, Bristol, and many other towns, with their elective Mayors, their large corporate rights, their ruling burgesses, and their guilds of freemen, were centres of energetic life and industry during the Middle Ages ; and though their freedom declined in the Tudor period, and under the rule of the first Stuarts, many played a great part in the Civil War, and they generally were on the side of the Houses. After the Revolution of 1688, municipal independence decayed in England ; under the aristocratic *regime* which prevailed, many of the towns degenerated into close boroughs, the appanages of great county families, their governing bodies became narrow oligarchies, which wasted their lands and curtailed their rights, and as a large population, without franchises, had in numerous instances grown up in their midst, the privileges of their freemen seemed lost and destroyed. Yet the fine public buildings of many a city and town prove that municipal life was still active in England throughout the eighteenth century ; and on several occasions the bold spirit of municipal freedom asserted itself, and made its influence felt on the seat of government. Through the Great Charter of Corporate Reform which passed into law half a century ago, municipal freedom and self-government have

renewed, so to speak, their growth in England, and have been developed into grand proportions ; and we see the results in the magnificent growth of most of our principal towns and cities, in their noble edifices, in their power in the state, in the energy and public spirit of their free citizens.

Local Government and Administration has, therefore, had a history in England of a thousand years, and it has always been more or less popular. This circumstance, coupled, it should be added, with the strong individuality of the Anglo-Saxon character, has had far-reaching and momentous consequences. It is not only that the English community has been trained for ages in self-government, and has acquired the instincts and tastes of freemen, as we see throughout the national annals. No country in Europe has a people which has accomplished so much by local effort and the energy of the private citizen, and which looks up so little to the State for help to carry out objects of human activity. This truth is written in plain characters on the face of the land, and of its towns and cities. The main roads of England are of Roman origin, and were her chief highways for many ages ; she had never anything like the Royal French Chaussées, and her lesser roads have been the work of the parish. The national harbours of England are few, but her commercial ports are a wonder of the world ; and her coasts are studded with minor havens, constructed or improved by the care of the neighbourhood. Her great drainage works of the seventeenth century, her noble canals of the eighteenth, her huge railway system of the present age, have all been products of private enterprise ; and it is unnecessary to say that her gigantic trade has been developed through this fruitful principle. So, too, the urban centres of English life have grown out of clusters of villages, running into each other in the course of time, owing little or nothing to the hand of the State, and formed upon no general plan, but becoming what they are through the unaided efforts of generations of industrious townsmen. This was the origin of Manchester, of Bristol, of Liverpool, and, above all, of the great world of London ; and even the most careless observer cannot fail to note the contrast which these colossal aggregates, with their irregular streets, their rows

of houses of all shapes, and of many dimensions, and alike only in their look of comfort, their fine public buildings and noble churches, exhibiting every kind of type, for the most part the work of local effort, present to the principal towns of France, and especially to her brilliant capital, in their symmetry, their orderly form and arrangements, showing everywhere the hand of central government. In the same way England has never possessed a great and general system of Public Works; and, with one large exception, the police force, which maintains order in town and country, is controlled and directed by local authority. She has never had a Colbert or a Napoleon to construct monuments of costly splendour, and to spread them over a submissive land; and such institutions as the *maréchaussée* and the functionaries of the Bourbon Monarchy, and of the Governments which have filled its place, who have trained a people to look up to Despotism, as a kind of Providence, to do the work of the Commune and the village, and to perform miracles, would be simply odious to the national sentiment.

I pass by the system of Local Government and Administration which has prevailed in Scotland; it has been much less free than the English system, and less rooted in the national life, but it has been placed at last on a popular basis. Turning to Ireland, we find a condition of things in marked contrast within this province with that of which I have traced the outlines. The native Irish tribes, like all Celts, seem never to have had the local institutions of self-government of the Teutonic races; they were ruled by their patriarchal chiefs and a priesthood; and, indeed, local franchises could not grow up in the primitive rudeness of Irish society. The towns built by the Danes in Ireland seem to have shown signs of municipal life, and local liberty was in some degree extended to the colonists of the English Pale; but Ireland, except a strip of Leinster, remained practically a Celtic land for centuries after the Roman conquest, and her septs and clans had no local franchises. When all the island had been made shireland, after a bloody period of war and conquest, a kind of system of local government was set up in the reign of James I., and the hand of Strafford may perhaps be traced in the county administration of Ireland in his time. The sword of

Cromwell, however, all but effaced these alien institutions of feeble growth; and Local Government and Administration was not established in Ireland, on a firm basis, until William III. had closed the era of conquest, two centuries ago, after the Boyne and Aghrim. Looking at County Government in the first instance, the scheme then devised may be briefly described as an image of English Local Government, confined in its privileges to conquering settlers, who already formed an exclusive caste, and imposed upon a subdued people, divided from their masters in race and faith, and separated from them by evil memories. The hierarchy which ruled the English Counties, ruled in Ireland under the same names; there were Irish Lord-Lieutenants and Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace, selected by the Crown from the local gentry; and Irish Courts of Sessions administered the law in the same forms as their English prototypes. One local institution, however, grew up in Ireland, and acquired great and increasing power, which had nothing like it, in some respects, in England. Owing partly to the extreme backwardness of the Irish community in the eighteenth century, and partly to its wide social divisions, the Grand Juries of Ireland, always composed of landed gentlemen of the highest class, obtained by degrees, in each county, almost a complete control over local affairs; they appointed generally the county officers; they directed and managed the county police; the maintenance and repairs of public buildings, of roads and bridges, were entrusted to them; and they were absolute over the county finance, levying annually large sums for this purpose. If however, with a single exception, this system of Irish County Government apparently resembled that of England, it was completely different in its essential character. The authorities of the Irish counties were local magnates, as in the case of England; but they were a dominant order, cut off from the people, and wholly out of sympathy with it; and the Irish Grand Juries were, in a special way, an institution of a bad kind, for they possessed power over the local purse, and contrived to throw the mass of the local taxes on the tillers of the soil of the vanquished race, who had no voice in their exclusive councils. The whole system, in a word, was part and parcel of the harsh order of things, unhappily known as

Protestant Ascendency in Irish history. What wrongs it accomplished in the name of justice, and what iniquities co-existed with it, is proved in many documents of the time; and it should be added, that, save in a part of Ulster, where society was more happily composed, it prevailed generally throughout Ireland. Yet there was one good feature in this state of affairs, and this should not escape notice. The Irish landed gentry were a sectarian caste, placed over a people, almost of serfs; but they were an aristocracy which could rule; and they governed and administered the Irish counties with many faults and abuses, indeed, but so as always to maintain order and to command respect and obedience.

Protestant ascendancy was mitigated by degrees in Ireland, under the influences of the eighteenth century; and the improvement was felt in her county government. As the country, however, advanced in wealth, the power of the Grand Juries increased; and these bodies, free from all checks of opinion, became in too many instances, jobbing and corrupt, in the administration of the Irish counties. The reader of Miss Edgeworth's Irish novels will remember her account of these little oligarchies, sitting at the Assizes in their petty state, wasting local funds with reckless unthrift, and taxing a subject community without stint or scruple. After the Union, the attention of British statesmen was directed to Irish County Government; and the history of that system from this time forward has been that of the slow intrusion of a central and bureaucratic regime in the seats held by local authority, depriving it gradually of the substance of power, but leaving it the semblance of rank and privilege, and yet standing almost wholly aloof from the people. The hierarchy of the Irish counties was allowed to remain; and to this day every county possesses its Lord Lieutenant, its sheriff, its justices, appointed by the Crown, as they have always been, and holding office on the old conditions. But these fine names are little more than shadows; and County Government in Ireland depends almost wholly, at this time, on the 'Castle,' that is on the staff of the Central Government. The old county police have disappeared long ago, and have been replaced by a constabulary force, trained and disciplined like the regular army, and ruled from head quarters in Dublin; stipen-

diary magistrates nominated by the Crown, and largely endowed with special powers, do most of the work of the local justices; and the County Court Judges, experienced lawyers, and, of course, appointed like all judges on the responsibility of the Central Government, are practically supreme at Quarter Sessions, and administer all the higher local justice. The 'Castle' and its officials have thus succeeded the local landed gentry in County Government, and the change in the Grand Juries has been as decisive. These bodies are still composed of the chief men of each county, chosen by the Sheriffs, officers of the Crown, and not elective in any sense. They have still the charge of most of the public works of the different counties, which they had before; they have considerable control over the smaller towns; they still regulate the county finance; and they have a large new jurisdiction, under recent statutes, especially in voting compensation for malicious injuries. But the Central Government appoints their principal officers; their accounts are subject to a strict audit; they are checked and limited at every point on the exercise of their local functions; they have no choice but to 'present' for much of the monies they vote; an appeal lies from nearly everything they decide; and they can only levy indirectly local taxes, through the authority of a subordinate body. The Irish Grand Juries have, in fact, become, in some respects, little more than Boards carrying out the will of the supreme 'Castle,' and the authority they once possessed has been irrecoverably lost. But if the Central Government has engrossed their power, it has left them one of their worst prerogatives: the Grand Jury can still raise money circuitously from the occupiers of the soil, who have never been represented on it; and here the Central Government has made no popular change. The local magnates of the Irish counties, it should be added, are the descendants of the old ascendancy of conquest and sect which has never coalesced with the people, and the position they now hold is singularly like that of the noblesse of France before 1789.

The Irish system of County Government and Administration has thus a character very different from that of England and Scotland. It is of comparatively new origin; it was imposed by the sword on a conquered race; it long represented an ascendancy

of class, distinct in blood and creed from the people, and hostile at best from the nature of the case ; it now represents a bureaucratic rule which has supplanted the old ascendancy, but has left this the symbol of rank and privilege ; and it is in disaccord with Irish opinion. The system is not oppressive and cruel, but it combines the evils of a centralized regime with those of a weak, but unpopular, dominant class ; it is separated from the community at every point ; and the Grand Jury, especially a taxing body, chosen from the 'Castle,' and controlled by it, composed of an aristocratic caste, and without a single elective element, is an anomaly in a democratic age, and an institution which cannot be justified. I proceed to the cities and towns of Ireland, and to their Local Government and Administration. Municipal rights seem to have had no place in the usages of the Celtic races, and could not, indeed, have grown up in the petty villages of the Irish tribes ; and, as I have said, the first traces of them in Ireland appear in the towns built by the Danish invaders along the coasts. As in the case of England, the Norman 'Lords' of Ireland gave charters to many spots in the island which bore the titles of cities and towns ; but municipal life could not flourish in a land to a great extent a wilderness ; the Norman conquest, too, of Ireland, as a whole, was in the main a mere feudal fiction ; and, at this period, municipal franchises really existed only in the capital of the Pale, and in a few of its principal towns—Kilkenny was the most famous of these—and were strictly confined to the Anglo-Norman settlers. During nearly the whole of the sixteenth century, marked by the advance of Tudor conquest, Ireland was a scene of civil war and bloodshed, with confiscation following in its train ; and it is unnecessary to say that, in such an age, the few towns that survived could make no progress, and there could be no development of urban liberty. After Mountjoy, however, had sheathed his sword, James I. attempted to set up in Ireland a kind of form of municipal life ; he granted corporate charters and rights to a number of small and half-ruined hamlets and made them Parliamentary Boroughs ; but this was not in the general interest ; it was merely to secure in the Irish House of Commons a majority for the English colonists planted recently in the old territories of

the tribes. This system went very nearly to wreck in the era of strife and trouble that followed; and as in the case of the Irish counties, so in that of the cities and towns of Ireland, Local Government and Administration really dates only from the reign of William III. At this time Dublin, and perhaps Cork, were almost the only towns in Ireland which deserved the dignified name of cities; the other towns were mere fortified posts, or wretched assemblages of paltry streets; and Ireland herself was a land of mourning, uncivilised, and the mere spoil of conquest. Municipal energy, freedom and power could not exist in this state of things; and the towns and cities of Ireland had almost nothing in common with the great urban centres which flourished even in that age, in England. These collections, however, of squalid houses had, in numerous instances, large franchises, and returned members to the Irish Parliament; and they became, accordingly, strongholds of the dominant race and of the aristocracy of conquest settled on the land, and supreme in the two Houses in Dublin. Municipal life, as we have seen, declined in England in the eighteenth century, but in Ireland it scarcely made a sign; and the Irish corporations and borough towns became the mere instruments of the lords of the soil, subservient, feeble, and thoroughly corrupt. One feature of the system has yet to be noticed: the misgovernment which shut out the Irish Catholic from the pale of the law, of course excluded the native race from all rights in these spots; and the cities and towns of Ireland, with their special privileges, their jobbing representatives, and their little ruling bodies, the dependents of neighbouring county families, who wasted their substance and mismanaged everything, were also the seats of an ascendancy of sect, tyrannical, harsh, and in all respects odious, which cast disgrace on the name of Protestant.

Order reigned in Ireland during the eighteenth century, and misgoverned as the country was, some of her cities and towns made decided progress. Dublin grew into a fine capital, Belfast began her brilliant career, and most of the seaport towns on the eastern coast thrived as their trade with Great Britain increased. The great majority of the inland towns remained however, little more than villages; and they were still mere appanages of the

local gentry when the Irish Parliament came to an end. The Union deprived many corporate towns of the representation they had enjoyed, but in other respects there was little change; the municipal spirit could not exist in these petty aggregates of urban life; and soon after the great measure of 1829, which loosened the chains of Catholic Ireland, they remained subject to county magnates, and were governed by small oligarchies of sect, though in most instances a population of Catholics had long been settled in their midst. The great Corporate Reform which England obtained made it necessary for the Government of the day to think of a like reform for Ireland, and, from 1835 to 1839, several attempts were made to effect a change in the government and administration of Irish towns and cities, and to place it on a broader and less exclusive basis. But Protestant ascendancy had been shaken, and O'Connell had given Catholic Ireland power, a strong feeling existed that the concession of larger municipal rights to the towns of Ireland would endanger institutions and interests considered to be of extreme value; and instead of being reformed and remodelled, the franchises of five-sixths of the corporate towns and cities of Ireland were swept away, and eleven towns only were allowed to retain a municipal constitution of any kind. This measure was not so violent as it appeared to be, for, as I have said, municipal rights in most of the towns of Ireland were a mere shadow; and it was even attended with positive good, for it abolished a vexatious domination of creed, and it freed many towns from a slavish dependence. The corporate towns however, were now eleven only; their old privileges had been annulled, and the new privileges bestowed on them were of a very narrow and exclusive character, and wholly different from those of the same class in England. These cities and towns were given a Local Government and Administration of mayors and burgesses, elected by a vote of the citizens; but this vote was confined to a small class, no doubt from a fear lest Protestant rights might be attacked by Catholic masses; the municipal franchise was restricted to a petty minority in every instance; and the great body of the townsmen had no share in the management and control of their own towns. The corporate towns of Ireland, at the same time, were not allowed to exercise rights en-

joyed by towns of the same kind in England; for instance they had no police of their own, and they were interfered with by the Central Government, not so generally as the counties were, but far more so than in the case of English towns and cities. Some years after this measure of 'reform,' it had become apparent that municipal life in Ireland required a fresh stimulus; and in 1854 an Act was passed which enabled the lesser towns of Ireland to acquire certain municipal rights and privileges. There are now nearly a hundred of these towns, but in the case of these as of the corporate towns, the municipal franchise is restricted to a mere fraction of the population; the powers of the governing bodies are very weak, and are considerably checked by the Central Government. On the whole—in the case of all the municipal towns of Ireland, and many, I have said, of the smaller towns are still under the Grand Juries, and have no municipal rights whatever—it must be allowed that their Local Government and Administration rests on a narrow basis; their governing bodies are deprived of powers which they would possess under a more free system; and, except in the single instance of Belfast, which enjoys a wide municipal franchise, their inhabitants, taxed and rated as they are, have scarcely any voice in civic affairs, and are almost without municipal liberties.

The characteristics of the order of things of which I have briefly traced the history, may be described in a few words. Municipal life is not of Irish origin; it could not develop itself for centuries in a tribal land of incessant discord; and probably it could not, in any event, have been as vigorous as it has been in England. It has, however, been checked and stifled for ages; and to this day it has not received the encouragement and support of the State which it has received both in England and Scotland. As in the case of the Irish counties, so in that of the towns, Local Government and Administration has been a system that really dates from the Revolution of 1688; it could not acquire strength or become popular in the condition of Ireland during the eighteenth century; it was associated for a hundred and fifty years with an ascendancy of sect, exclusive and harsh, and with dependence upon an aristocratic caste; and it became oppressive, corrupt, and wasteful. The reform that

life in Ireland, and partly to the disorder of the last twelve years the *ex-officio* Guardians in most Unions attend the Board on in a few instances, and usually are in a small minority; and the institution has altogether failed to protect landed property, which in Ireland is subject to fully five-eighths of the Poor Rate, the opposite having been the case in England, and this, too, though the *ex-officio* Guardians in Ireland have a right to vote by proxy. As to the elected Guardians, they are, for the most part, substantial farmers; they are elected by the whole ratepaying body, but they are elected through a cumulative vote, which, in theory, gives much weight to landlords. But this check, too, has proved almost useless; the elected Guardians not only form an overwhelming majority in most Boards, but in most Unions, if we except a part of Ulster, are Nationalists of a distinct type, and have exhibited the tendencies known as Nationalistic. It should be added that the Central Government has absolute control over the Irish Boards of Guardians, and has lately discharged the duty in more than one instance.

I now come to the institutions, to which I have before alluded, as related to local affairs in Ireland. The Irish Parliament always showed a tendency to encourage Public Works on a large scale; it planted the capital with fine buildings; it constructed two important canals; and it promoted inland navigation in several parts of Ireland. This system was adopted by the Imperial Parliament; and since the Union very large sums have been expended on Public Works in Ireland, Royal Harbours, the improvement of great rivers, inland navigation, arterial drainage, and other works of a similar character. The State, too, has made immense advances for local objects in the public interest, such as county edifices, roads, and bridges; it has also aided the erection of labourers' cottages by the Board of Guardians under recent statutes; and it has lent millions to private owners of land, and even of late years to tenants in Ireland, under the Acts that provide for Land Improvement. These arrangements have been very much more liberal than the corresponding system in England and Scotland; and, though they are open to much criticism, they at least attest the generosity of the State, and the excellent intentions of a succession of statesmen. Since 181

parts of Ireland the National Schools have been denomination for many years, that is, the pupils belong to different faiths, and the intermixture of creeds is not common. The denomination character of the schools, however, is neutralised by a strict conscience clause; the distinctive tenets of any creed form no part of the general school teaching. However Catholic a school may be, it cannot contain a Catholic emblem; however Protestant may be the scholars, they cannot be lectured, say, on the Bible. This is out of harmony with Irish feeling; and munificent as the State has been, this system of education is not popular. To the National School teachers, it should be added, receive very inadequate stipends, and the Training Colleges do not obtain sufficient support.

Let us next see how the entire system, the features of which we have tried to sketch, works in Ireland at the present time, what has been its character, and what its fruits, and what associations have been connected with it. Taking County Government, for the first instance, the Grand Juries, beyond question, perform, on the whole, their duties well; they are intelligent and efficient local bodies. The petty towns under their care, indeed, are the most squalid to be found in Ireland; they sometimes betray the prejudices of class; their decisions as to malicious injuries are not always just. But they have long been free from corruption and jobbing, their officers as a rule are excellent, their direction of county affairs is good; the public buildings, bridges, and roads they manage are usually in the best order. The institution, however, is an embodiment of the ascendancy of a class in decline and of the bureaucratic rule of the Castle; it is a specimen of taxation without representation, it is disliked in Ireland, and has had its day. As to the towns of Ireland, the administration of these with honourable, and even large exceptions, has been less successful than that of the counties. Apart from the attitude of many to the State, on which I shall say a word afterwards, their governing bodies are too frequently composed of members not made fitted by wealth, position, or skill for business, to have the conduct of urban affairs; and, in the case of most of the smaller towns, an independent and strong middle class, one of the best elements of social life in England and

ought not to be the sanitary authority of a municipal town ; this partition of powers has led to confusion, to the clashing of rights and to the evasion of duties ; and the sanitary condition of the lesser towns of Ireland is, as a general rule, disgraceful. During the period of disorder, only just quelled, which since 1879 has afflicted Ireland, many Unions have been most grossly mismanaged ; there has been waste, and reckless and illegal expenditure and the increase of the Poor Rate has been alarming ; but in almost all instances this has been due to the political conduct of Boards of Guardians, on which I shall briefly comment hereafter. I do not concur in the censure lavished on the heads of the Board of Irish Public Works ; they have always been very able men, their staff is well trained and experienced ; and, in my judgment, an institution of the kind is essential to the material progress of Ireland—a poor country in which the State must largely contribute to private enterprise, and must occasionally stand in its place—and it must be mainly an agency of the central government. But the Board labours under the disadvantage inseparable from an authority of the kind, almost unassisted by local effort, and depending upon its officials in Dublin ; the information it obtains is often incorrect, it is cumbrous and slow in its operations, and some of its works have been costly failures. The Public Works of Ireland are too often rather showy and expensive than well planned ; they have a kind of resemblance to the Public Works of France, and are not like works of the same class in England, and some, especially those of drainage and navigation, have been unfortunate. The Board, too, is not liked in Ireland, for it is an appendage of the half-foreign Castle ; and there is no reason why, to some extent, it should not possess a popular element, and be more than it is in touch with the people. As for the National Schools, they look well on paper, and I am far from denying they have done good ; but the education they afford is poor and shallow ; they are not suited to a religious race ; and it is a most significant fact that National School teachers have been deeply imbued with the perilous doctrines revolutionary, socialistic, and hostile to the State, which of late years have had such favour in Ireland. So much for the working of Local Government and Administration in Ireland, as a

and more popular basis, in harmony with the ideas of the age and with the existing facts of Irish social life, and yet to preserve order, to maintain property, and not to give scope and force to the Jacobin spirit at present let loose through the Irish community. I offer my suggestions for what they may be worth and as they are the result of some reflection and of long experience, I venture to hope they deserve attention. At the outset, I would remark that I would make but slight changes in the existing areas of Local Government; the example of France, in 1789-90, shows how dangerous in this matter it is to depart from established usages; and I believe in the aphorism of Burke 'a disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman.' Taking the counties then, as a first unit, I would deprive the Grand Jury in every Irish county of its present administrative and fiscal powers, confining it to the jurisdiction which it has in England and cutting off what is an excrescence only; and I would transfer its powers, with a single exception, that of presenting for malicious injuries, to a popular elective Assembly, giving this too, large additional powers to be briefly set forth hereafter. This body, as in the cases of England and Scotland, ought to be designated as the County Council; and the first question is as to its constitution. Its members should be chosen for the districts they would represent, by all the ratepayers, without exception; but, as the majority of them would be mere peasants—in nine-tenths of the counties at least—and it is imperative in Ireland to protect property, and especially the rights of the landed gentry, I would avail myself here of the cumulative vote, according to a proportion fixed by law; and John Stuart Mill, it may be observed, approves of this precaution, even in English Local Government. The members to be elected, on the County Council should have the qualifications prescribed in England; that is voters should have a free scope to choose; but, in the existing state of Ireland, I would certainly place on every County Council a specified number of men of substance—say from £400 a year upwards—to be elected, separately, but by an unrestricted vote in order specially to represent property, and to form a conservative element on the County Council. That Assembly, organized

changed it was too destructive, though in some respects a beneficent measure ; and for the last half century it has been a scheme extremely limited in its scope, conceding only restricted franchises, largely meddled with by the central government, arousing the jealousy of the mass of the people, and at no point founded on a broad basis. I shall next examine some institutions, either essentially of a local kind, or that are at least connected with local affairs. It is a striking proof of the gross indifference to the requirements of the humbler Irish classes which too long characterised our mode of Government, that it was not until less than sixty years ago that a Poor Law for Ireland was even thought of ; and it was enacted only when two millions and a half, out of a population of scarcely eight millions, were a multitude of almost starving paupers. The Irish Poor Law of 1838 was modelled upon the new English Poor Law ; and Poor Law legislation has proceeded since that time in the two countries, with some differences, on the same principles. Ireland was parcelled out into Poor Law Unions in most respects analogous to those of England ; these were at first 130 in number, but they were increased to 163 during the terrible period of the Great Famine ; and they are at present not less than 161. The Unions are governed by Boards of Guardians, almost exactly upon the English system ; and the duties of these Boards were at first confined almost wholly to the relief of the poor ; the work-house test, it may be remarked, being applied more stringently than is the case in England. By degrees, however, as in England, the Boards of Guardians have acquired large additional powers ; they have a considerable discretion as to out-door relief ; they have a wide jurisdiction under recent statutes, even in matters touching on county government ; and, especially, they have complete control over the sanitary arrangements of the class of smaller towns, even though these may have municipal rights. The constitution and character of the Boards of Guardians in Ireland must be shortly noticed. Each Board, as in England, is composed of *ex-officio* and elected Guardians ; the first, as in England, being local magistrates, and, as a rule, the *ex-officio* Guardians form nominally half of the complete body. Owing, however, partly to absenteeism, the worst vice of social

life in Ireland, and partly to the disorder of the last twelve years, the *ex-officio* Guardians in most Unions attend the Board only in a few instances, and usually are in a small minority; and this institution has altogether failed to protect landed property, which in Ireland is subject to fully five-eighths of the Poor Rate, the opposite having been the case in England, and this, too, though the *ex-officio* Guardians in Ireland have a right to vote by proxy. As to the elected Guardians, they are, for the most part, substantial farmers; they are elected by the whole ratepaying body; but they are elected through a cumulative vote, which, in theory, gives much weight to landlords. But this check, too, has proved almost useless; the elected Guardians not only form an overwhelming majority in most Boards, but in most Unions, if we except a part of Ulster, are Nationalists of a distinct type, and have exhibited the tendencies known as Nationalistic. It should be added that the Central Government has absolute control over the Irish Boards of Guardians, and has lately discharged them in more than one instance.

I now come to the institutions, to which I have before adverted, as related to local affairs in Ireland. The Irish Parliament always showed a tendency to encourage Public Works on a large scale; it planted the capital with fine buildings; it constructed two important canals; and it promoted inland navigation in several parts of Ireland. This system was adopted by the Imperial Parliament; and since the Union very large sums have been expended on Public Works in Ireland, Royal Harbours, the improvement of great rivers, inland navigation, arterial drainage, and other works of a similar character. The State, too, has made immense advances for local objects in the public interest, such as county edifices, roads, and bridges; it has also aided the erection of labourers' cottages by the Board of Guardians under recent statutes; and it has lent millions to private owners of land, and even of late years to tenants in Ireland, under the Acts that provide for Land Improvement. These arrangements have been very much more liberal than the corresponding system in England and Scotland; and, though they are open to much criticism, they at least attest the generosity of the State, and the excellent intentions of a succession of statesmen. Since 1817

the enormous sum of £38,000,000, in round numbers, has been laid out in Public Works in Ireland, and of this, £8,000,000 have been a free gift, a concession without parallel in England or Scotland. The system, however, has the defect common to so much that we find in Ireland, it is bureaucratic in its nature and aspect; it has had too much regard to the interests of class, and it is not, at any point, in touch with the people. Public Works in Ireland are under the control of a Board nominated by the Castle, and largely dependent upon the Treasury. The Board, hitherto, has been an agency in many respects for Irish landlords, and it is wholly without a popular element, though, as it owes its being and its support to the State, it is in the nature of things, and just, that it should be mainly in the hands of the Central Government. I pass on to an institution of much more importance than Public Works, for it concerns the moral and intellectual state of the great mass of the people of Ireland. I have no space to repeat the dreary tale of Primary Education in Ireland in the past; it must suffice to say that it embodies much of what was worst in Irish Government in the last century. Nor can I touch on higher education in Ireland except to express my distinct belief that Catholic Ireland, in this matter, has still a real and no trifling grievance. The system of Primary Education that now exists in Ireland was established about sixty years ago, and it was based on what seemed to be a liberal principle. It aimed at uniting the growing youth of Ireland and yet at securing purity of faith, and with this object it was provided that secular education should be afforded to children together in the same schools, and that religious education should be strictly separate. The State undertook nearly the whole charge of the system of education formed in this way; it has spent enormous sums for this purpose, and the attendance at the schools is very large, the parents of the children paying almost nothing. Yet the National System of Education, as it is called, is disliked in Ireland to a great extent, and certainly has not touched the hearts of the people. The principle on which it was founded has been long abandoned; it could not succeed in a land torn by feuds of sect, and amidst a community which is, in a special way, religious; and in most

parts of Ireland the National Schools have been denominational for many years, that is, the pupils belong to different faiths, and the intermixture of creeds is not common. The denominational character of the schools, however, is neutralised by a strict conscience clause; the distinctive tenets of any creed form no part of the general school teaching. However Catholic a school may be, it cannot contain a Catholic emblem; however Protestant may be the scholars, they cannot be lectured, say, on the Bible. This is out of harmony with Irish feeling; and munificent as the State has been, this system of education is not popular. The National School teachers, it should be added, receive very inadequate stipends, and the Training Colleges do not obtain sufficient support.

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Scotland, is, for the most part, wanting; and this has caused numerous and far-reaching mischiefs. Mismanagement and waste have been a common result; and yet these are not, perhaps, the worst characteristics of the government of towns in large parts of Ireland. Irish municipal life is still very feeble; it is without activity or vigorous strength. Irish municipal bodies have usually shown a tendency to look to the State for everything, and to expect the State to do what is their work; and they have too, generally neglected what is essential to the well-being of the more humble classes. It is difficult, in the case of many towns in Ireland, to get the townsmen to listen to schemes of improvement; they are listless, and seem not to think of progress. The Corporations and Town Commissioners throw everything on the Central Government; above all, in the lanes of wretched houses, in the absence of a proper supply of water, in the bad sewerage, in the large death-rate, and in the look of raggedness and want, which are marked features of most Irish towns, we see a disregard of the poorer community. All this, no doubt, may be partly ascribed to the unhappy history of Ireland in the past, and to her comparative poverty even at this hour; it may also be in part traced to peculiarities of Celtic nature, unlike the Teutonic in self-reliance, and in the individuality which has achieved so much; but certainly it has been largely caused by the absence of a strong popular element in the administration of the towns of Ireland; for municipal life, all experience shows, cannot flourish under a system of narrow privilege and restricted franchises; and if the poor have no rights they are doomed to misery. Brilliant exceptions are to be found, I have said; but the management of too many of the Irish towns is made evident in their external aspect. Several have fine public edifices and streets of lofty houses, but the grandeur of these is often slatternly. In no part of the United Kingdom are the dwellings of the middle-classes so bad, and the quarters of the poor—still commonly known as the ‘Irish towns’ of the days of the ascendancy—are often pitiable scenes of misery.

The administration of the Irish Unions, until ten or twelve years ago, has been, I think, on the whole efficient. In one respect, however, it has not been good; a Board of Guardians

ought not to be the sanitary authority of a municipal town ; this partition of powers has led to confusion, to the clashing of rights, and to the evasion of duties ; and the sanitary condition of the lesser towns of Ireland is, as a general rule, disgraceful. During the period of disorder, only just quelled, which since 1879 has afflicted Ireland, many Unions have been most grossly mismanaged ; there has been waste, and reckless and illegal expenditure, and the increase of the Poor Rate has been alarming ; but in almost all instances this has been due to the political conduct of Boards of Guardians, on which I shall briefly comment hereafter. I do not concur in the censure lavished on the heads of the Board of Irish Public Works ; they have always been very able men, their staff is well trained and experienced ; and, in my judgment, an institution of the kind is essential to the material progress of Ireland—a poor country in which the State must largely contribute to private enterprise, and must occasionally stand in its place—and it must be mainly an agency of the central government. But the Board labours under the disadvantage inseparable from an authority of the kind, almost unassisted by local effort, and depending upon its officials in Dublin ; the information it obtains is often incorrect, it is cumbrous and slow in its operations, and some of its works have been costly failures. The Public Works of Ireland are too often rather showy and expensive than well planned ; they have a kind of resemblance to the Public Works of France, and are not like works of the same class in England, and some, especially those of drainage and navigation, have been unfortunate. The Board, too, is not liked in Ireland, for it is an appendage of the half-foreign Castle ; and there is no reason why, to some extent, it should not possess a popular element, and be more than it is in touch with the people. As for the National Schools, they look well on paper, and I am far from denying they have done good ; but the education they afford is poor and shallow ; they are not suited to a religious race ; and it is a most significant fact that National School teachers have been deeply imbued with the perilous doctrines, revolutionary, socialistic, and hostile to the State, which of late years have had such favour in Ireland. So much for the working of Local Government and Administration in Ireland, as a

system; but an enquiry into it will be of little use, if attention were not fully directed to a train of circumstances connected with it, which have in large parts of it a type and complexion to be kept in sight by every wise reformer. The Grand Juries are not an elective body, and, composed as they are of the higher gentry, they are naturally Conservative and law abiding. But outside part of Ulster, and, it may be said, in five-sixths of the Southern Provinces, every elective body is ill affected to the State; is dissatisfied with the existing order of things; is not heartily on the side of Law; nay, demands violent and wide-spread changes; and this, though it can scarcely be said to have a popular basis in any instance. The Lord Mayor of Dublin has no dealings with the representative of Queen Victoria; Cork openly parades the name of 'rebel;' the Corporation of Limerick a few years ago would not pay a lawfully imposed tax; three-fourths of the municipal bodies of Ireland are adherents of the National League, and of its anarchic and socialistic doctrines. The same tendency is seen in the Boards of Guardians in large parts of Leinster, of Connaught, of Munster; the elected Guardians have abused their trust, and wasted the rates, in many cases, in order to injure and despoil landlords; they have sometimes practically driven away the *ex-officio* Guardians from the Boards; they boast of their hatred of the landed gentry; and they have made the Board rooms, in dozens of instances, spouting clubs of wild revolutionary talk, disloyal, and subversive of Law and Property. This state of opinion, no doubt, may be ascribed, in a great measure, to events in Ireland in the past; De Tocqueville has remarked, with perfect truth, that Jacobinism can usually be traced to wrong; but statesmen are bound to deal with facts, and, in considering the important question of Irish Local Government and Administration, they must take note of this evil spirit, fierce, lawless, destructive, and the foe of order, a spirit, too, which, to some extent, is due to essential defects in Celtic nature, weak and prone to submission perhaps for ages, and then suddenly vehement, and easily swayed by demagogues.

The question, then, for the reformer is how to place the system of Local Government and Administration, which we find in Ireland, exclusive, ill-designed, and narrow as it is, upon a sound

and more popular basis, in harmony with the ideas of the age, and with the existing facts of Irish social life, and yet to preserve order, to maintain property, and not to give scope and force to the Jacobin spirit at present let loose through the Irish community. I offer my suggestions for what they may be worth, and as they are the result of some reflection and of long experience, I venture to hope they deserve attention. At the outset, I would remark that I would make but slight changes in the existing areas of Local Government; the example of France, in 1789-90, shows how dangerous in this matter it is to depart from established usages; and I believe in the aphorism of Burke, 'a disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman.' Taking the counties then, as a first unit, I would deprive the Grand Jury in every Irish county of its present administrative and fiscal powers, confining it to the jurisdiction which it has in England, and cutting off what is an excrescence only; and I would transfer its powers, with a single exception, that of presenting for malicious injuries, to a popular elective Assembly, giving this too, large additional powers to be briefly set forth hereafter. This body, as in the cases of England and Scotland, ought to be designated as the County Council; and the first question is as to its constitution. Its members should be chosen for the districts they would represent, by all the ratepayers, without exception; but, as the majority of them would be mere peasants—in nine-tenths of the counties at least—and it is imperative in Ireland to protect property, and especially the rights of the landed gentry, I would avail myself here of the cumulative vote, according to a proportion fixed by law; and John Stuart Mill, it may be observed, approves of this precaution, even in English Local Government. The members to be elected, on the County Council, should have the qualifications prescribed in England; that is, voters should have a free scope to choose; but, in the existing state of Ireland, I would certainly place on every County Council, a specified number of men of substance—say from £400 a year upwards—to be elected, separately, but by an unrestricted vote in order specially to represent property, and to form a conservative element on the County Council. That Assembly, organized

in this way, would be a representative body, in the fullest sense, at once popular, and yet planned to uphold order, and what was established ; and the next question would be as to its rights and privileges. Except only the deciding on malicious injuries, and on the compensation to be bestowed for them, which being evidently a judicial function, ought to belong to the County Court Judge, I would give it, I have said, the whole series of administrative and fiscal powers at present possessed by the Grand Jury ; and, subject to the control of the Central Government, it should therefore have in every county the management and care of public buildings, of bridges, roads, and similar works, with full power to impose local rates, and to borrow, when required, for these purposes. It should, also, have a right to appoint its officers and the official staff of which it would stand in need to carry out its administrative work ; and, of course, it would have an inherent right to nominate and elect its chairman and the committees it would tell off to do various duties. The County Council, however, as I have said, ought to be invested with more ample powers than those transferred from the Grand Jury ; though I would limit its jurisdiction to those towns only which did not rise above the rank of villages. It should have a right to receive evidence on private and local bills of all kinds, and thus to get rid of a real grievance and of a source of vexatious expense ; and its reports, in this matter, if confirmed by the authority of the Central Government, ought to have the efficacy of a private Act of Parliament, of course, when put in the form of a law. The County Council besides ought to have a right, if this were the wish of the ratepayers on the spot, to set up local Boards for arterial drainage, and local Boards to promote sea-fisheries, subject to the approval of the Board of Public Works, as the agency of the Central Government, a distinct improvement on the existing system ; and it ought to be able, under certain conditions, to establish the system of education of a primary kind in local areas, which the majority of the ratepayers, reckoned by their different communions, deemed most acceptable.

A County Council, under these arrangements, might obviously have to deal with matters extending beyond its natural area. A private bill might embrace lands comprised in a succession of

counties; and the same may be said of a river basin to be made a subject for arterial drainage. Yet, in my judgment, that is no reason for establishing Provincial or larger Councils. The objections to these seem to me decisive, and a solution of this difficulty is I think evident. When a County Council would have to take cognizance of questions outside the sphere of the County, these should be referred to, discussed, and settled by committees chosen from all the Councils of the Counties in any way affected; and a vote of the majority of these ought to be conclusive. I pass on to the cities and towns of Ireland and to the reform in municipal government and administration which I venture to propose. The governing bodies of Irish towns are elective and in a sense popular; I would make no extraordinary change in these; and they ought to retain their present names as Mayors and Burgesses, or as Town Commissioners. They should be elected, however, on a principle wholly different from that which is now in force; and they ought not to be, as they are now, chosen by a mere fraction of the urban communities. It is, I have said, a disgrace and a peril, that, in the case of the municipal towns of Ireland, the voices of the townspeople have scarcely any power in the management and control of affairs; this is one main cause of the listless languor we find in Irish municipal life, and of the tendency of the towns to look to the State for everything; but above all it is a main cause of the scandalous neglect we too commonly see in Irish towns in arrangements for the poor. The municipal franchise should be set free from the narrow restrictions which now confine it; and, as in the cases of England and Scotland, it should be extended to all the rate-paying householders. Here, however, as in the case of the counties, I would take the security of the cumulative vote; and I would place on the governing bodies, a proportion of members, whose fortunes would give them a plain interest, to represent and to guard property, yet who would be elected by a popular vote. As far as possible the towns of Ireland should be encouraged to seek municipal rights, though they could not, of course, be forced on them; and, as I have said, the Grand Jury should have a jurisdiction over villages only, and, in no instance, over a town, now, or hereafter, possessing municipal rank. The rights and

duties of the governing bodies would be much the same as they are at present; subject to the control of the Central Government they should administer urban affairs, and should have a right to tax for the purpose, but they should have their borrowing powers enlarged, and their taxing powers, for the same reason, in order to make up for a long arrear of public work which should have been done, especially for the behoof of the poor; and they should be the sanitary authority, sole, and absolute, of every town, however small, they might rule, the Board of Guardians being wholly excluded.

The changes I advocate in the Government and Administration of towns in Ireland, seem, at first sight, not to be extensive. But they shift the whole structure of municipal rights from a mischievously narrow to a broad foundation; and the full enlargement of the municipal franchise would, I hope, quicken municipal life, give the people in the towns the interest in them, which would make them lean on the State less, and, above all, would improve the condition of the poor. As for the Unions of Ireland, it is, at least, a question whether their number is not very much too great. This estimate was made during the Famine period, when the mass of pauperism was enormous, and twenty or thirty Unions might be suppressed, and their buildings transferred to the County Councils. As for the constitution of the Boards of Guardians, it ought, I think, to be considerably changed; it has failed to protect the rights of property, and property which, I have said, pays the greater part of the Irish Poor Rate, is powerless on the Boards in more than half the country. The Boards of Guardians should, I believe, be elective as to the whole of their numbers, for the *ex-officio* system has broken down in most Unions in the Southern Provinces; and, as in the case of the County Councils, I would seat on the Boards a certain number of wealthy ratepayers to uphold property, these being elected by a special vote; and I would do away with the *ex-officio* Guardians, an institution in itself unpopular and unsuccessful from many points of view. I confess, however, I would go further in this matter to secure property. As the law now stands, the occupier of the soil in Ireland has not to pay the Poor Rate, if rated at only £4 or less, and this exemption

deprives him of all interest in economy and keeping down the rates, and throws a heavy burden on the landed gentry. I would abolish this bad and unwise distinction, and would compel every possessor of land, however low his rating, to pay Poor Rate. This would be simple equity, for every Irish peasant has been made a joint owner of his farm ; and this would relieve property from an unjust charge, and, what is more important, would give the whole mass of the ratepayers a direct inducement to resist the mismanagement and the attacks on property, too frequent at present in many Unions. As regards the duties of the Boards of Guardians, they should be the same as they are now, except that, as I have said, a Board should cease to do the sanitary work of a municipal town ; and the reform, I propose, would alike place Poor Law Administration on a wider basis, and, I hope, would check the socialistic and reckless tendencies exhibited by the Boards in a large part of Ireland. With respect to the Board of Public Works, it must remain, I have said, an agency, for the most part, of the Central Government. The State, in the existing condition of Ireland, must supply most of the funds for Public Works, and must be supreme in this department ; but the Board, I have urged, might in some respects co-operate with the County Councils ; and I would reinforce it with one member at least, elected by a vote of these bodies, and would thus give it a popular element. In a country like Ireland, torn by sectarian feuds and a strife of classes, it may be that, in the general interest, the State ought to retain the system of primary education now in existence, and should insist on a conscience clause in every primary school, denominational though it was in type ; but this system, I contend, is not liked in Ireland, and it cannot, I think, be deemed to have been successful. I venture to suggest an alternative scheme more in harmony with Irish ideas and needs, but subordinate to the larger system, and made subject to a severe test, to prove if it fell in with Irish opinion. If the ratepayers of any communion wished, in a school district, to have a school denominational in all respects, that is purely Protestant or purely Catholic, the County Council within its jurisdiction should have power to establish a school of the kind, subject to the approval of the Central Government. The ratepayers, however, in such a

case, should be prepared to contribute a fixed School Rate, though the State should, of course, make a contribution from the funds allotted to the 'National' schools; and, notwithstanding this stringent check, the purely denominational schools would, I believe, be numerous. Meanwhile, the Training Colleges for the National Schools ought to be more liberally maintained than they are, and the pay of the National School teachers should be increased.

I have at last reached a most important subject, the authority of the Central Government, in the scheme of Local Government and Administration, of which I have tried to set forth the outcome. It would be imperative, I think, that in principle the Central Government should, through its agencies, have a similar control over the local bodies, of which I have described the functions, to that which it possesses at present, though this need not be exactly the same. The Local Government Board ought to have a right to audit the accounts of the County Councils, of the municipal towns, and of the Board of Guardians, a right which belongs to it now; it should also exercise a control over their borrowing powers and their expenditure, and it should be able to give them advice and assistance. Strict precautions, too, would have to be taken that the local bodies should not encroach on the recognised domain of the Central Government; and this, I have said, must always have, in a country like Ireland, a large sphere of action, and, occasionally, the initiative in local matters. Where, as in Ireland, jails, court-houses, and bridges, are, to a great extent, constructed by funds advanced from the State, the Central Government must have considerable control over the County Councils; the same must be the case with the towns, for the circumstances are precisely similar, and the Irish Board of Works and National Education Board must direct three-fourths of all that belongs to Public Works and to Primary Schools, for they represent the State, which in this matter has made a free gift of millions of money, and is still, in the highest degree, generous. These obvious reservations having been made, Local Government and Administration in Ireland should, nevertheless, be as free as possible consistently with the general interest, and especially with the just rights of property, and with the reason-

able control of the Central Government, and I would certainly endeavour to render this more popular than it is now, and to make it representative in this province of something besides the bureaucratic Castle. As in the case of the Board of Public Works, I would give seats on the Local Government Board, on the Education Board, and on boards of the kind, to members chosen by the County Councils, and in this way I would infuse an element 'racy of the soil' into the agencies of the State. A grave, practical question remains: how the Central Government is to make its power felt, and to enforce control over Irish local bodies. The machinery to effect this is cumbrous, and, in part, obsolete, at least in a great number of possible instances. I would not interfere in this matter with the functions of the Local Government Board, or with those of the Irish Privy Council, for these have been very well exercised. But legal questions, within a certain limit, relating to the powers of the County Councils, of the municipal towns, and of the Boards of Guardians, should be made referable to the County Court Judges, subject to the ordinary right of appeal; and, beyond this limit, they should be dealt with, in a summary way, by the Superior Courts. This reform would keep local bodies within their spheres, and would effectually check all kinds of abuses, and it would greatly strengthen the Central Government. I incline, too, to think that, in the present state of Ireland, the State ought to possess a right to suspend or abolish any local body persistently violating its trust, or the law; but the decision as to forfeiture or suspension, should not belong to the Executive Government; it should be committed to the highest court in Ireland, and with an appeal to the House of Lords.

It will be observed that, in these suggestions, I leave parts of the existing system of Irish Local Government and Administration untouched. I do not profess to make a change in the old organisation of County Government, the Lord-Lieutenant, the Sheriff, and the local justices; and the stipendiary magistrates and county court judges would continue to be appointed by the Central Government. In the first place, every one of these offices ought, under a well-planned order of things, be at the disposal of the Executive; and in the next, though the ancient

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improved ; municipal life become less feeble ; the administration of towns much better than it is, especially in the interests of the poor ; the Poor Law system, that of Public Works, and that of Primary Education, on a sounder footing ; more co-operation between divided classes ; and, though too much is not to be expected here, a gradual drawing together of the sundered elements of Irish society under the influence of common work, and widely extended franchises. The plan I propose may seem too narrow even to those who only seek to reform Local Government and Administration in Ireland ; it may be thought to betray mistrust of the Irish people ; but it is impossible to forget the present state of the country, and not to take account of the Jacobin spirit, wild, socialistic, lawless, destructive, which pervades large parts of the Irish community. To such critics I shall only reply : Read the profound chapter in which De Tocqueville shows how sudden concessions, unwisely made, trained the French people to revolution, when the state of society that prevailed in France resembled that of Ireland at the present moment.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

ART. IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July, August, September).—Going back to the first of these three numbers, the contribution most likely to interest the general reader is the anonymous letter on Saint-Just. It shows but little sympathy with him, as may be gathered from the following passage : ‘ Complete indifference with regard to the life or death of others presents itself as the most conspicuous feature of his “heroism.” That, indeed, is its characteristic. The capacity ruthlessly to carry out what is considered necessary must be *acquired*, if it is to be looked upon as the quality of a statesman ; he who possesses it already is a Barbarian, be he who he may. What Saint-Just’s contemporaries looked upon as a proof of his “antique greatness,” has been recognised and condemned by history as mere cruelty.’—In a communication which runs through two numbers, Dr. Walther Vulpinus edits the album of August von Goethe ; that is to say,

he gives a number of more or less interesting entries in it, and strings them together with a few words of commentary.—Herr Otto Seeck continues through two further numbers the paper entitled 'Zeitphrasen,' which was begun last quarter. It is a rather mixed medley of dissertations on the subject of art, specialism, and museums, and, altogether, rather heavy reading.—In the August part a conspicuous place is given to the address delivered at Leipzig, by Professor Wundt, on the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of King Albert of Saxony. The subject is 'The Relation of the Individual to the Community.'—An article of some importance is that entitled: 'Die Et appenstasse von England nach Indien über Canada.' In summing up the result of his study the author says, 'Very quietly England has constructed the great Canadian railway, connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific, set up the electric wires by the side of it, and thus opened up a new high road (Weltlinie), which is to help her to begin a new epoch in her commercial supremacy, to form and to defend a greater Britain. . . . As regards time—an important military factor—the advantage secured by the construction of the Canadian line is as follows: Whilst Hong-Kong can be reached just as quickly via Canada as by the Suez Canal route, the journey to Japan and China is considerably shortened, a circumstance which, in the event of complications in the East, might produce decisive results. Neither the route by way of San Francisco nor that across the American isthmus can compete with the Canadian line.'—Not including continuations of articles begun in former numbers—such as 'Zeitphrasen,' and the extracts from August Goethe's Album, or the usual political and literary reviews, the only other contributions are a paper by Herr Frey: 'Ursprung und Entwicklung Staufischer Kunst in Südtalien,' and a charming little story—'A Rainy Day'—by Herr Adalbert Meinhardt.—As a sequel to his pictures of Berlin life, Herr Julius Rodenberg contributes an interesting sketch, for which the capital again supplies him with materials. It is entitled 'Klostermann's Grundstück.'—The practical arrangement of museums is dealt with in a most instructive paper by one well entitled to be heard on the subject, Herr Möbius, the director of the great Museum of Natural History in Berlin.—From Herr Anton Schönbach there is an excellent sketch of the life and times of Walfran von Eschenbach.—An important question is discussed by Herr Heinrich Albucht in his paper 'Kraftmaschinen für das Kleingewerbe,' which indicates the advantages which would accrue to the smaller industries if it were put within their power to use machine power.—A paper which appeals to educationists is Prof. Grimm's

'Geschichtsantevischt in aufsteigender Linie,' of which the practical conclusion is that only such as have gone through a thorough course of German history in the University should be allowed to teach it in schools.—An interesting contribution is 'The Flora of Heligoland,' by Prof. Reinke.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (July, September).—The first of these numbers consists almost exclusively of fiction and of those descriptive articles which this magazine has long made its speciality. To the former the contributions are a further instalment of the serial 'Gräfin Erika's Lehr-und Wanderjahre,' and the first part of a translation by Spielhagen of Julien Gordon's 'Mademoiselle Reseda.' The latter are represented by 'T. Castelli Romani,' 'Palerno,' and 'A Fortnight in Kalymno—an island in the Archipelago noted for its sponge fisheries,' and 'Ottobeuren,' the Suabian Escorial. All these papers are profusely and excellently illustrated.—The only contribution not belonging to one or other of these two classes is a short essay in which Otto Brahm deals with the question of 'Naturalism and the Theatre.'—There is a little more variety in the September part. In the first place, archæology is represented by two interesting and instructive articles. One of these—which is accompanied by a series of 17 illustrations—deals with mediæval tournaments, the other gives a great deal of information concerning the inns of antiquity.—In addition to this, Herr Arthur Kleinschmidt contributes a paper which is at once historical, artistic, and archæological, and in which he sets forth all that has been done by the Count Borromei in the service of the Church and of Art.—This time, the only traveller is a writer who signs himself M. A., and who gives a sketch of his travels through the East of Algeria and a part of the Sahara.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Erstes Heft, 1892).—As this number has just come to hand as we are going to press, we must content ourselves with merely calling our readers attention to the somewhat varied and attractive list of its contents. Dr. T. C. Achelis writes on the origin of 'Practical Theology.'—Professor Kittel of Breslau treats of the Pentateuch documents in the Books of Judges and Samuel.—Dr. H. K. Hugo Delff gives a further contribution to the question of the Fourth Gospel and its authority, which he has treated elaborately already in several of his published works.—Herr Oberpfarrer Wandel has a lengthy article on the Roman governor, C. Sentius Saturninus, and Professor Retschl of Kiel writes on 'Christian Apologetic in the Past, and its Mission in the Present.'

RUSSIA.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—Russian Opinion (June, July, and August).—These three numbers contain several continuations from previous numbers, among them the transcripts from the correspondence of Messrs Herten and Ogareff, recommended as ‘Materials for a History of Russian Society,’ and the close of the picture of country life entitled ‘Sizif,’ translated from the Polish of Clemens Eunosh by V. M. L.—The ‘Foreign Review,’ by Mr. V. A. Goltseff, gives an account of a correspondence between Mr. Labouchere and a French Deputy of the Napoleonic party respecting the Italian navy.—The question of the proposed Maritime League seems to occupy the attention of Russian editors far more than it does their English brethren.—The labour question on the Continent naturally calls for remark, as also the standing questions of the Triple Alliance, the newly developed friendship between France and Russia, and the rival claimants for united Germany’s homage, Prince Bismarck and the Emperor Wilhelm II. Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece of course are not forgotten.—The ‘Home Review,’ which is varied enough, deals with the progress of Siberian railways; the alleviation of the lot of exiles; the Peace Society’s twenty-fifth anniversary at St. Petersburg and Moscow; the Novoe Vremyah (New Times) on the books of Mr. Gr. Djanshieff; the emigration of Poles to Brazil; the new customs tariff; the measure for securing the national food supply; the Female Medical Institute of Petersburg; the emigration of Jews to America and Asia; the reception of the French fleet; the nobles’ and peasants’ banks in view of the bad harvest; the missionary meeting at Moscow; the Esthonian festival at Dorpat, national schools, and the question respecting the future precedence of languages, etc.—The ‘Bibliographic Division,’ contains notices of fifty-six works.—In the June and July numbers, the thoughtful series of chapters entitled ‘Literature and Life,’ by Mr. K. K. Michaelofski, is continued.—The June and August numbers contain (1) a continuation of Mr. V. Th. Miller’s ‘Excursion in the Domain of Russian Epochs;’ (2) two papers under the head of ‘Scientific Views,’ one by Mr. K. I. Toomski, entitled ‘New Technics,’ the other by A. Th. F., entitled ‘Of the New Literature on Corn Tillage.’—The July and August numbers have (1) a complete paper of 50 pages by Mr. D. I. Anoochin, entitled ‘A Hundred Years’ Letters of Russian Travellers;’ (2) ‘Of the History of the agitation on the Orenburg frontier, proposed as ‘Materials for a History of the late Kirghish rising,’ by Mr. N. A. Sereda; (3) a complete Review in 44 pages by A. V. P. of Mons. Brunetiere’s ‘Evolution des genres dans l’histoire de la

littérature;’ (4) an anonymous paper on ‘The French Exhibition at Moscow.’—The matter special to each month now claims notice.—In addition to a large supply of fiction, the June number contains the second half of the clever ‘Hypothesis concerning the nature [or essence] of the Historical Process,’ by P. Th. N.; ‘The First Russian Opera Reformer,’ Glinka, compared with Reformers of other nations, by Mr. Dmitri Behr; the second half of the gossip paper ‘From Athens,’ by Mr. M. I. Venyoukoff; the second half of Mr. M. A. Protopopoff’s ‘Successive Nationalities’; a Review of Mr. N. Zlatorafski’s collected writings; and ‘Contemporary Art,’ describing the first exhibition in Moscow of the pictures of the Petersburg Society of Artists.—The July number contains ‘Grief’ (Groost), a commemorative article on the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the poet Lermontoff, by K.; ‘The Mark or Sign (Zameytki) of Contemporary Romance,’ by Mr. V. A. Goltseff; ‘Commemoration of Lermontoff’ by P.; ‘Nikolai Vasilievich Shelgoonoff,’ and his works in two volumes, by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff.—The August number contains ‘Flowers,’ a Fantasia, by Mr. D. Bolkonski; ‘Lassal’s Diary,’ an anonymous sketch; ‘Stein’s Idea of Empire,’ a Review by Mr. R. U. Vipper of six authors’ works, including Seeley’s ‘Life and Times of Stein’; ‘Zemstvo and Emigration Questions,’ by Mr. Gleb Oospenski; ‘Psychological questions’ based on Count Leo Tolstoi’s ‘Kreutzer Sonata;’ and ‘Adam Mitskevich,’ his life and works, by Mr. A. Oomanski.

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII—(Questions Philosophical and Psychological) opens No. 4 of its second year with a discussion by M. K. Bentzel ‘On the Morality of Life and of the free Ideal,’—which is in point of fact a discussion on the Morality of *l’homme moyen* of whom Matthew Arnold writes: No metaphysics, no compulsion, let us simply take the morality of the man in the street and look at the standard which it sets up. In writing this article M. Bentzel has mainly followed M. Guyau in his treatise on ‘La morale anglaise contemporaine,’ and M. A. Touillée in his ‘*La liberté et le déterminisme*’ and in his ‘*Critique des systèmes de morale contemporains.*’ But he occupies himself in the development of his subject, mainly with the first. He shows us, then, as noticed, the current morality of society *d’une morale sans obligation ni sanction*. This morality does not trouble itself about theories, neither the utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill nor the evolutionary morality of Herbert Spencer and still less about the metaphysical morality of Kant and Hegel, but is content to follow a free and easy hedonistic path. This hedonistic direction he finds, mainly followed by

our contemporary English moralists, though he thinks that they emphasise too highly the active side, such as 'drinking,' as he slyly puts it, when 'he would be inclined to put in the pleasures of living, wishing, thinking,' etc. We must act, that is clear, and we must act mainly in the directions open to us. Some love more exciting, even dangerous paths. But life itself is on the whole the greatest blessing we possess, and in average circumstances, it is advisable to keep clear of whatever endangers its loss, although in certain circumstances, it is allowed that the advantages of life may sink to zero. The author discusses the relation of art to life which, in certain cases, as that of the professional artist, becomes a necessity: the path, in which his activity naturally runs. It would be impossible to forbid Chopin to occupy himself with music or Raphael with painting! But finally, the author, following M. Guyau shows that labour itself, which he names the true human providence, shows us the path we ought to follow. Acting we gain faith in the process of acting; we learn to believe in the result; and thus without troubling yourselves too much metaphysically about the matter, work on the line you have taken up and the result will probably be in accord with your expectations. But, Mr. Bentzel closes without finishing the subject and we shall have to wait for the following number to ascertain what his own and Mr. Guyau's last words are.—The succeeding article takes up the Pessimistic 'Theory of Knowledge, Criticism and Positivism,' and seeks to establish the validity of the last as essentially Pessimistic and Agnostic in character. The author M. E. de Roberti points out that the philosophy of the present time is essential, sensual or sensational in character. But this eventually throws it into the arms of Agnosticism and Positism, for even the Materialists of our day can only speak of matter as an entirely unknown entity. (In confirmation of this it may be remembered that John Stuart Mill could only define matter in purely Psychological terms as 'the permanent possibility of sensation.') Hence the field of our ignorance surpasses that of our knowledge and we are conducted again into the Agnostic Camp. The Editor feels it his duty more than once in the course of the article to protest against the Comtist expositions of Kaut made use of in the course of the article.—The above mentioned article is followed by the continuation of the previously mentioned article on the 'Religious Metaphysics of the Mussulman East.' This goes particularly into the history of the mystical tendency in the Mohammedan world, which was from the first sufficiently pronounced, in no small degree owing to the cold, dry and limited character of the religion of the pro-

phet, especially the Sunnee form of it. This mystical tendency was in no small degree connected with the sceptical reaction against the intolerant character of the Mohammedanism of the first age, illustrated by such utterances as that of Abu-l-Ali, 'I look with wonder on people coming a thousand versts to throw pebbles and kiss a stone!' The root of this mysticism which became a natural counterpart to the narrow legalism of the religion of Mahomet is to be found in the Koran itself, which promises to the faithful a mysterious vision of the Divine Personality. This became the root of Ssufism, which has continued to exist in the East, particularly in Persia, to the present time. It taught a Pantheistic, ecstatic union with the Divine nature ascending through four degrees to a perfect union with the Divine. First, the fulfilment of the laws and ordinances of religion with the contemplation of the Divine nature. In the second stage the disciple reaches by the way of spiritual purity to the condition of the angels. Thirdly, the Ssufi attains to great fulness of Divine knowledge. In the fourth degree by the repression of the flesh and the external world, he loses his own personal and egoistic nature, in the attainment of a perfect assimilation to the Divine nature. There are ten maxims which contain the philosophy, or more properly, the theology of this exalted condition: such as, 'God alone exists and He in all and all in Him.' The rest of the article is taken up with the History of Ssufism in the two sects in which it has been divided. The leader of the first was Bestame who died in 875 of the Hegira; of the other, Jonael (died 909 Hegira). Traditionally the first founder of Ssufism was a woman named Rabia, and after this lady, Abu Saida-abi-l-Xaira, who lived about 200 of the Hegira, or 815 A.D. Besides these more theological representatives of this Eastern Mysticism, there has been a whole series of poets who have breathed the spirit of Ssufism, and at different epochs preached in their poetry the doctrines of Ssufism. The later reformers and disseminators of this tendency in Arabia and Persia have been Abd-al-Vaggab, the founder of the Wahabees, and Ali-Mukhamed-Bab, whose disciples have, in the later country, preached Babism, in which some have seen a transition in various ways towards Christianity.—The article following this is the continuation of Professor Kozloff's interminable controversy with Count Leo Tolstoi and his followers. This latter portion and avowed conclusion is mainly taken up with the ethical views of the novelist. From the concluding paragraph we extract a few sentences to show the conclusions come to by Professor Kozloff. He notices first of all the illusory character of Count Tolstoi's metaphysics like his metaphysics is

rendered nugatory by the action of what he names the *animal personality* which opposes itself to reason falsely so called, and thus continues to be a source of evil, senselessness and barbarism. There is no hope that the world will be other than it is from what we know of the past and present. As to the positive happiness which according to his idea is accumulating in the world, we see no real elements in or by which this will be preserved or utilised in the actual constitution of the world. The constituent elements of human nature, reason and matter, eternally remain identical with themselves and unchangeable. Consequently what relates to the human animal personality, cannot converse or enjoy this *plus* of happiness, for at death the human individuality is annihilated and leaves not a rack behind, with all the actions and results accumulated during its earthly existence. Character, as we have already seen, is not a reality, but exists only as a creation of the mind. Hence this wondrous growth or accumulation of love is in its nature only a *myth* called up by Count Tolstoi—a thirst for enjoyment 'here and now!'—The article which follows upon this discussion is by Professor Shishkin, on the subject of 'Determinism in connection with Mathematical Psychology.' After dealing with the subject the author is of opinion that he has shown enough to make it evident that mathematical psychology is not only possible but is capable of giving many new results, which could be obtained neither by the aid of metaphysics nor by instrumental research. But, at the same time, in the essence of its problems, it is closely connected with both these methods.—From this paper we pass to another, entitled: 'The Province and Limits of Suggestion.' It is by M. H. Bashenoff, and from the introduction we learn that he is a medical gentleman, and expresses his agreement with the expressed wish of the great Leibnitz, that all medical men should be students of philosophy. His wish was indeed somewhat more comprehensive: *Plût à Dieu que l'on pût faire que les médecins philosophassent au que les philosophes medicinassent.* The special object of his paper is to deal with the power of suggestion, or of influencing the minds of others such as has been displayed, particularly in experiments with the aid of hypnotism. The author begins by quoting Condillac in his description of the singular phenomenon of double personality in the same individual, shows how this phenomenon has been more thoroughly treated by Leibnitz, refers, moreover, to the treatment of the same phenomenon by Dr. Carpenter in his human physiology under the head of 'Unconscious Cerebration,' and by Sir W. Hamilton in his 'Lectures on Latent Mental Modifications.' He touches,

moreover, on the automatic action of the mind in certain cases, and concludes by drawing attention to the practical results of the psychological knowledge gained from acquaintance with these phenomena.—The last article, entitled: ‘Concerning Paltry Imitations,’ is by the well-known philosopher, Vladimir Solovieff. The article opens by enquiring, What is the character of true and genuine Christianity? In the second part the author endeavours to answer this question. ‘All agree that real and genuine Christianity are the doctrines preached by the Founder of our religion. But when men come to agree on the Gospel as preached by Christ, they immediately differ as to wherein true religion consists. Some see the essence of Christianity in the opposition to evil; others in submission to the ecclesiastical powers, a third in miracle, a fourth in the separation of the Divine from the worldly, etc., etc. For all these beliefs more or less quotations may be made from Holy Scripture proving by supposition the truth that such and such a view of Christianity is the only real and true system. But it is so really when we consult the preaching of Christ, as understood by His disciples, that we are to understand the doctrine of Christ in opposition to evil; submission to the ecclesiastical powers; certainly it is not in these but in the announcement of the good news of the Kingdom of God. M. Solovieff gives a lengthened series of passages to prove this and discourses also on the relation of the Son to the Father, etc. As to wherein consists the Kingdom of God, the author holds the following:—the Kingdom is within us and is manifested without, but lives and grows in humanity: and moves forward by freely subjecting the will to its power. To worshippers of the letter, all this may seem contradictory but to those who have the mind of Christ, this is united in one common and universal definition according to which the Kingdom of God is the full realisation of the Union of the Divine, with man’s nature, through the God-man Jesus Christ; or in other words, the fulness of the natural human life, united through Christ with the fulness of God. The whole is eminently worthy of translation as showing how these high subjects appear to the fresh minds of Eastern Europe more especially as exemplified in the great powers of Vladimir Solovieff! A special section is occupied by a dissertation on the ‘Ontology of Hegel,’ by M. N. P. Hilaroff Platonoff.—The second article in this special section is ‘On the Influence of Fatigue in the reception of Space-Relations,’ by Nuk Marin; and the third an article by Professor Grote, the editor, ‘Fundamental Moments in the developments of Modern Philosophy,’ an abridgement of the author’s lectures on the Philosophy of the

17th and 18th centuries. The rest of the number is taken up by reviews of books and bibliography.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (July, August, September).—After an article by D. Comparetti on Aristotle's 'Constitution of Athens,' we have in the June numbers the close of Professor Barzelotti's interesting essay on 'Mystic and Pagan Italy,' in which he shows that after Christian mysticism had been revived by Savonarola among a people saturated with corrupt paganism, mysticism finally died with the last of the *piagnoni*, who was killed or beheaded at the siege of Florence.—P. Antonelli contributes some very interesting notes on the Italian possessions in Africa, deprecating half-measures and indecision, which only arouse distrust in the native rulers, who are by no means savages, but capable of reasoning. The Government ought to aim at connecting the interests of the natives with the interests of Italy.—An essay by Professor Chiarini on Lord Byron, enters into the politics and literature of the early part of the present century.—Signor Bonghi discusses the authority of the Presidents of the Chambers from the disciplinary point of view.—Professor Villari concludes his paper, 'Is History a Science?' by seeking to establish the fact that there is great need of a general, moral, and intellectual improvement, which would afford a fitting soil for the new science and faith beginning to be felt in many parts of modern literature, and that the Italians most need to cultivate such improvement. It was Italy's glory to initiate the Renaissance, and Italians will most inherit its effects. Political *faith* was what saved Italy from commencing corruption, but even that is not sufficient for a free and civilized people, which needs besides an ideal, which science and literature ought to restore within the hearts of the nation.—L. Ferri gives an account of the Platonic Academy, instituted in Florence by Cosimo dei Medici.—There is a further instalment of C. Baer's 'The Kingdom of Italy and the German Empire from 1814 to 1870.'—P. Mantegazza reviews 'Fatigue,' by A. Mosso; and Professor Valenti writes on 'Co-operation and Property.'—In the August numbers C. Paoli describes 'A Republican Faction in Siena in the Fourteenth Century,' and A. Valentini the 'Galleries of Art in Rome.'—Under the title of 'The Damnation of Tolstoi,' G. Boglietti describes the apostolic work of that writer.—A. Ferraioli gives a statistical account of 'The Present State of the Pontine Marshes.' E. Castellani has a paper on 'The Grand Old Men of the British Empire,' Sir John Macdonald, Sir Henry Parkes, and Sir George Grey.—The 'literary notes' say that Senator Negri has

lately written a complete study of George Eliot's works, and also of her life.—The 'Jew Hunt' is the subject of an article by Signor Bonghi, in which he explains by historical facts how it comes that in a great modern and would-be civilized State such as Russia, a sad mixture of false science, and cruel and inhuman sentiments, has burst out with such effect.—L. Pigorini describes 'The Origin and Present Condition of the Pre-historic and Ethnographical Museum in Rome.'—In this and later numbers A. Luzio and R. Renier describe the buffoons, dwarfs, and slaves belonging to the Gonzaga family in the time of Isabella d' Este, showing how the highest society tolerated unparalleled rudeness and foolery on the part of its jesters.—There is a short tale 'A Venial Sin,' by Ugo Flores; an article by G. Levi on 'Gasparo da Salo, and the Invention of the Violin,' and a criticism by an ex-diplomatist on Crispi's article in the *Contemporary Review*.—Under the title of 'Gens Humida' E. G. Boner contributes an interesting paper on 'Nymphs and Undines.'—The bibliographic bulletin notices W. Scott's 'The Eight Hours Day,' calling it a noble advocacy of the reduction of labour.—In the September number the magazine protests against the correspondent of the *Times* quoting its authority for his dark picture of the economical and financial situation of Italy, for, though the *Nuova Antologia* always told the truth, it never expressed any want of faith in the future of Italy, nor in the men who now govern that country. The *Times* correspondent is often right respecting the errors committed during late years in economy, finance, and politics, but no doubt the bitter lessons of experience will lead to sincerity in financial affairs, economy in the use of public and private funds, and a strict limitation in the emission of bank notes, which will ultimately restore Italy to a flourishing condition.—G. E. Latini begins some paper called 'Medicean Tragedies,' and he first relates the case of Don Giovanni and Don Garcia dei Medici, exculpating their father Cosimo of all cruelty and crime, and depicting him as a prudent prince who hid a domestic misfortune from the eyes of the world.—E. Nencione writes a short article on two contemporary lyric poets; Giovanni Marradi and Arturo Graf.—G. Cantamessa describes the choir and upper church of San Francisco in Assisi.—'The Angel of the Mill' is a pretty Tuscan sketch by V. Grandi.—G. R. Salerno contributes 'The controversy on Socialism in England,' copiously quoting Kirkup's 'Inquiry into Socialism,' Webb's 'Socialism in England,' the 'Fabian Essays,' and Mackay's 'A Plea for Liberty.'—M. Tabarrini furnishes a paper on the late Ubaldino Keruzzi.—Signor Bonghi writes a long and important paper on 'Peace and the European Situa.

tion,' upholding the ideal of the friendship of nations, the adjusting of all international disputes by congress.—The editor publishes a youthful work by Cesare Correnti, entitled 'The history of a soul' in anticipation of the publication of the whole of that writer's posthumous works. Prof. Brizio contributes a long paper on 'Roman Sculpture.'—E. Mai continues his review of the Memoirs of Prince Talleyrand.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (July, August, and September)—We have articles by O. Scalvanti on 'Jacini and his political programme,' and by A. Brunialti on 'Playthings,' in which he confesses his passion for puppets, and his faith in wooden heads.—G. Grabrinski describes some new French historical works; and G. Mercallo writes on Antonio Stoppani.—G. Fortebracci gives a sketch of the Fountain of Clitumnus, and J. Persico discusses Guizot and his recent critic Faquet.—The planets Mercury, Venus, and Mars, are described by O. Z. Bianco according to the most recent observations.—C. V. M. offers some remarks on the science of armies.—E. Rossi contributes a paper on North America.—In all the numbers Stoppani's 'The Commentators of Genesis' is continued.—From the diary of a superior Piedmontese officer, A. de Sanit-Pierre, who died last year, a selection is made describing the Crimean campaign, the diary is translated from the French, in which language it was written. It describes scenes, persons, and events, in a lively, intimate style, and the present instalment arrives at Balaclava before the battle.—A. Stelvio, relating the facts of the Battle of Solferino and the Peace of Villa-franca, points out the teachings of history, which, he says, show that war, though one of the great scourges of humanity, is also one of the divine laws that govern the world.—F. Nunziante under the title of 'A gentleman of the good old time' summarises Hamilton's *Memoirs de la Vie du comte de Grammont*.—A foreign correspondent in 'Italy and France,' points out as the true causes of the disagreement of those two countries, the permanent one of the wish of France to be without rival in the Mediteranean and Italy's necessity to prevent this; and as a temporary one, France's present wish for war, her belief that she is ready, and Italy's need of peace. He concludes that the only way to restore harmony would be that France should not oppose Italy's influence in Tunis, and should give solid guarantees not to disturb the peace of Europe, and so enable the nations to diminish their standing armies. But this is so difficult a matter that it may be held absolutely impossible that it should be obtained from France.—The editor of the magazine publishes a long article on Optimism and Pessimism from the pen of a very

young author, a disciple of Rosmini, which he notes as being a remarkable work.—The diary of Signor di Saint Pierre is carried on to the 10th of June 1855, describing the ravages of the cholera in the Crimea, and the death by that disease of General Lamarmora. The writer sometimes complains of the treatment of the Italian contingent by the English chiefs in the matter of camping-ground, etc.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANI (1891, Issue 2,) contains the most ancient documents of the *pievi* of Bono and Condino in Treut (1000-1350), by G. Papaleoni.—Researches concerning the fourteenth century historian, Lodrisio Crivelli, by F. Gabotto.—Father Vincenzo Marchese, by E. Pistelli.

The New Series of the ANCHIVIO VENETO (No. 1.) contains 'Galileo Galilei and the Venetian Republic,' by A. Favaro.—'An inscription in Pieve di Sacco (with facsimile),' by P. Pinton.—'Historical Rhymes of the sixteenth century,' by A. Ferri and A. Medin.—'The art of the Fioleri in Venice,' by G. Monticolo.—'George Valla and his trial in Venice in 1496.'

LA RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE (July, August, September,) contains 'The Improvidence of Citizens and neglect of Governments,' by A. Brunialti.—'The last Encyclical,' by A. Gotti.—'Lord Granville,' by R. Debarbieri.—'Direct Government in the Swiss Communes,' by E. Coppi.—'The Labour Question,' by O. A. De Stefani.—'English Legislation,' by R. Debarbieri.—'The First Session,' by C. De Sevi.—'The Writings of Count Cavour,' by D. Ganichelli.—'A Primitive State,' by Q. Cato.—'Pope Leo's Encyclical on the Labour Question,' by A. Bertolini.—'Sardinia and the Homestead,' by J. Santangelo-Spoto.—'Cæsar Albicini,' by F. Giannini.—'Direct Representation and Democracy in Local and Modern Governments,' by E. Coppi.—'The law of Sociocracy,' by L. Ratto.

THE 'RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE GEOLOGICHE IN ITALIA' is a new publication, which has rendered necessary by the increased geological and vulcanological study in Italy, the results of which were scattered about in various pamphlets and reports, and are now to be gathered together in a form easily accessible to students, and all who interest themselves in such sciences. The first number for *July* 1891, contains:—'The Eruption of Vesuvius of 7th June, 1891,' by Dr. H. Johnston-Lavis, with four illustrations; 'The Veronese Earthquake of 7th June 1891,' by Agostino Gorran; 'The Chirographs of Pius VI, and the Subiaco Stone,' by E. Clerici; 'The Island of Linosa,' by G. Traburro.

GREECE.

ATHENA (Vol. iii., pt. II.).—In the first article Professor Lakon offers a number of emendations of the text of the Greek dramatists.—The k. Kouses has a long critical paper on the Ajax of Sophocles.—In a similar paper on Strabo's Geography the k. Papabasileios suggests the substitution of *Λευκασίας* for *Βερρασίας* in 6. 254. 4. (Meneike).—The Bibliography contains a sharp criticism on M. Psichari's 'Essais de Grammaire historique du néogrec.'—The k. Hatzidakis has three papers, 'On the Declension of Nouns in Modern Greek,' 'On the Descent of Modern Greek,' and some additional remarks on the question of language in Greece (*Athena*, ii., p. 169).—The k. Bases has some remarks on Bernardakes' Plutarch.—The newly discovered work of Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens naturally comes in for a good deal of attention. The k. Papabasileios contributes a number of remarks on it, and the veteran Professor Kontos a first instalment of more than a hundred pages of an elaborate examination of the text.

JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF GREECE (August, 1891).—The k. Sakellion publishes two Synodical decrees of the Patriarch George II of Xiphilinos, the Sultan Mehmet IV.'s proclamation of war against the Emperor Leopold I. (1669), and the Emperor's reply; all from MSS. in the National Library.—The k. Papandreou treats of the ancient monastery of S. Laura, where the chiefs of the Revolution met in March, 1821.—The k. Kerameus contributes a number of papers: four hitherto unpublished fables by Constantine Akropolites; a note on the settlement of Joannina; a decree of date 1571 concerning its monastery; an account of the 15th century writer Makarios Markes, from a MS. discovered at Cairo in 1888; a list of 17th century prelates from a Jerusalem MS.; notices of various patriarchs; the patriarch Nectarius' encomium on George Koressios; and a note on the Jerusalem Codex of Pachymeres, which was mentioned by Coxe in his report to the British Government on Greek MSS. in the Levant. It appears to present important differences from Bekker's text.—Professor Kirpitchkenoff writes on the materials for a history of Byzantine literature.—A list of Chiote family names, before the Revolution, follows.—The k. Romanos writes on the ancient Epirote town of Bouthrotos.—The k. Sp. P. Lambros publishes records of the Patriarchate of Alexandria in the 18th century.—The number concludes with a notice of the late J. Sakellion, keeper of the MSS. in the National Library, and a frequent contributor to this Journal.

FRANCE.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (Avril-Juin, 1891).—This number is prefaced with a graceful tribute to, and an admirable portrait of, M. Joseph Derenbourg. His connection with this *Revue* from its beginning, and his many contributions to Jewish Biblical science, his own personal character, and the interest he has always taken in everything connected with Judaism, have prompted the redactors to pay him this mark of respect in celebration of his eightieth birthday.—M. J. Halévy contributes the twenty-fourth of his 'Recherches Bibliques.' Here he deals with the narrative of the flood. He takes the biblical account of the flood first by itself, and notes the verbal and other difficulties which the text, in its present condition, presents to us, and proposes corrections to lessen these. He sets it then in the light of the allusions to the flood in other books of the Bible, in order, if possible, to determine the period when it was known in Israel in its present form. He compares it then with the Babylonian narrative, and points out its dependence on it and wherein it differs from it. His object is, in addition to suggesting emendations of the text so as to bring out its true meaning, to show how Hebrew monotheism has adapted the story to serve its religious purposes, and that it is of older date and of greater internal unity than the critics of the Graf-Wellhausen school assert.—M. J. Derenbourg continues his 'Gloses d' Abou Zakariya ben Bilam sur Isaie'; M. W. Bacher his 'Illustrations of Biblical Exegesis in the Zohar'; M. Levi his 'Jew of Legend,' 'le Juif de la legend'; and M. Martin Schreiner his account of Moses ben Ezra's 'Kitab al Mouhadara wa-l-Moudhakara' and its sources.—M. Solomen Kahn furnishes the first instalment of a series of documents tending to show the friendly feelings of Jayme I., King of Arragon, towards the Jews in Montpellier.—M. Lazare Belléli gives an interesting description of two versions of the Pentateuch, one in Greek, and the other in Spanish, contained in a volume in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. The volume, which was printed in Constantiuople in 1547, contains the Hebrew text, the Targum of Onkelos, and the commentary of Raschi, besides the two versions already named. It is to these two versions that M. Belléli chiefly directs attention and their value that he seeks to bring out.—Under 'Notes et Melanges' we have Dr. Glaser and M. Halévy exchanging views on the Sabeian inscription, on which the latter in the last number of this *Revue* had a short paper.—M. D. Simonsen a reason for Psalm xii. being made use of by the sts so much in the history of the Passion, viz., that it

was one of the psalms used on Nisan 14th.—Under 'Bibliographie' M. Halévy finishes his critical notice of Dr. W. Brandt's recent volume, 'Die mandaische Religion.'

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (Nos. 4 and 5), 1891.—In the first of these numbers M. Abbé Loisy gives us another of his admirable 'Etudes sur la religion chaldeo-assyrienne.' This section is devoted to an examination of the various hymns in honour of, or references in the recovered literature to, the great national deities of Assyria and Babylonia, Assur and Merodach, 'Asur et Marduk,' so as to determine their real rank, character, and functions.—M. Abbé Beurtier, Professor at the Institut Catholique of Paris, furnishes a very interesting article, entitled 'Les vestiges du culte impérial à Byance, et la querelle des iconoclastes.' In it he first traces the source from which the idea of the king being a divinity, or the incarnation of one, came into Greece and Rome, and how the practice of paying divine honours to them or their statues spread. He traces the idea, of course, to Egypt and to the East. It was unknown in Greece until Alexander the Great was proclaimed son of Amon by the priests of Amon, and the eastern postures of reverence were seen adopted in Persia in his presence. The Greeks, however, showed themselves for long very averse to this idea. But in Egypt the Ptolemies were honoured as 'sons of Ra,' and in Syria the Seleucides had temples and priests everywhere. It was at Pergamos that the cult of Rome and Augustus was begun. It was looked coldly on in the Latin provinces until Elagabalus, the Syrian, succeeded in arousing a large measure of enthusiasm in its favour. M. Beurtier shows how it affected all classes, and, penetrating the church, led to the worship of the images and pictures of Christ, of the Virgin, and of the saints. It is an extremely suggestive paper, and deserves the careful consideration of all who care to trace the elements that have entered into and helped to modify the life of the Church.—In the second of these numbers of this *Revue*, M. Abbe de Broglie begins an important study of the 'Loi de l'unité de sanctuaire en Israel.' In Israel there was only one temple, one altar as it were, on which sacrifices could be legally offered. It was a very peculiar arrangement—was quite unique, in fact, in ancient religions. What was its origin? and, when was it instituted? Our author states the answer given by 'the written official history, and by the undisputed tradition of the (Hebrew) nation.' He shows then how reasonable that account is, and how it bears all the marks of being natural and true. The historical circumstance that occasioned the giving of the law

and the character of the religion are both in harmony with it, and the object aimed at justified it. M. de Broglie then states the objections to this way of regarding the origin and object of the laws that are put forward by the modern critical school, and sets himself to refute them. The position, learning, and logical acumen of the writer render his article one that must be reckoned with by the adherents of the school in question, but we can only here direct attention to it, for, from its very nature, it is impossible to condense its substance within a few lines and give a true idea of the value of its arguments.—The only other article in this number is a continuation of M. Felix Robiou's 'La question des mythes.' Here he confines himself still to those of Egypt, to the solar myths, and to those regarding the elementary deities.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (August, September).—The first of the numbers for these months is largely taken up with continuations of articles begun in the course of the preceding quarter. Amongst these we have a third instalment of M. Victor Cherbuliez's 'L'Art et la Nature'—the present section dealing with the troubles and the torments of imagination, and its deliverance from them by the help of Art.—Further, Colonel Vigo-Roussillon gives another batch of military reminiscences.—Finally, M. Ferdinand Brunetière concludes his able study of Bossuet. The special point here considered is the Bishop of Meaux's 'Philosophy,' and the writer points out that one main and leading idea, that of Providence, pervades his whole system, that to look for his philosophy in his set philosophical treatises merely is doing less than justice to his originality, and, lastly, that nothing is more false than to represent Bossuet as 'calmly installed in his Episcopal throne, at the most solemn moment of the great reign,' blind to the progress of free thought, deaf to the tumult already giving warning of the approaching storm, and dying, in 1704, without suspecting that Voltaire had appeared.—Of the complete articles the first is that which M. Gaston Boissier entitles 'Un Enseignement Nouveau,' and in which he traces the present condition of the 'modern side' in French schools.—The next, contributed by M. Louis Wuarin, traces the evolution of democratic government in Switzerland.—One of the most interesting contributions to the next number is that in which M. Berthelot gives the result of his researches with regard to the famous Greek fire of antiquity and the invention of gunpowder.—Private theatricals at the French Court are dealt with in a pleasant sketch by M. Edouard Schuré; and, finally, M. Edouard Schuré, in his delightful 'Paysages historiques,' traces the 'legends' of St. Patrick—

whom he makes a native of Boulogne—of Merlin, and of Taliesinn.—In the number dated September the 1st, considerable space is occupied by a sketch which M. de Segonzac gives of his travels in the west of Africa.—From M. Gabriel Seailles there is an able and erudite study of Leonardo da Vinci's method and of his conception of science.—For naval specialists there is an important article on the last manœuvres of the French fleet. Two of the points upon which the anonymous but thoroughly competent writer dwells with most stress are, in the first place, the difference between manœuvres and actual warfare, and, as a corollary to this, the erroneous judgment of those who estimate them according to the dash displayed, the noise made, and the number of forts supposed to be taken by some brilliant, but in reality impossible feat.—In the last number the article which many will read with the greatest interest is that in which M. G. Lauson sketches the chequered career, and gives an account of the works, of Antoine de Montchrestien, the inventor of the term 'political economy' and the author of the first Mary Stuart tragedy.—As a sequel to his paper, 'Les Comédiennes de la Cour,' M. Victor Du Bled contributes a sketch of the private theatres of the Duc d'Orleans and of the Comte de Clermont.—The signature of Admiral Jurien de La Gravière is ample guarantee that the essay 'Les Gueux de Mer' is as notable from the purely literary as from the more technical point of view. It may be described as a most interesting and valuable contribution to a general history of the navy.

REVUE DE L' HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1891).—'Tyché ou la Fortune, à propos d'un ouvrage récent,' is the title of the article in this number, and the writer of it is M. A. Bouché-Leclercq. The recent work referred to is M. F. Allegre's 'Etude sur la déesse grecque Tyché, sa signification religieuse et morale, son culte et ses représentations figurées.' The article, however, is not a mere summary and criticism of M. Allegre's book, but is also an independent study of the questions, or points, discussed in it, or rather in the first part of it. The first part of it, as its title indicates, is devoted to the elucidation of the idea or ideas enshrined in the word, or personified in the goddess. Who was she? Whence came she? or as what was she presented in the Greek mythology? and what position did she occupy in, or what influence did she exercise, on, the religious thought and life of Greece, or, under the name of 'Fortuna,' in Rome? M. Bouché-Leclercq gives a brief summary of M. Allegre's conclusions as to these points, and then proceeds to indicate those to which his own study, from the original sources, has led him. He thinks highly of the

work which has occasioned his article here, and has no wish to supersede it, but writes in the hope rather that the volume being read in the light of what he brings forward may prove more serviceable to its readers.—M. Paul Regnaud furnishes a short paper on 'Les origines du Mythe d'Aurva,' which will be interesting to Vedic students.—M. L. Dollfus gives a slight sketch of the life of an eleventh century saint, the Spanish monk, Domingo de Silos, taking as his guide, or the source of his information, the elaborate account given of him by the Spanish poet, Gonzalo de Berceo.—M. L. Leblois notices three recent contributions to the question as to the relations of Buddhism and Christianity, viz., Herr Seydel's book, 'Das Evangelium von Jesu in seinen Verhältnissen zur Buddha-Saga und Buddha-Lehre; two lectures by the Brahman Nisikanta Chattopadhyaya, published in the 'Indische Essays,' and M. K. E. Neumann's 'L'Intime parente des doctrines bouddhistes et chrétiennes.' There is also, along with reviews of several important works bearing on the Science of Religion, a highly appreciative one, by the Editor, of the late Dr. Hatch's Hibbert Lectures. In it Dr. J. Reville points out perhaps the gravest fault of Dr. Hatch's treatment of the question before him—his omission, viz., to consider the influence of the Orient on the development of Christian dogmas and usages. He, however, only took into account, as his title indicates, Greek ideas and usages; but Dr. R. shows that it is impossible to give any satisfactory explanation of the turn things took in the Christian Church unless the East is also reckoned with.

REVUE DE L' HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No 4), 1891.—The recent works in which MM. D'Eichthal, Havet, and Vernes have rejected the conclusions of the modern critical school with respect to the age of the book of Deuteronomy, or its central part, as well as that of the other component parts of the Hexateuch are giving some little annoyance to the leaders of that school. They characterise the views advanced in these works as fanciful and absurd, as resting on no solid foundations of historic fact, and as little short of the freaks of a perverted ingenuity. Still they demand attention, and it is felt to be necessary to expose their absurdity, and to show that the results come to by the critical school in question are in no ways affected by the criticisms passed upon them in these works. Some of the authorities in that school have, in magazines, pointed out how extravagant and untenable the views of these writers are. M. Ch. Piepenbring thinks that something more is required and he here sets himself the task of restating the argument, and reproducing a summary of the

evidence on which the conclusions of the modern school rest as to the dates of the several parts of the Hexateuch. The point he fastens on is the Law of the Unity of the Sanctuary, or the Law of the one Sanctuary—a strong point if not the strongest point of their position. The various laws bearing on this point are compared and set in the light of the historical testimonies of the books of Samuel and Kings, of the Chronicles, and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The kindred laws bearing on the revenues of the priests and levites; on their respective duties and privileges; on the high priest's position and functions, etc., are contrasted also and set in the light of historic fact. M. Vernes, the only one of the trio now alive, has declared that the proper way to study the question as to the origin, or date of origin, of the books of the Bible is to start from the period when the existence of the books is established beyond cavil, and work back from that to the periods when the proofs of their existence are less and less decisive. M. Piepenbring here takes his advice, and, starting from the sacerdotal period, works his way back to the age when sacerdotalism is hardly perceptible even in germ; when the later princely revenues of the priesthood were undreamed of, and the distinction between the levites and the priests was unknown. It is only the first part of his article that is given here, but that first part covers sixty pages of this *Revue*.—M. A. Audollent furnishes the 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion romaine,' for last year, in which he notes the discoveries made in Italy which in any way illustrate the ancient religions, Greek as well as Roman, practised on that soil.—M. L. Finet gives a short paper on 'Religion and the Theatre,' in India, and M. L. Massebieau one almost as brief on 'La langue originale des Actes des Saintes Perpétue et Félicité.' This latter article is directed against the views put forward by the Abbé Duchesne in a *memoire* read before the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in January last.

REVUE MENSUELLE DU MONDE LATIN (August, September).—After having in a former instalment sketched the events which marked the famous—or infamous—24th of August, 1572, in the French provinces, M. le comte Hector de La Ferrière goes on to indicate in 'Le Lendemain de la Saint-Barthélemy' how the news of the massacre was received in the various countries of Europe.—Under the rather fanciful title of 'La foire aux idées,' M. Henri de Saussine's very readable article is a general sketch of important questions of the day.—In a paper, which specialists rather than to the general reader, M. Dally gives the value of military manœuvres for the purposes of in-

struction and training.—Finally, in an article running through both the August and the September numbers, M. Paul d'Estrées shows the condition of the Jews in France under the reign of Louis XV.—There are, as usual, some very readable 'Chroniques' and special letters.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (August, September).—A very considerable part of both these numbers is taken up by two abstruse articles, one of them on mathematical equality, the other entitled 'La technologie artificialiste.'—In addition to this the first part brings a paper of more general interest on heredity amongst painters. The results which it gives is that, out of a list of 300 artists, two-thirds are sons of painters or 'artistic workers.' Were more ample details available the remaining third would probably bring a notable addition to these.—The paper headed 'Un précurseur de l'hypnotisme' gives details concerning a Lyons doctor—Pététin—who, as early as the end of last century, discovered many of the phenomena which are now being investigated in connection with hypnotism.—Finally, M. Fouillée has a lengthy paper entitled 'The Psychological Problem.' Psychology, he says in his conclusion, is not simply or essentially the science of representation, it is the science of the will, just as physiology is the science of life. Its essential problem is: 'Is there a will within us? What is its nature? What is its action?' It is this will which gives to ideas and representations their real force; it draws them from the passive indifference in which they would remain plunged if they were only the reflections of a world complete without them. Psychology is an eminently concrete science, which studies the real being after it has arrived at that 'summum' of interior life in which it feels itself, thinks itself, and wishes itself to be. It should not, therefore, consider the conditions of consciousness in themselves nor in their objects, but also, and especially as conditions of an internal change, linked with external motion. It should endeavour to find out how far the object influences the subject, and how far the subject influences the object.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July, August, September).—The place of honour in the first of these numbers is occupied by a long article on Moltke. It is written as a sequel to the articles which the author devoted to the German army some little time back, and is further, to a certain extent, a reply to those who, like M. Charles Malo and M. G. Gilbert, question the famous soldier's claim to be considered as

a man of genius.—The object of M. Ed. Lullin is to bring together a number of facts illustrative of the various kinds of works accomplished by animals, and to show how man has been able to avail himself, with more or less ingenuity, and sometimes with excessive selfishness, of the strength, the skill, and the instinct developed by them.—‘A travers le Caucase’ is a third instalment of M. Emile Levier’s account of his botanical excursion through Caucasus.—In this part lighter literature is represented by ‘Deux Fières’ and ‘Le péché de Joost Avelingh.’ They both run through the quarter.—In both the August and the September parts M. Ernest Naville has instalments of a paper entitled ‘Les Œuvres communes à la Chrétienté.’ It deals more particularly with the efforts being made by all religious bodies to abolish slavery, to check drunkenness, and to ensure the observance of Sunday as a day of rest, and shows the advantages of united action in these philanthropic crusades.—The ‘Bailli philosophe,’ to whom M. Henri Warnery devotes an article is François Rodolphe de Weiss, a rather insignificant, but yet not wholly uninteresting Swiss magistrate of the close of last century.—In an article headed ‘Les Mines de Pierres précieuses,’ M. Ed. Lullin writes pleasantly and instructively about precious stones, their uses, and the various methods by which they are extracted from the earth.—‘Notes sur l’Art contemporain,’ ‘Le Mouvement littéraire en Espagne,’ and the usual delightfully gossipy ‘Chroniques’ complete three excellent numbers.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (July, 1891).—‘Settled Good Weather,’ is the leading little story by R. Becerro de Bengoa, and it turns on a little intrigue, the scene being laid in Asturias. It is simply and well told, with enough local colouring to make it informing.—‘The Ancient Monuments of America’ is a somewhat unsatisfactory essay on the connection of the pre-Columbian monuments, such as those of Palenque and Yucatan, with those of the so-called Old World. The Author—José Ramón Mérida—is inclined to connect these monuments, and those of Mexico and Peru, with those of Southern India. While the ruder works, such as the works of the Mound Builders and the Cliff Dwellers, as well as the stone paintings amongst the ruder tribes, he considers may all have arisen locally.—A translation from the Romance by Miss Blanca de los Rios is in easily moving measure.—‘Faust in Music’ is a complete study by Arturo Campión—of Gounod’s *Faust*: Arrigo Brito’s Opera of

Mefistofele, Hector Berlioz' *La Damnation de Faust*; and Robert Schumann's *Scenen aus Goethe's Faust*. He examines it in music, which speaks of affliction, joy, sorrow, or grief in the abstract, in its essence.—'La Gran Noticia' is a delicious bit of drollery in verse, in which a maiden stops an old man in the street to read a letter for her, and he is obliged to confess that he cannot read it either.—'The International Chronicle' deals largely with England and Portugal in Africa, and refers to the speeches of the Count of Casal Ribeiro, and the Bishop of Bethsaida—the one demanding closer friendship with Spain and the other calling for greater leaning towards democracy and liberty!—Castelar concludes a keen review of the situation thus: 'Feasts in Great Britain and in Great Muscovy; illuminations on the Volga and the Thames; salvos through the Straits of the Baltic, and salvos through the English Channel; suppers in Peterhof, and suppers in the Guildhall; music and odours in the atmosphere; lights competing with those of the heavens; wondrous dances in gardens worthy of Semiramis; speeches and solemnities interminable; all to let us know that we are going to war! This wretched humanity is ever the same in this planet!' The foreign section includes translations of tales and articles by the foremost French authors (August, 1891.)—'Juan Malasaña and his daughter,' is a critical examination of the story of the hero who, on the 2nd of May, 1808, fought the French at the entry to the Artillery Park in Madrid, aided by his wife and a daughter of 17, who died handing him cartridges. He is said to have continued firing with his dead daughter at his feet, until himself slain.—'Settled Good Weather' is completed, by leaving a pair in a very false position; not a specially wholesome, but a characteristic Spanish story.—'The Coach' is another purely Spanish story that gives a good insight into Spanish life and the mode of courtship.—'In the Album of a Chilena' is a graceful piece of verse by Gaspar Nunez de Arce, in which he compares the dark beauty to all that inspires him with admiration and respect.—'The Economic Review,' shows a deficit of nearly 200 million sterling for the year in Spain—while the 'Ex-Minister' does not report any more hopefully of the Portuguese finance more especially in face of the revolutionary doctrines advocated. The condition of affairs in Portugal has lessened the value of Spanish securities on all the Exchanges of Europe. It is interesting to note, that while Spain is well accredited as a purely commercial nation, exporting more than it imports; yet this balance does not count alongside the general economic balance, which forces Spain to export 200 million gold peseta

(8 million sterling) to meet its obligations on foreign capital invested in the country.—Tales, etc., by French and Russian authors complete the number.—(September, 1891.)—This number is changed to double columns, and we are promised in future double quantity of matter, while the general character of the magazine is approximating more to our own, with tales—original or translated—occupying most of the space.—The most important and interesting paper in the number is a second part of ‘Ancient American Monuments, and the Art of the extreme East.’ The general character is Cyclopean, with ornamentation to take the place of architectural beauties in other styles, such as the column and the arch. ‘All re-echo the same system; in all we divine the progress of a similar artistic tradition; and yet what differences are there permitting us to imagine distinct dates, distinct races, distinct steps in advance, and even distinct tastes and local necessities.’ He finds ‘a family feeling’ between American Pre-Columbian monuments and those of the extreme East, considering the influence Buddhist; and as Buddhism reached China in the first century of our era, it must have gone still later to America!—‘The aristocratic Novel,’ by the Marquis de Figueroa, deals with the works of Coloma, and quotes the saying of Quevedo, that a book for everybody should be kept by the author as unworthy, only the books for the few being valuable! It is interesting to note that, while a contemporary compares Dickens and Daudet, the Marquis here compares Daudet and Coloma. ‘Both are Southerners, they attract by the amiability of their character, lightness and elegance of style, swiftness of conception, brilliance of ingenuity, which, fired by the sun of Andalusia and Provence, produces all their fascination and all their brilliance.’—The translations include the reminiscences of Renan, Wagner, and Von Moltke; and ‘How Spain will never have a good Government,’ a well known Spanish story, now translated back into Castilian from the French of Dumas.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (July), contains ‘The Rose of Rigas,’ a tragical romantic tale remarkable for vivid descriptions of tropical scenery in Sumatra.—In ‘Russia about the Middle of the Seventeenth Century,’ Uhlenbeck gives a series of interesting sketches of the Russian Court of the time, and of the people, their customs and folk-lore; he also shows how the reforms usually attributed to the autocratic will of Peter the Great were really on the way long before, and had become inevitable owing to the closer intercourse of Russia with other nations.—‘Peter Paul Rubens,’ is an excellent essay by Max Rooses, who

thoroughly understands his subject and gives valuable critical remarks on many of the master's pictures, showing by what art schools they were influenced, and how they in turn influenced succeeding painters and engravers.—August begins with a translation of Æschylos' 'Seven against Thebes,' by Burgerdijk. As might be expected, this is a work of great literary merit and on the whole a success. He keeps as closely as possible to the verse-forms of the original, believing that in great poetic works form and contents are so closely allied that any alteration of the measures would be highly detrimental.—'Servetus and Calvin,' an article by De Hoop Scheffel: first he reviews Prof. Van der Linde's book which makes Servetus the victim, not of Calvin, but of what he calls the Reformed Inquisition. Over-elaborated and over-weighted with matter, this book has the merit of exhausting more completely than any other the very copious literature of the subject, and likewise affords the writer material for another discussion of the case. The most interesting part is where he shows that though with Calvin and all the circle of his influence there was unanimous approval of the cold-blooded deed, yet outside of that circle there was, especially among Baptists, a wide-spread protest which Calvin answered with a lengthy apology. He cannot thus be called the victim of the ideas of his time though doubtless he acted from a sense of duty though a mistaken one.—Dr. J. R. Bos discusses at some length the diseases of plants and the ravages of noxious insects, demonstrating that a successful combat can only be carried on with these by making it a national and international concern. He adds some practical suggestions.—'Theodore Rodenburgh and Lope de Vega,' is a paper in which a careful comparison is made between the plays of the old Dutch dramatist and those of the Spanish poet, with the result of showing that Spanish influence on Dutch dramatic literature of the first half of the seventeenth century is much greater than was usually supposed.—September.—'Alwina,' by J. Wolters: a prettily told but painful story of a professor in love, first with one then with the other of two sisters, and the wreck of the happiness of all three that ensues.—Hungarian national poetry is again represented by a full description of the popular epic 'Toldi,' by Jan Arany. The subject is little known historically, being from the Magyar annals of the fourteenth century. The author composed the different parts of it at long intervals between 1847-79, and from the time the first of it appeared as a prize poem, it was hailed as a great national achievement, among others by Petöfi, who praises it extravagantly.—'Goethe as Stage Manager,' is a record of Goethe's theatrical career at Weimar, which began

exactly a century ago. He had trials and difficulties and was not always successful, yet his brave efforts had an undoubted effect in the gradual rise of the German stage, so that his humble practical work deserves to be remembered.—Another article is devoted to Omar Khayjam and his place in Persian poetry and is illustrated by frequent extracts from Fitzgerald's English and Bodenstedt's German versification.—Lastly there is a paper by G. A. Wilken, 'A new theory of the origin of Sacrifice.' This refers to Prof. Robertson Smith, to whom he allows full credit both for research and acuteness, but says his theory is open to serious objection. It may be good enough, but the proofs he has to offer are often decidedly weak: as for example, in regard to the allegation that among Arabs and Hebrews the fundamental idea of sacrifice is not tribute or propitiation but communion. Again, he distinguishes too little between anthropomorphism and totemism, drawing conclusions as to the existence of the latter from customs which may simply be a product of the former. This is especially true in regard to the Semites among whom totemism was probably quite unknown. Mr. Wilken goes on to show, chiefly from usages prevalent in Polynesia that the idea of communion with the gods by eating and drinking is not a primary but a secondary idea in sacrifices.

DENMARK.

AARBØGER FOR NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE (Vol. VI., Parts 1 and 2).—This volume opens with a lengthy article on the coinage of Gotland, by P. Hauberg. The great commercial importance of Wisby led to an early native mint, which was already in operation in 1211, and is consequently of considerable significance in the history of Baltic trading, though the finds rather indicate great business activity in Gotland itself than the spread of its coinage to neighbouring countries. The changes in the value of the Gotland mint and its relation to others are carefully traced from the historic sources. The older Gotland (?) *penning* with star or wheel on obverse and edifice on reverse is assigned to 1180-1200. The later Wisby coins (1340-1565) bearing the lily and lamb are very fully treated and illustrated in an appendix. As a contribution to the history of this once flourishing centre of trade the article is of considerable interest.—The last word has not yet been said about Roskilde Cathedral, and Prof. Kornerup has some important remarks to make in reference to Prof. Lange's previous article. The re-construction of the choir gallery he attributes to the conflagration of 1232, not to a mere fancy of

Bishop Suneson's in 1198. Prof. Lange supposed that the present Cathedral had been built outside of the older edifice while the latter was still standing, but recent excavations (in March, 1891) have shown that this was not the case,—the first building did not lie within the present, and must have been taken down before this was commenced.—(Part 2).—Dr. S. Müller introduces a new experiment in archæology, viz., microscopic observations of the materials found in ancient graves. These have been carried out in Prof. Stein's laboratory by Cand. Gram, and yield most interesting results. The human hair examined is found to be blond, and the cloth-stuffs are mainly of black wool mixed with hairs from animals of the deer species. Dr. Müller points out the valuable nature of this evidence, which relates to materials of the early Bronze age (c. 1000 B.C.)—Chr. Kjer contributes additional proofs that the church-law of Skane (south of Sweden) is older than that of Zealand, partly from the history of Bishop Æskild and partly from internal evidence. The proof from the use of the red-hot iron ordeal is very interesting as showing the position of the Church to this method of evidence. F. Jonsson has a number of critical notes on the difficult *Vellekla* ('gold-lack') of Einarr skalaglam, preceded by a short sketch of the life of the skald and estimate of his poetic abilities.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Manual of the Science of Religion. By P. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE. Translated from the German by Beatrice S. Colyer-Fergusson. London and New York. Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

Notwithstanding the rapid multiplication of works both here and on the Continent, dealing with the Science of Religion, no attempt has hitherto been made in this country to produce anything like a satisfactory manual on the subject. Students have felt the need of one, but in the absence of any other they have had to put up with the translation of the somewhat sketchy and unsatisfactory handbook by Tiele. The above-noted volume is still a translation, but it is the translation of a work which is in every way superior to the one just mentioned. Since the latter was written the science of religion has made considerable progress. New facts have been discovered and new theories developed, and Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye's has the advantages of being written up to date and containing the latest and fullest information. It is written, too, as a manual, the aim of the author being not to develop a theory, but to lay before the reader the latest results of the science. In this respect it is impossible not to admire the skill as well as the learning of its author. Theories are set over against theories, their differences and insufficiencies pointed out, and safely established results distinguished from conjectures in a manner rarely excelled. The author's criticisms are specially valuable. While always impartial, weighty, and incisive, they are eminently suggestive, often throwing an entirely new light on the topic under review. Unlike many manuals the one before us is well written. Probably in this respect it owes much to the translator and her father, Professor Max Müller; but whether or not, there is a brightness and readableness about the volume which translations rarely possess. After reading the many disquisitions which have appeared about the distinctions between idols, amulets and fetishes, it is refreshing to come across a sentence in which they are all so happily distinguished as in the following: 'An idol is the image, an amulet the pledge of the protection of a divine power, and however powerful the idol may be supposed to be, and however closely connected that protection may be with the possession of the amulet, the divine power itself remains above both, while it is wholly incorporated in the fetish.' The present volume is the first of two, the second of which deals with the religions of Persia, Greece, Rome, Germany and Islam. It is divided into four sections, entitled respectively, Introductory, Phenomenological, Ethnographic, Historical. In the first of these such topics as the history of the Science of Religion, the theory of Evolution, the Science of Religion and the Origin of Religion, the divisions and principal forms of religion are treated. With respect to the theory of evolution, Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye is of opinion that it will not be sufficient for a proper appreciation of the religious life of mankind. The question as to the origin of religion he regards as in reality philosophical and does not attempt to answer it, contenting himself with simply bringing together the various theories which have been put forward in answer to it, and subjecting them to a careful criticism. The phenomenological section is a comprehensive attempt, so far as we know the first which has yet been made, to arrange the principal groups of

religious conceptions in such a way as to give prominence to their most important sides and aspects. Under the ethnographic section the ethnographic divisions of mankind are discussed and the religions found both among savages and half or totally civilised nations whose historical development is obscure, are dealt with. The religions treated of under the historical section are those of China and Egypt, the Babylonian and the Assyrian, and that of the Hindoos. Lists of books are prefixed to each chapter, which, though not complete, are sufficient to guide the student in his researches.

Justice: being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics. By HERBERT SPENCER. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1891.

Whether agreeing with Mr. Spencer or not, every one who takes an interest in philosophy will rejoice at the appearance of this volume, and hope that it is but the beginning of the completion of the great work on which its distinguished author has been engaged so many years, and which has done so much towards shaping the thoughts of the present. It is the first volume which Mr. Spencer has been able to add since laid aside some five years ago to the already numerous volumes in which his system of Synthetic Philosophy is expounded. It is somewhat out of its order among them, but it has been written as the most important of those which, in 1886, remained to be written. It covers almost the same ground as that now apparently scarce volume which the author issued in 1850, under the title *Social Statics*, but is in some respects different. One difference, we are told, is that the supernaturalistic interpretation noticeable in the earlier volume has here disappeared, and an interpretation exclusively naturalistic or evolutionary substituted for it. With this is the concomitant difference that whereas in *Social Statics* a biological origin for ethics was only hinted at, such an origin is here definitely set forth, and the elaboration of its consequences has become a cardinal trait. 'A further distinction,' it is said, 'is that induction has been more habitually brought in support of deduction. It has in every case been shown that the corollaries, from the first principle laid down, have severally been in course of verification during the progress of mankind.' The doctrine of the earlier volume, in fact, has to a considerable extent been superseded, and we have here *Justice* as a division of the ethics of social life treated from an exclusively evolutionary point of view. In dealing with it Mr. Spencer starts from the principle already enunciated that the conduct which Ethics treats of is not separable from conduct at large, and after remarking that the primary subject-matter of Ethics is not, as many suppose, conduct considered as calling forth approbation or reprobation, but conduct considered objectively as producing good or bad results to the self or others, or both, he proceeds in a couple of chapters to deal with animal and sub-human justice. Human justice, it is then pointed out, is a further development of sub-human justice, just as human life is a further development of sub-human life. The two are not different, but, as from the evolutionary standpoint they must be, essentially of the same nature, and form parts of a continuous whole. Passing to the other side of his subject, and proceeding to speak of the sentiment of justice, Mr. Spencer observes. 'The Egoistic sentiment of justice is a subjective attribute which answers to that objective requirement constituting justice—the requirement that each adult shall receive the results of his own nature and consequent actions.' As to the altruistic sentiment of justice this 'can come into existence only by the aid of a sentiment which temporarily supplies its place, and restrains the actions

prompted by pure egoism—the pro-altruistic sentiment of justice as we may term it.’ Among the components of this are mentioned the dread of retaliation, of social dislike, of legal punishment, and of divine vengeance. The discussion of these brings us to the idea of justice. In this there are two elements—one positive, the other negative. ‘On the one hand there is that positive element implied by each man’s recognition of his claims to unimpeded activities, and the benefits they bring. On the other hand, there is that negative element implied by the consciousness of limits which the presence of other men, having like claims, necessitates.’ The unbalanced appreciation of these two factors lead to divergent moral and social theories, the discussion of which, though brief, is extremely interesting. The next three chapters are devoted to the formula of justice, which is expressed in the words: ‘Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man’—a formula sufficiently wide, and at the same time sufficiently narrow. The remaining chapters are devoted to its explanation and application. Here, however, space prevents us from going further. The volume, as might be expected, is rich in suggestions and full of striking solutions to many important problems, some of them exceedingly intricate. Its value can scarcely be over-estimated. Dealing with many questions which are now under discussion, and throwing light upon whatever it touches, it is likely to prove the most popular volume in the series to which it belongs.

An Introduction to Ethics. By J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D., Professor of Philosophy, McGill College, Montreal. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1891.

This handy volume is an excellent companion to the author’s well-known and successful work on Psychology. Unlike many introductions it is not a philosophical discussion of the ultimate concepts lying at the foundation of a science, but a manual for beginners, and is intended to introduce them to the study of the science of which it treats. In his treatment of his subject, Professor Murray has followed the earlier tradition and has endeavoured to interest the student in the concrete application of moral concepts to the principal spheres of moral duty. The work divides itself into two parts: one treating of man as he is; the other of man as he ought to be. Hence the first book treats of the psychological basis of ethics and the second of ethics proper. In the first of them man is considered in a purely natural or non-moral aspect, and those elements in his constitution which render him capable of morality, are examined and set forth. In the second the supreme law of duty is dealt with, and the chief forms of moral obligation which are based upon it. Legal obligations are, of course, left aside, and those which are purely moral are treated of. The work is naturally to a large extent historical, the principal theories which have been advanced by various schools being carefully stated and examined. As those who are acquainted with Professor Murray’s previous work will readily imagine, there is no want of lucidity about the volume. It is written with admirable clearness and precision, and will be found a really excellent manual.

The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline and Fall, from Original Sources.
By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L., Sc.
The Religious Tract Society. 1891.

Though originally intended as an abridgement of the author’s previous work entitled *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, with a continuation of the history of Islam down to the fall of the Abbassides, this work has swelled

out into a volume considerably larger than that of which it is in the main an abridgement. No one, however, or at least we should so imagine, will complain that its author has found himself unable to compress his material into smaller space. As it stands the work is in our opinion a gain. In some parts it is more condensed and more vivid, while as a whole it is more complete. In fact it supplies what has long been wanting, a succinct and reliable account of the rise and fall of the Mohammedan power. For his materials the author, as in the case of his *Life of Mahomet* and the more recent *Annals*, has gone to the original sources, and chiefly to Tabari and Ibn Athir, though for the later portion of his narrative he has drawn largely upon Weil's admirable *Geschichte der Chalifen*. The story, as need hardly be said, is of surpassing, almost romantic, interest, more especially as told in the graphic pages of the volume before us, and from its immense importance in connection with the history of society and religion may well find a place in the publications of the Religious Tract Society. Towards the close of the volume Sir William Muir points out the chief causes of the weakness of Mohammedanism and its institutions, and discusses the question how far its creed is responsible for the dark spots in its history. His concluding words are worth repeating. 'As regards the spiritual, social and dogmatic aspect of Islam,' he says, 'there has been neither progress nor material change. Such as we found it in the days of the Caliphate, such is it also at the present day. Christian nations may advance in civilization, freedom and morality, in philosophy, science and the arts, but Islam stands still. And thus stationary, so far as the lessons of the history avail, it will remain.' It is to be hoped that as competent a hand will resume the story where Sir William here lets it fall, and continue it on to the Crusades, the Mameluke Dynasty, and its overthrow by the Osmanlies.

Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury.
By RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON, D.D., Dean of Windsor,
and WILLIAM BENHAM, B.D., Hon. Canon of Canterbury.
2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1881.

It is now eight years since Dr. Tait died. Eight years seems a long period for the preparation of a biography, even when the biography is that of an Archbishop. In the present instance the biographers half apologise for the tardy appearance of their work, attributing the delay partly to the pressure of other duties, and partly to the vast mass of correspondence they had to read through, which, after all, turned out for the most part to be of little use for their purpose. Singularly enough, except during his earliest years, very little is said of the late Archbishop's private life. For some reason or other, it is his public or ecclesiastical life that is mainly dealt with. At the end of the second volume we have a chapter of what may be termed personal reminiscences, and at the beginning of the first, two or three that treat pretty minutely of his family and domestic relations, but in all the rest of the chapters it is his life as an ecclesiastic and statesman that is chiefly narrated. Of course Dr. Tait did himself give some account of his private and domestic life, but even the existence of this should scarcely have prevented his biographers from giving more space to their treatment of it than they have. Anyhow, the consequence is that their volumes lose much of the interest they might otherwise have had for a large number of readers. On the other hand, as a history of the Church of England during the greater part of the present century, their volumes are of undoubted interest and importance. The period will always be regarded as one of the most critical, and the share which Dr. Tait had in shaping and directing the fortunes of the English Church was too large

over to be overlooked. Though not endowed with any very brilliant gifts, Dr. Tait had always, whether as a tutor at Balliol or as a bishop, sufficient influence to make himself felt, and from the time of what is called the Tractarian Movement down to the end of his life, he had always to be reckoned with whenever any proposal was made, or any movement was originated which threatened in any way to affect the interests of the English Church. During his lifetime many of his actions were severely canvassed, and his policy bitterly condemned. Fortunately it does not fall within our province here to discuss them. We can only say that his biographers exhibit a very laudable desire, though not without a very natural leaning towards the Archbishop, to place his policy and conduct in as clear and impartial a light as possible. Here and there their anxiety to be full, as in the case of the Ritual prosecutions, has made their pages somewhat tedious. But, on the whole, their work is full of interest, and throws considerable light on the inner movements within the English Church. As Dr. Tait was the first Scotchman who ever occupied the Primacy of England, his fellow-countrymen will naturally be curious to see how he discharged the many and highly responsible duties that fell to him, while in England the work will be read with varied feelings, according as the reader belongs to this or that section or party in the English Church. Though brought up in the Church of Scotland, Dr. Tait belonged to a family who, in the latter part of the last century, were staunch adherents of the Scottish Episcopal Communion, and had for their minister no less an individual than John Skinner, the famous controversialist, scholar, and historian, and the author of the *Tullochgorum* and other well-known Scottish songs. While quite a child Dr. Tait was known as 'the bishop,' and the way in which, while yet a student, his name was connected with the Archbishopric of Canterbury was, to say the least, extremely curious. Whatever may be thought of him as an ecclesiastical statesman, there can be no doubt that he has left his mark on the Church of England, and as a contribution to the history of that Church during the present century, his Life will always hold an important place.

Richard Wagner. A Sketch of his Life and Work. By FRANZ MUNCKER. Translated from the German by D. LAUDMAN. Illustrations by HEINRICH NISLE. London: Williams & Norgate. 1891.

Herr Muncker has been unfortunate only in his translator. His publishers, printers, and artist, have all done their best to present his little work to English readers in the most attractive form, and they have admirably succeeded. In paper, type, and zincogravure renderings of Herr Nisle's illustrations, nothing has been omitted which could have contributed to commend this edition to all lovers of pretty books. But the pleasure in reading it is sadly marred by the all too German form of the translation throughout, and the manifold blunders which Herr Laudman's imperfect knowledge of English has led him to innocently commit. To give but one instance of the latter. Herr Muncker is writing of Wagner's visit to London in 1877, and his efforts to raise money there by a series of concerts to aid him in building his theatre at Bayreuth. These concerts brought him considerable applause but not much cash. Herr Laudman makes his author say of this experiment it 'brought the Meister high honours and won many friends for his music, but was attended by such immense expenses that *nothing less than a surplus of money was gained for Bayreuth.*' This is just the reverse of what Herr Muncker says. These blunders apart, however—and most of them are very apparent and easily

rectified by an attentive reader for himself—this little book gives an extremely graphic and interesting account of the long, earnest, and heroically hopeful struggles of Wagner to win the place in the front ranks of the world's musical leaders to which he thought himself entitled, and which the world has now enthusiastically accorded to him. Accompanying this record of his struggles is a sympathetic analysis of the various creations of his musical genius, and of his literary essays as they were chronologically produced, giving us a charming picture of the man in his strength and in his weakness, in his marvellous aspirations and ambitions, and in the personal defects that crippled his efforts, and the antagonistic environment in which it was his fate for so long a period of his life to be. Every lover of Wagner's operas will be charmed with this little work, and understand the touching sadness, that characterizes his works as a whole, much better when they are brought into personal acquaintance with the sad story of the man himself.

Rabelais : ses voyages en Italie ; son Exil à Metz. Par ARTHUR HEULHARD. Paris : Librairie de l'Art ; London : Allison & Co. 1891.

In another volume M. Heulhard proposes to deal with the life of Rabelais in France. Here, in the meantime, he restricts himself to such parts of the great humourist's career as were passed abroad. For the purposes of his work he has made very extensive researches, and during the ten years over which they have extended, has consulted many inedited and widely scattered papers and documents, some of which have been hitherto unexamined or unknown. The work is carefully done, full of interest, abundantly illustrated, and one of the best tributes yet paid to the memory of its subject. One point M. Heulhard distinctly makes out is that Rabelais made not simply one, but four expeditions into Italy. They were made in the company, or at the instance of either Jean or Guillaume du Bellay. The narratives which M. Heulhard has given of them are full of interesting particulars. While throwing light on Rabelais' career, they serve quite as well to illustrate the history of the fortunes of the great house to which his patrons belonged. A couple of chapters are also devoted to Rabelais' retirement at Metz, and from the writings of Jean Brysson, it is clearly made out that the humourist had a son named Théodule. M. Heulhard dwells at some length on the influence which Rabelais had upon contemporary thought and literature, and has given at the beginning of his volume a very acceptable morsel in the shape of a copy of the humourist's portrait preserved in the library at Geneva.

The Story of the Imitatio Christi. By LEONARD A. WHEATLEY. London : Elliot Stock. 1891.

This latest addition to the Book Lover's Library begins a series which is to be devoted to the history of books of world-wide fame. No better book, perhaps, could have been chosen wherewith to head the series than the *Imitatio Christi*. There is no question as to its world-wide fame. Into what civilized language have the four treatises composing it not been translated? and how constant has been, and still continues to be, the demand for new editions of it in every land? 'After the Bible,' Mr. Wheatley justly says, 'no book has been so much read or has enjoyed so extended a fame.' And the history of it is an interesting one. It has shared the fate of many famous books. Its authorship and place of birth have been the subject of debate from the hour almost of its appearance. Personal devotion to this or that writer, combined perhaps with national

vanity, has led to various claimants being brought forward on very slender grounds, and to their claims being upheld and defended for centuries. The controversy is not over yet, though the great body of cultured opinion now is in favour of the modest monk in the monastery of St. Agnes in Over Yssel, in Holland—Thomas à Kempis. Mr. Wheatley has for years been a devoted student of the literature connected with this controversy, and has been at great pains to examine the most valuable manuscripts that can shed light on the authorship and original state of the text. An earnest of his labours in these fields was given by him in the pages of this *Review* (July, 1885), and another was contributed shortly before to the *Bibliographer*. In the present volume he has condensed into small space a vast amount of information as to the book itself, its history, its MSS., its early printed editions, and the various editions since. The various claimants to the authorship of the book have their claims fairly stated and judicially weighed. Mr. Wheatley entertains no doubts as to Thomas à Kempis being the author of the book, and he has gathered together here what is known of his history, of his character, and of his other writings, and endeavours to prove how all these are in keeping with the style and spirit of the *Imitatio*. A summary of its contents may help our readers to form an idea of the comprehensiveness of this volume. The first chapter gives an account of the book and of the esteem in which it has all along been held. Chapter II. is taken up with a short sketch—entitled ‘German Mystics’—of the spiritual movement to which the *Imitatio* owed its existence, and of which it is the reflex. Chapter III. discusses the birthplace of the book and its sources. Chapter IV. describes ‘The Brothers of the Common Life,’ to which order Thomas à Kempis belonged. Chapter V. details what is known of the history of Thomas à Kempis. In Chapter VI. the other works from the modest monk’s pen are treated of. Chapter VII. describes Dr. Carl Hirsche’s investigations of the various MSS. of the work. Chapter VIII. is taken up with the controversy as to the authorship. Chapter IX. enumerates and describes the MSS., and Chapter X. the printed editions and translations. Chapter XI. brings together the opinions of various writers as to the spiritual value of the book. In Chapter XII. we have a series of extracts from the *Imitatio*, and in Chapter XIII. another series from the other writings of Thomas à Kempis. In this volume we have also a valuable bibliography, an index, a specimen page of the Brussels’ codex, and a photographed portrait of Thomas à Kempis, taken from the picture of him preserved at Gertruidenberg. Lovers of the *Imitatio* will find here in a neat and handy form all that is worth knowing of the history of the book, and all that is known of the life of its author. Mr. Wheatley tells the story in simple language, and to him the work has evidently been a labour of love. It will be prized as such, and because of its own literary merits, by every one who has read—for to read is to esteem—the *Imitatio Christi* itself.

Il Principe. By NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI. Edited by L. Arthur Burd. With an Introduction by Lord Acton. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1891.

While this edition of *The Prince* is mainly intended for the use of those who are not already familiar with Machiavelli’s life and writings, the editor has endeavoured to summarise the results at which Machiavellian studies have now arrived and to indicate the most important sources from which further information may be obtained. To the accomplishment of his aim Mr. Burd has brought a rich and varied knowledge of Machiavelli, his works, and times, and critics which has been rarely equalled. We have

the high authority of Lord Acton that he has here given a more completely satisfactory explanation of *The Prince* than any country possessed before. Few are in a position to question that authority, but whether the assertion be true or not, it may safely be said, that Mr. Burd has produced the best book on the subject which the English language possesses, and has 'redeemed our long inferiority in Machiavellian studies.' The work indeed is a piece of editing which has few equals. It is a rich storehouse of information on all that concerns Machiavelli and is the result of well nigh infinite labour. To say nothing of the learned introduction by Lord Acton on the critics of *The Prince*, we have a long introduction by Mr. Burd, in which he deals almost exhaustively with the bibliography of *The Prince*, its purpose, and the criticism it met with down to the close of the last century; next a series of genealogical tables, including the Machiavelli, Borgia, Medici, Visconti and Sforza families; and next an Historical Abstract running to over eighty pages, in which are enumerated the principal events which occurred during Machiavelli's lifetime and recounting with considerable detail all the events with which the author of *The Prince* was himself personally connected. The notes are extremely elaborate. They aim chiefly at the illustration of Machiavelli's political and ethical ideas. History is largely dealt with in them, so as to enable the reader to follow the argument, and to understand Machiavelli's criticisms. At the same time an attempt is made to determine the chief authorities to which Machiavelli was indebted, and to illustrate his statements in *The Prince* from his other writings. Occasional passages are cited from other authors, but chiefly for the purpose of showing that in the ideas he put forth Machiavelli was not alone, but that his views were shared, in a more or less modified form, by many Italians of the period, Mr. Burd being of opinion that Machiavelli is his own best interpreter. On the question whether the author of *The Prince* was acquainted with Greek, Mr. Burd joins issue with Triantafyllis, and adduces cogent reasons why it should be answered in the negative.

M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoricæ, Liber Decimus. A Revised Text with Introductory Essays, Critical and Explanatory Notes, and a Facsimile of the Harleian MS. By W. PETERSON, M.A., LL.D., Principal of University College, Dundee. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1891.

For some cause or other Quintilian's fame has, in this country at least, fallen upon evil days. He appears to have been a favourite with Lord Beaconsfield, and to have been studied by William Pitt, Lord Macaulay, and John Stuart Mill; but since 1822 no British scholar has cared to undertake an edition of his writings, and even the famous Tenth Book has during the interval been only edited in part. The publication of the present work may help to call attention to a treatise which is at least deserving of study, if not for its style, certainly for its matter, more especially by those who respect the past or desire to excel in the art of which it more particularly treats, or to become acquainted with what one of the most enlightened teachers of the Roman Empire had to say in respect to the principles on which a liberal education ought to be based. The Tenth Book of the *Institutio* is remarkable, of course, chiefly for its literary criticisms, and whether Quintilian is here recording his own opinions or is simply reporting the current opinions of his time, what he has written is almost equally valuable, though it has always to be borne in mind, when reading his deliverances, that his primary object is not to appraise the literary value of an author, so much as to give directions as to what authors

ought to be read in order to the formation of a good style. In the preparation of his volume, Dr. Peterson has been largely aided by the labours of scholars on the Continent. There Quintilian is by no means so greatly neglected as here. In addition to the great editions of Spalding and Zumpt, and the more recent ones of Bonnell, Halm, and Meister, there is a valuable periodical literature about him which is continually growing. On all these Dr. Peterson has liberally drawn. At the same time his work is thoroughly independent, as a comparison of the text or a reference to pages 77-80 of the Introduction will show. In the Introduction we have five essays, each of which is of importance for the study of Quintilian. The first deals with his life. Here Dr. Peterson follows the now generally received opinion that Quintilian was born at Calagurris, and was consequently, like several of the leading men of his time, a Spaniard. He places his birth not later than A.D. 38, but appears to hesitate to accept for it A.D. 35, the year now commonly adopted. In passing, Dr. Peterson mentions Quintilian's statement, 'ego pro regina Berenice apud ipsam causam dixi,' and explains in reference to it: 'It was in all probability a civil suit brought or defended by Berenice against some Jewish countryman; and the phenomenon of the queen herself presiding over a trial in which she was an interested party is accounted for on the hypothesis that, at least in civil suits, Roman tolerance allowed the Jews to settle their own disputes according to their national law. On such occasions the person of highest rank in the community to which the disputants belonged, might naturally be designated to preside over the tribunal.' The second essay deals with the *Institutio Oratoria*, and the third with the literary criticisms of the Tenth Book. Quite as valuable and, indeed, more so to the student of the history of the Latin tongue, is the essay which follows these on Quintilian's style and language. Here Dr. Peterson enters minutely into Quintilian's use of words, and compares it with that of the Latin writers of the best period. The concluding essays deal with the MSS. In some respects this is probably the most important of the essays. The relations of the existing MSS. to each other are carefully discussed, and considerable attention is devoted to the Codex Harleianus (2664), in the British Museum, which Dr. Peterson identifies with the Codex Dusseldorpianus, and is disposed to accept as the very MS. Poggio discovered at St. Gall. The notes are an excellent feature in the work, and contain much that throws light on the text. As already indicated, the text is a piece of independent work, in which Dr. Peterson has followed none of the recent editors on the Continent, but has studied and collated the MSS. for himself. In the main his text may be said to be conservative. As compared with the Zumpt-Bonnell text it is a great improvement and, in a number of instances, is preferable to that of either Halm or Meister. The printing of the variants beneath the text is an improvement to be desired. On the whole the work is a piece of excellent workmanship, and will deservedly take a high place among books of its kind.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT. Vol. IV. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

The third volume of this, the new issue of the Cambridge Edition of Shakespeare's works, brought us down to the end of the Comedies. This begins the Histories, and contains in all five plays: King John, Richard II., the first and second parts of Henry IV. and Henry V. 1864 was the date when the first edition of the volume appeared, its preparation being the joint work of Mr. W. G. Clark and the editor of the present issue, Mr. W.

Aldis Wright. In preparing the volume before us, Mr. Wright has followed the same rule as in the previous volume, and has recorded all the emendations of the text which have been suggested since the volume first appeared. Besides the emendations and conjectural readings given at the foot of the pages, we have here a list of *addenda et corrigenda* taken from the second edition of the first volume of Mr. H. H. Vaughan's Notes on the Historical Plays, and from Bishop Wordsworth's edition of certain selected plays. The list is a long one and contains a number of readings which Mr. Vaughan subsequently gave up. During the quarter of a century which has elapsed since the first edition of this volume was issued great advance has been made in the textual criticism of Shakespeare, and the additions which Mr. Wright has added greatly increase its value.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles; founded mainly on the Materials collected by the Philological Society.
 Edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Vol. III., Part 1,
 E—EVERY. By HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon.
 Oxford: at the Clarendon Press; London: H. Frowde.
 1891.

Mr. Bradley, as need hardly be said, is the President of the Philological Society, and has already done excellent work in lexicography in his recently published edition of Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary*, a work to which we had the pleasure of calling attention some time ago, and which, as we then said, is in every respect a decided improvement upon the work as it left the hands of Dr. Stratmann, to whom, however, no small credit is due, both for its conception and for the accumulation of material for its further improvement. The present part of the *New English Dictionary* is somewhat of a jump, the intervening part or parts containing the remainder of C from CONSIGNER, and the whole of B and D being not yet completed. At the same time the arrangement by which it has been brought out is one that commends itself as a means of facilitating the progress of the work. From the Prefatory Note we learn that the sub-editing of the part was for some time carried on by Mr. P. W. Jacob, who unfortunately has not survived to see its completion. It contains 6842 main words, 1565 subordinate words, 786 special combinations explained under the main words, or a total of 9193. No fewer than 25 per cent., or 1710 of the 6842 main words, are marked as obsolete, and 273, or 4 per cent., as alien or imperfectly naturalised. Two features noticeable in the part are: (1) the extremely small proportion of native English words which it contains as compared with the large number adopted from the French and of derivatives from the Greek and Latin; and (2) the abundance of technical terms belonging to modern science. As to these latter, care has been taken to ensure the greatest possible accuracy in the explanations given of them, and in the case of those of them which have been adopted recently, as often as possible they have been traced back to the authors by whom they were formed, and the inventor's own statements as to the etymology and the reasons for which the name was given have, in many instances, in fact wherever it seemed necessary, been cited. The prefixes and suffixes, which in this part are numerous, seem to have received special attention, and many of the articles are more than usually excellent. In most of them new etymological information is given. In the case of many words the etymology has, as usual been corrected or supplemented. Among these may be mentioned 'eager,' 'Easter,' 'Easterling,' 'earnest,' 'either,' 'elope,' 'ember,' 'engineer,' 'enker,' 'enough,' 'enthusiasm,' 'ermine,' 'evening,' 'ever.' Many articles are interesting for the information they

contain as to the history of the words in respect to the development of their meanings, as for instance the articles under 'economy,' 'edge,' 'element,' 'elocution,' 'emperor,' 'emphasis,' 'engine,' 'English,' 'entail,' 'enthusiasm,' 'esquire,' 'establishment,' 'estate,' 'eternal,' 'euphuism,' 'evangelical.' The Scotch words are fairly numerous, and so far as we have examined, they are treated admirably. Jamieson may not, and probably will not be superseded by the *New English Dictionary* when completed, but the latter will be required as an indispensable companion to it. The work which Dr. Murray and Mr. Bradley, with their accomplished assistants, are carrying on, though now going on at a more rapid pace, is still keeping up its character for excellence and thoroughness, and is one of which every Englishman, and for that matter every Scotsman, ought to be proud.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the Materials collected by the Philological Society. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, D.C.L., etc. Part IV. CLO—CONSIGNER. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. London: H. Frowde. 1891.

This is the second part of this great national undertaking which has appeared during the present quarter. The publication of two such ample parts within so short a space of time is due mainly to the new arrangement referred to above. A work like this cannot be hurried, but its completion is now decidedly nearer. The present part includes the words from Clo- to Consigner, and contains 5215 main words, 708 special combinations requiring separate explanation, and 985 subordinate words and forms, in all 6908. Of the main words 24½ per cent. are obsolete, and 3¼ per cent. alien or imperfectly naturalized. Words beginning with the Latin prefix *col, com, con*, predominate, three-fourths of the pages being occupied with them. In the earlier pages are many words of old English origin, and among others the word 'come,' which occupies no less than 23 columns, the largest space yet devoted to any word in the Dictionary. The greater part of the words derived from the Latin, either directly or through the French, which are here dealt with, are used for the expression of some of the most important, general, and abstract notions in the language, and have, in many instances, presented considerable difficulty in respect to their sense-history. On the derivation and form-history of 'cockatrice,' 'cockney,' 'congeon,' 'cosh,' 'clough,' 'clow,' 'comely,' and others, new light has been thrown. Particularly interesting in the sense-history of 'cockatrice' and 'cockney.' 'Cock-sure,' 'coif,' 'collop,' 'comb' and 'coat,' again, are interesting from their sense-history. Fresh information is also given on such words as 'coach,' 'coco,' 'coffee,' 'colonel,' 'cornet,' 'communism,' etc. A number of bogus words have also been noted, and the editor has decided to give at the end of the work a list of such words. This of itself will be no small gain, more especially if their history is traced with the same fulness as that with which the history of 'cherisaunce' is here treated at the close of the preface. Altogether the work is not only going on at a more rapid rate, but the excellence of workmanship, which has characterised preceding parts is kept up, and its claims to a yet more generous support on the part of the public are being increased.

Daphne and Other Poems. By FREDERICK TENNYSON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

This is the third volume of poetry for which we are indebted to Mr.

Tennyson. *The Isles of Greece* was published but a short time ago, while *Days and Hours* is of a less recent date. Both of them are notable books. The latter has not attracted that attention which is due to its sterling merits, but either of them is sufficient to establish their author's claim to the title of poet. There is a freshness and nobility of thought and sentiment about them which mark the works of those alone who are in possession of 'the vision and faculty divine.' In the present volume of tender and beautiful idyls, Mr. Tennyson reverts again to the tales of classical Greece, and re-tells the stories of Daphne, Pygmalion, Ariadne, Hesperia, Atlantis, Psyche, Niobe, Æson, and King Athamas, in the same modern spirit, and after the same manner as adopted in the *Isles of Greece*. The method is one sanctioned by innumerable precedents, but it is questionable whether it is altogether judicious. It is something like putting new wine into old bottles. Beautifully told as the stories are, one has always a certain sense of incongruity. The thoughts and sentiments are not those of the individuals who are represented as uttering them. They belong to a different age and a vastly different civilisation. One has to imagine one's self transported across some twenty or thirty centuries, and listening in Pagan Delos, or Cyprus, long before Christianity was introduced into the world, to aspirations and searchings of heart and mind which are among the latest fruits of the Christian era. So violent a breach of the higher unities is not without its effect on the enjoyment of the volume as an artistic production, and all the more so when one remembers that examples for his purpose might have been found by the author at a later period of the world's history, when the thoughts to which he seeks to give expression were already dawning upon the minds of men. Of course this sense of incongruity may be the fault of the reader. All the same there is much to be said for it as against the method which Mr. Tennyson, along with others, has adopted of attempting to denude the old Greek stories of the Greek spirit, and to inform them with that of the modern Christian world. In other respects, however, we have little fault to find with *Daphne and Other Poems*. Now and then, but very rarely, we meet with a faulty verse. These, however, are so rare, and the versification is otherwise so perfect, that the wonder is that they are to be found at all, and argue nothing more than oversight, in most instances of the simplest kind. But, taken as a whole, the volume is deserving, notwithstanding what we have said, of great praise. There is an exquisiteness of thought and feeling, a fertility of imagination, and a rich luxuriance of fancy, about it which have been rarely excelled. Passages might be cited in support of this in abundance, but we must refer our readers to the volume itself. Lovers of poetry will receive it, as we do ourselves, with gratitude, and regard it as one of the most charming series of idyls which have seen the light for many a day.

Sports and Pastimes of Scotland, Historically Illustrated. By ROBERT SCOTT FITTIS. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1891.

Most peoples have their sports and pastimes, many of which are survivals of what were once serious struggles for existence. In the volume before us Mr. Fittis aims at giving some account of those which prevail or prevailed in Scotland. That his book is curious and entertaining need hardly be said. He carries us back to the remotest historical times, when the land was sparsely populated, the rivers teemed with salmon, and immense stretches of country were the home of bears, wolves, and boars, and the famous wild cattle. Coming down to more recent times he speaks of archery, fox-hunting, grouse-shooting, the royal game of golf, curling,

football, and cricket. From the earliest times Scotland seems to have been a favourite hunting ground. The Romans used to hunt the brown bear here, and transport it to Rome. Martial, in his Seventh Epigram, mentions how that Laureolus, a noted robber, was first crucified and then torn to pieces by a Caledonian bear. The jarls of Orkney were in the habit of coming over in the summer to Caithness, and there hunting in the wilds the red deer and the reindeer. Bishop Lesley tells us that the Caledonian Forest was once full of bears, while Camden writes that the same forest was dreadful for its dark intricate windings, for its dens of bears, and its huge, wild, thick-maned bulls. But long before either of these writers, and long before the Northern jarls and the civilised Roman, the ancient Pict and the more Southern Brythou used to find food and sport in hunting the moose-deer or elk, the bear, and the wolf or wild cattle, while a still older race, at a still more distant period, had many a combat with the hyæna and leopard, the hippopotamus and grisly bear. In his chapter on the old Scottish wild cattle, Mr. Fittis has given an interesting account of the various herds of these animals still, or comparatively recently, in existence both in England and Scotland. In the latter country wolves were so numerous in the fifteenth century that Acts of Parliament were passed decreeing their extirpation, and, according to tradition, the last was not destroyed until the year 1743, when it was shot on the banks of the Findhorn by the famous hunter, Macqueen of Pall-a'-chrocain, not many hours after it had destroyed two children, the story of whose death is told by the brothers Stuart. Mr. Fittis has, of course, much to tell about deer forests and grouse moors, and has woven much interesting historical information into his account. Archery leads him, of course, to speak of the Royal Company of Archers, and there are chapters on the rural sports at Lammas and the revels of Fastren's E'en. Altogether the volume is full of entertaining and instructive matter, which serves to throw much light on the habits, manners, and customs of past generations of Scotsmen, and will well repay perusal.

Epidemic Influenza: Notes on its Origin and Method of Spread.

By RICHARD SISLEY, M.D. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

Dr. Sisley's notes on this widely spread and mysterious disease deserve to be read by lay as well as by professional readers. For the most part the work is controversial, but there is sufficient information in it to make it attractive, notwithstanding its somewhat repellent title, to all. From the notes here thrown together, it appears that this is by no means the first time the disease has visited the British Isles. It has a history, and has been quite as virulent in previous centuries as in this. Dr. Sisley's great contention is that the disease is spread by contagion and infection. His method of proving this is inductive, and the facts he brings forward are quite sufficient to establish his hypothesis. That they demonstrate the thesis for which he contends we should not like to say. But, taking the facts he adduces, we have little hesitation in saying that they render it highly probable, notwithstanding the authorities to the contrary, that the old-fashioned opinion that the disease dealt with, and more especially that which is generally known as 'Russian influenza,' is spread by infection is true. Dr. Sisley has a number of very instructive notes as to the origin and history of the disease. Altogether the treatise is a valuable contribution to the study of a very obscure and much debated subject.

Oysters and all about them. By JOHN R. PHILPOTS, L.R.C.P. & S., Edin., etc. 2 Vols. London: J. Richardson & Co. 1890.

Whether Mr. Philpots has written all that can be written about oysters, he has certainly written a very great deal about them. His two volumes contain over 1350 pages. Here and there he may have repeated himself a little, but on the whole he has written a very instructive and entertaining book. Perhaps no book on the subject is so varied in its contents or so comprehensive in its character. There is in it a great deal of curious information, historical, zoological, and otherwise. And what is more, Mr. Philpots writes as if it were a pleasure to him. His work is in a large measure a compilation; but the selections he has made from other writers, whether ancient or modern, are always apposite and acknowledged. His aim, he tells us, has been to make his book a manual on the subject. In this respect, however, his zeal has probably outrun his discretion. A manual should be handy and condensed. The two volumes he has produced can scarcely be said to be either condensed or handy. They are bulky and, as already hinted, somewhat diffuse. Yet they contain an immense amount of information, not only on the history of oyster eating, but on its structure, habitat, and culture. Here, in fact, almost everything may be learned as to what has been done in this country and abroad in connection with the oyster, either for its increase or destruction. There is a chapter on the pearl oyster, another in which a large body of important statistics is given, and another on oyster fishing legislation; and here and there many curious pieces of information are given respecting the subject of the book. Altogether it is a full book, pleasantly written, and deserving the attention of all who are interested in the oyster, either as an article of food or as an article of commerce.

United States Pictures drawn with Pen and Pencil. By RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. Map and Illustrations. Religious Tract Society. 1891.

This is another admirable addition to a very beautiful and attractive series. Mr. Lovett, its author, has already made himself a name as a contributor to the series, having prepared the Irish, Norwegian, Dutch and London 'Pictures.' In the present volume neither his pen nor his pencil has lost its cunning. The letterpress is as attractive as ever, and the illustrations as well chosen. It may be that this may turn out the favourite volume among the 'Pictures.' Mr. Lovett has had a country great in its extent, and wonderful both in its natural scenery and its material and social developments, to deal with, and some of the things he has had to portray are unsurpassed in any quarter of the globe. The volume is entirely different from Dr. Manning's 'American Pictures.' That volume, in fact, so far as it pertains to the United States, owing to the rapidity with which changes are effected there, has become almost antiquated, and is already gathering about it something of an antiquarian interest. Mr. Lovett's book, on the other hand, is quite fresh, and presents the great scenes of the United States, to which it is exclusively devoted, as they exist to-day. His information is on all the points he touches the latest, and very interesting it is. Next to seeing the United States, the best way of forming adequate conceptions of its life, buildings, historical memorials, and physical features, is to follow Mr. Lovett in his journeys from New York to Washington, Chicago, San Francisco, the

Yosemite Valley, Niagara, and the Great Yellowstone Park, with its unrivalled wonders. He is an admirable cicerone, brimful of his subject, and never uninteresting.

A Biographical Catalogue of Macmillan & Co.'s Publications from 1843 to 1889. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

A catalogue is scarcely literature, still the volume noted above has so much to do with literature, and contains so many notes on the publications of the past forty-five years, and illustrates so well the growth of a great publishing house, that its appearance deserves to be at least chronicled. For the future historian of modern literature it will prove invaluable. By turning to its pages he will see at a glance what books were popular, when they were printed, to what extent they were popular, how long their popularity lasted, and when they apparently vanished from the popular mind; for such is the plan of the volume that we have not only the title page of each book published by the Messrs. Macmillan & Co., from the foundation of the firm down to 1889, but also the date of every reprint, with other particulars as to size, number of pages, and whether stereotyped or electrotyped. Every pains has been taken to make the volume as handsome as possible, and for many it will have a larger interest than some volumes of a different sort. Besides the catalogue itself, the volume contains an informing preface and a couple of portraits, one of Alexander Macmillan, and the other of Daniel, the founder of the firm, whose biography was written some time ago by the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*.

SHORT NOTICES.

The volume of *Sermons preached on Special Occasions*, by the late Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, (Macmillan & Co.) is issued under the direction of the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund. It contains in all eighteen sermons, each of which has a direct bearing upon the society, organisation, or occasion, in connection with which it was preached. They are all of them clear and vigorous productions, and some of them are admirable pieces of reasoning. Here and there they exhibit the greatness of the preacher's learning, and show how effectively he could use it without in the least parading it. Take for instance the sermon on 'the Father of Missionaries,' or the next, 'All Things to All Men,' or the next again on 'the Whirlwind from the North.' They show a large acquaintance with the world's history and the world's ways, and yet all the while the learning and scholarship of the preacher is firmly held in hand, and chiefly comes out in the shape of brief allusions which, as a rule, are singularly suggestive.

Sermons Preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. By Frederick Denison Maurice (Macmillan). This is a handsome and cheap reprint of the Rev. F. D. Maurice's famous Lincoln's Inn Sermons. They contain some of the finest thoughts of that great thinker put in the plainest and simplest way. The reader of them is at a loss to tell how it ever came to pass that the author of them was supposed by some to be at all misty either in thought and speech. Here all is clear, intelligible, and eloquent. The present is a reprint of one of the two volumes which for a number of years have been exceedingly difficult to meet with. The fact that the whole six volumes are to be reprinted shows the increasing influence which their author is obtaining among the English reading public.

Les Chef-d'œuvre de la chaire belongs to the excellent series now issuing under the title 'Bibliothèque littéraire de la famille' from the Librairie de l'Art, Paris, under the direction of M. M. F. Lhomme. In addition to an introduction, in which a sketch of the history of pulpit eloquence in France is given, the volume contains a series of well-chosen extracts from the great preachers of France. Bossuet, of course, comes first, and is represented by his famous sermons on Providence and Death and by numerous extracts chiefly from his funeral orations. Bourdaloue and Flechier follow, then Mascaron, Fenelon, and Massillon. Extracts are also given from Maury, Frayssinous, and Lacordaire. The selections are in each case preceded by a notice of the author, and a number of useful notes, illustrative of the text and intended to explain the allusions it contains, are added at the end. As with the rest of the series, the volume contains a number of illustrations.

The Book of Psalms, according to the Authorised Version, metrically arranged (Religious Tract Society) is in the main a reprint from the new and enlarged edition of the 'Annotated Paragraph Bible.' Fresh matter, however, has been added in the shape of notes, chiefly of an illustrative and practical character. The general introduction, which runs to about forty pages, will be found useful as containing a large amount of historical and critical information. A special introduction is prefixed to each psalm. As for the notes, they may be commended for their brevity and suggestiveness. A good index renders their contents more available than is usually the case.

The Rev. R. C. Jenkins' *Pre-Tridentine Doctrine* (Nutt) is a striking review of the doctrines enunciated by Cardinal Cajetan in his Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures. The Cardinal's failure to heal the rupture in Germany has obscured his merits as a commentator and theologian. In this character, in fact, he is scarcely known, and Mr. Jenkins deserves to be commended for reviving a knowledge of his works. They show at least that the Protestant divines were not the only writers of the period who were endeavouring to arrive at a clear and reasonable interpretation of the Scriptures, and further that many of the doctrines taught by the Reformers were anticipated by some of the most notable among the Catholic divines. In the selection of his method, Mr. Jenkins has been exceedingly happy. Taking the Commentaries one by one, he shows, frequently in the Cardinal's own words, the principles by which he was guided and the results at which he arrived. Here and there, however, Mr. Jenkins mars the pleasure which the perusal of his volume affords by the introduction of a strongly polemical spirit.

M. E. Boutmy's *Studies in Constitutional Law* (Macmillan & Co.) have found a capable translator in Miss E. M. Dicey, and her father, Professor Dicey, has written a brief introduction to the volume. The essays are three in number, and are devoted to a comparative study of the essential differences between English and French constitutionalism. They are unquestionably brilliant, and though Englishmen as a rule imagine they know all about the institutions under which they live and have a sort of contempt for all others, there can be little doubt that a perusal of M. Boutmy's essays will contribute much to their information, not only about their own institutions, but also in respect to those of France and the United States.

Messrs. Macmillan's 'English Men of Action' series includes some excellent monographs, but we do not think it includes one which deserves to be more highly commended than Mr. Oman's *Warwick the Kingmaker*.

For some reasons, and these very weighty ones, we are strongly disposed to place it at the head of the series. One thing, however, is undeniable : Mr. Oman has realized his opportunity and used it. Hitherto no monograph or biography of the Kingmaker has been attempted, and Mr. Oman has had the field all to himself. His work shows great research in the original sources of information, and is a solid contribution to English history.

Mr. Carstairs' *British Work in India* (Blackwood) is one of those books which everybody ought to read, but which, unfortunately, very few people do—to their own loss. India is a great possession, and we are all very proud of it, but know very little about it, and still less of the influence which our rule is having there. It is of this latter that Mr. Carstairs writes, as well as of the way in which this influence is made to tell, and of what ought to be the exclusive object of our presence there and how it may be best achieved. As we need hardly say, the volume is full of information. Mr. Carstairs has many sensible and enlightened things, the result of a large experience in the country, to say, and he puts them very forcibly. He deprecates the dragging of Indian affairs into party politics, is of opinion that the peoples of India are not yet prepared for advanced reforms, and is not enamoured of the Ilbert Bill. His views may be called Conservative, but very cogent facts are adduced in support of them, and he may be said to appear in his volume as a very earnest reformer, having at heart both the success of the British rule and the welfare of the many peoples who in India are subject to it.

In *The Lords of Cunningham* (Gardner), Mr. Robertson has managed to give a vivid account of the sanguinary feuds which raged in Ayrshire during the fifteenth and two following centuries. Most of his facts are taken from history. On these he has allowed his imagination to play with considerable freedom, and out of the brief records of history he has constructed a romance which is full of intrigue, battle, and murder, and sudden death. That his pages are stirring we need not say. They throw a lurid light on one of the stormiest and fiercest periods in Scottish history.

Voltaire, œuvres choisies, (prose et verse) is a number of the same series as the above. The extracts which, as the title bears, are taken both from the prose and the poetical works of the author, are very varied in character. They embrace historical and critical, as well as lighter pieces. Correspondence is well represented. The selections are preceded by a life of Voltaire and an estimate of his character as a writer. As usual in the publications of this firm, the illustrations are numerous.

The Greenleeks Papers (Dent & Co.), which the Rev. Titus Tiptaff has edited, remind us very much of a series of papers which appeared a good many years ago, and professed to be the private thoughts, or something of that kind, of a German Professor. That they are written in imitation of them we should not like to say. But this may be said : there is a good deal of humour in the papers of the Reverend Editor's friend, and a good deal of sound philosophy and common sense. The book is scarcely one the reader will care to read long. It is one of those volumes which one prefers to dip into from time to time for something to think about. Its tone is a little oracular, but here and there, in fact, frequently, one meets with a good thing well put.

Books received—*Sociology Diagrammatically systematized*, by Arthur Young (Houlston & Sons) ; *Dritto Sociale*, by Pietro Pellegrini ; *The Psy-*

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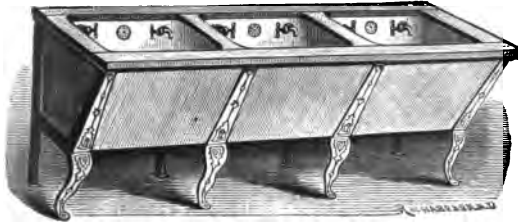
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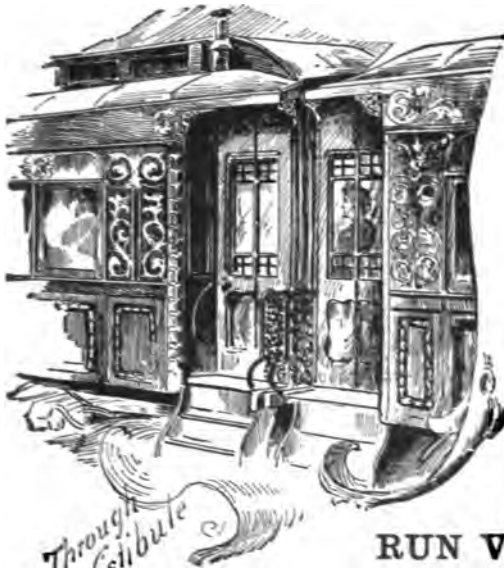
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