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INDEX TO VOLUME XXIX.

A.	
<p>Abbot, Lyman, Christianity and Social Problems, ... 199</p> <p>Abrahams, Israel, M.A., Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, ... 186</p> <p>Adams, George Burton, The Growth of the French Nation, ... 406</p> <p>Alberoni and the Quadruple Alliance, by E. Armstrong, ... 74</p> <p>Aldis, Harry G., Scottish Bibliography, ... 101</p> <p>American Historical Review, 175, 398</p> <p>Armstrong, E., Alberoni and the Quadruple Alliance, ... 74</p> <p>Athena, 174, 394</p>	<p>Conder, Licut-Col., C.R., Egyptian Chronology, ... 116</p> <p>Cowan, Prof. Henry, D.D., The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom (Baird Lecture), 184</p> <p>Craigie, W. A., M.A., Scandinavian Folk-Lore, ... 195</p> <p>Craik, Henry, English Prose, Vol. V., 193</p> <p>Cultura, La, 159, 376</p> <p>Cunningham, J. T., M.A., Natural History of the Marketable Marine Fishes of the British Islands, ... 413</p> <p>Cycling Epidemic, The, by T. P. W., 56</p>
B.	
<p>Bell, Sir James, Bart., and James Paton, F.L.S., Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation and Administration, ... 402</p> <p>Bernard, J. H., D.D., Archbishop Benson in Ireland, ... 415</p> <p>Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse, 397</p> <p>Blaikie, W. Garden, Thomas Chalmers (Famous Scots), ... 199</p> <p>Bourinot, J. C., C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L., Canada (Story of the Nations Series), ... 405</p> <p>Bright, Rev. J. Franck, D.D., Joseph II., 403</p> <p> — Maria Theresa, ... 403</p> <p>Brooks, Phillips, The More Abundant Life, 415</p> <p>Bryce, James, Transcaucasia and Ararat, 197</p> <p>Browne, Prof. W. Hand, Selections from the Early Scottish Poets, 416</p> <p>Bury, J. B., The History of the Roumanians, 30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">D.</p> <p>Davidson, James, New Light on Burns, 295</p> <p>Deutsche Rundschau, 364</p> <p>Diary of Jane Porter, The, by Ina Mary White, 321</p> <p>Donovan, Thomas, English Historical Plays ... arranged for Acting as well as for Reading, 190</p>
E.	
<p style="text-align: center;">C.</p> <p>Church, R. W., M.A., D.C.L., Occasional Papers, 411</p> <p>Civiltà Cattolica, 376</p>	<p>Editor's Retrospect, An, ... 128</p> <p>Egyptian Chronology, by Lieut. Col. C. R. Conder, 116</p> <p>Emporium, 160, 377</p> <p>ΕΠΙΕΘΡΙΑ, Α' 395</p> <p>España Moderna, 391</p> <p>Evil and Evolution, 179</p>
F.	
<p style="text-align: center;">C.</p> <p>Church, R. W., M.A., D.C.L., Occasional Papers, 411</p> <p>Civiltà Cattolica, 376</p>	<p>Farthest North, 311</p> <p>Financial Relations of Great Britain and Ireland, The, by Judge W. O'Connor Morris, ... 337</p> <p>Finlayson, James, LL.D., The Life and Works of Dr. Robert Watt, 416</p>

- Ford, Robert, Poems and Songs of Alexander Rodger, ... 416
- Fraser, Alex. Campbell, LL.D., D.C.L., Philosophy of Theism (Gifford Lectures). Second Series, ... 178
- G.
- Gids, De, ... 171, 392
- Giornale Dantesco, ... 159, 376
- H.
- Haigh, A. E., The Tragic Drama of the Greeks, ... 191
- Henderson, Rev. A. D.D., The Measure of a Man, ... 415
- Herkless, John, Richard Cameron (Famous Scots), ... 199
- Holm, Adolph, History of Greece, Vol. III., ... 405
- Hort, F. J. A., Village Sermons, ... 415
- Hughes, Rev. Henry, M.A., Religious Faith: an Essay in the Philosophy of Religion, ... 177
- I.
- Ireland, Financial Relations of Great Britain and, by Judge W. O'Connor Morris, ... 337
- Land System of, by the same, ... 1
- J.
- Jordan, William Leighton, the Standard of Value, ... 415
- Jusserand, J. J., The Romance of a King's Life, ... 199
- K.
- Keltie, J. Scott, The Statesman's Year-Book, 1897, ... 414
- Ker, Rev. W. Lee, M.A., Mother Lodge, Kilwinning, Discussion of an Historical Question, ... 407
- Ker, Prof. W. P., Epic and Romance: Essays in Medieval Literature, ... 407
- L.
- Land System of Ireland, The, by Judge W. O'Connor Morris, ... 1
- Leask, W. Keith, Boswell (Famous Scots), ... 419
- Legge, F., Primitive Religion and Primitive Magic, ... 226
- Lord Roberts in India, ... 247
- M.
- 'MacBremen,' Breezes from John o' Groats, ... 417
- Maxwell, Sir Herbert, Bart., M.P., A History of Dumfries and Galloway, ... 188
- Metcalfe, Wm., B.D., Modern Greek Folk-Lore, ... 276
- Miall, Prof. L. C., F.R.S., Round the Year, ... 416
- Middleton, George, M.A., and Thos. R. Mills, M.A., The Student's Companion to Latin Authors, ... 197
- Millar, A. H., Pickle the Spy, ... 201
- M'Kechnie, Wm. Sharp, M.A., LL.B., The State and the Individual: an Introduction to Political Science, ... 181
- Modern Greek Folk-Lore, by Wm. Metcalfe, B.D., ... 276
- Modern Readers' Bible, ... 198
- Morris, Judge W. O'Connor, The Financial Relations of Great Britain and Ireland, ... 337
- The Land System of Ireland, ... 1
- Mulhall, Michael G., Industries and Wealth of Nations, ... 413
- Murray, Dr. James A. H., and Henry Bradley, Hon. M.A., A New English Dictionary, 194, ... 410
- Museon et la Revue des Religions, ... 380
- N.
- Napoli Nobilissima, ... 160
- New Light on Burns, by James Davidson, ... 295
- Nuova Antologia, ... 157, 373
- O.
- Omond, G. F. W., Fletcher of Saltoun (Famous Scots), ... 417
- P.
- Page, Ernest Judson, The Clue to the Ages, Pt. I., Creation by Principle, ... 400
- Palgrave, Francis F., Landscape in Poetry from Homer to Tennyson, ... 409
- Pickle the Spy, by A. H. Millar, ... 201
- Porter, Jane, the Diary of, by Ina Mary White, ... 321
- Primitive Religion and Primitive Magic, by F. Legge, ... 226

- R.
- Ramsay, Andrew Michael, History of the Life of Fenelon, translated by David Cuthbertson, 416
- Rassegna Nazionale,158, 374
- Revue Celtique,170, 391
- Revue des Deux Mondes, ...167, 388
- Revue des Etudes Juives, ...165, 382
- Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,160, 377
- Revue Philosophique, ...169, 385
- Revue des Religions,164, 379
- Revue Sémitique d'Epigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne, ...162, 384
- Rigg, J. M., St. Anselm of Canterbury, 190
- Rinder, Edith Wingate, The Shadow of Arvor, 196
- Rivista Italiana di Filosofia, ... 159
- Roumanians, The History of, by J. B. Bury, 30
- S.
- Scottish Bibliography, by Harry G. Aldis, 101
- Skirnir, 175
- Smeaton, Oliphant, Smollet, (Famous Scots), 417
- Smith, Adam, Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms, delivered at the University of Glasgow, 183
- Smith, Goldwin, D.C.L., Guesses at the Riddle of Existence, and other Essays, 401
- Spencer, Herbert, The Principles of Sociology. Vol. III., St. Clair-Tisdall, W., M.A., The Conversion of Armenia to the Christian Faith, ... 186
- Studien und Kritiken, ...152, 366
- T.
- Tarbell, F. B., A History of Greek Art, with an Introductory Chapter on Art in Egypt and Mesopotamia, 406
- Theologisch Tijdschrift, ... 173
- Thomas W., Cave, F.S.S., Cosmic Ethics, or the Mathematical Theory of Evolution, Timarit hins 'Isklenzka Bókmentafjelags, 174
- U.
- Umber, George, Ayrshire Idylls of Other Days, 417
- V.
- Voprosi Filosofii i Psichologii,153, 367
- W.
- White, Ina Mary, The Diary of Jane Porter, 321
- Wordsworth's Prose Works, edited by Prof. W. Knight, ... 412
- Wright, Joseph, M.A., Ph. D., The English Dialect Dictionary. Pt. II., Ballow-Blare, ... 411
- Z.
- Zeller, Dr. Ed., Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics, translated by B. F. C. Costelloe, M.A., and J. H. Muirhead, M.A., 402

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1897.

ART. I.—THE LAND SYSTEM OF IRELAND.

1. *The Land Law Ireland Act, 1896.*
2. *The Debates on the Irish Land Act of 1896 in both Houses of Parliament.*

THE enactment of another Irish Land Act—the latest of a long and very intricate series—affords an opportunity to examine in detail, the present state of the Land System of Ireland, and its prospects, under the legislation which has made it what it is. The subject is one of no little importance to all the interests concerned in the land, and in landed relations in the Three Kingdoms. The principles of the modern Irish Land Code have already been introduced into parts of Scotland, and regulate the status of the class of Crofter tenants. There is a movement for applying them generally to Wales; if this should be successful, it is hardly doubtful but that they will cross the Welsh marches, and reach England; indeed, an attempt to accomplish this was defeated, only a few months ago, by a comparatively small majority in the present House of Commons, the most Conservative that has been assembled for many years. The Irish Land Question, too, must have special interest for many readers of the *Scottish Review*, for it is unnecessary to remark how Scotsmen have, for long centuries, been closely associated with the Irish land, and how immense is their pre-

sent stake in it. The Scottish race has colonised the fairest parts of Ulster, and has for ages proved the most powerful and progressive element in the population of that noble province, especially in the great body of the occupiers of the soil. The Scottish tenant in Ireland has, in the past, suffered much from what was most unjust and grievous in a Land System now wholly transformed; and it has been his fortune to have vindicated, even in evil times, rights, which protected him, to a considerable extent, from wrong, but which, outside of Ulster, had been almost effaced. He has also taken largely advantage of the modern Irish Land Acts, though apparently he is not satisfied with these, and it is questionable if they promote his permanent interests, on a broad and enlightened view of the subject.

It is impossible to understand the Land System of Ireland, and how it has been cast in its present mould, without glancing back at its history in the past. In the Celtic Ireland of the chiefs, the tribes, the clans, and the septs, we can trace a well defined order of landed relations; under the inferior and lesser chiefs, there was a large and powerful class of 'free tenants,' holding at 'just rents,' to be carefully distinguished from the degraded 'fuidhirs,' holding at rack rents, as oppressed vassals. This archaic organisation, in many respects analogous to the tenures of the feudal manor, and utterly misunderstood by Tudor lawyers,* was ruthlessly broken up by ages of conquest; the 'free tenants' were deprived of their rights; and the great mass of the occupiers of the soil were reduced to the position of mere tenants at will, this mode of English tenure having been forced upon them. The traditions, however, of the old state of things survived its extinction by the sword and the law of the 'Saxon,' and survive down to the present hour; the great majority of the Irish peasantry believe they have a title to live on their farms, as long as they pay a 'fair rent' † and,

* For a most admirable account of the primitive Land System of Ireland, see Sir Henry Maine's *Early History of Institutions*.

† The old idea of Celtic collective ownership still prevails also largely in Ireland.

strange to say, it was the Scotch settlers of Ulster who have continued to maintain this right, by the establishment of the well known custom of Ulster, almost identical with the ancient Celtic usage.* The march of conquest in Ireland, however, accomplished much more than merely blotting out the primitive modes of occupying the soil, and the privileges of the classes attached to it. Carried out barbarously, and yet piecemeal, and followed by wholesale confiscation in its train, it annihilated the chiefs, whether of low or high degree, the natural, and the beloved leaders of the people they ruled; and it planted in by far the greatest part of the country, a race of conquerors alien in blood and faith, in the position of owners and lords of the land, the masters of a conquered race, dwelling as serfs upon it. In the colonised parts of Ulster alone, where the owners and the occupiers of the country were for the most part Scotsmen, and where they were alike Protestants, if Protestants of really distinct communions, where, too, evil memories of the past did not divide classes, was the Land System in a more promising state.

This was the inauspicious settlement of the Irish Land, when the era of conquest had finally closed, that is, towards the end of the seventeenth century; the worst kind of absenteeism, it should be added, had thrown its blighting shade over whole counties. This state of things was, so to speak, stereotyped, and aggravated to an immense extent by the barbarous Penal Code, of which the object was to keep Protestant and Catholic Ireland asunder, and to perpetuate the divisions of race and faith between the owners and occupiers of the land, already but too profound in five-sixth's of the island. These laws endeavoured to maintain the ascendancy of a caste of Protestant landlords, and the subjection of a people of Catholic tenants, in opposition to the nature of things, as part of the Constitution and the Law, and the system was attended by the most unhappy results. It impo-

*The better opinion is that the Ulster custom of land tenure was derived from the old Celtic usage, and that the sturdy Scotch colonists compelled their landlords more or less to respect it.

verished even the dominant order of men by preventing the transfer of their estates ; it increased absenteeism in a remarkable way ; it produced the pernicious middleman tenures, which kept land in a kind of mortmain ; it discouraged agriculture, and banished capital from the soil. The consequences were seen in the wretched state of the country, as it appears in the pages of Swift and Berkeley, in terrible and often recurring famines, in the complete absence of progressive husbandry, in the misery, beggary, and sloth of the mass of the peasantry, and, above all, in frequent agrarian risings, significant of universal discontent, which culminated in the notorious 'Whiteboy' system, an organisation of crime connected with the land, and, even now, by no means a thing of the past.

The condition of affairs in Scottish Ulster was very much better ; the lines between the landed classes were not so deeply marked ; there were few evil traditions of conquest ; the system of tenure, protected by the custom which we have seen the colonists had established, secured to some extent the rights of the occupier of the soil ; the elements of society were less unkindly mixed ; the state of agriculture was much less backward. But even in this favoured part of the country, unwise and unjust laws had drawn a distinction between the landlord, usually of the Established Church, and the tenant, usually a Presbyterian ; the consequences were in many respects unfortunate. We read of many instances of exaction in landed relations, of excessive rents, of wrongs done by landlords ; thousands of Presbyterian farmers abandoned their homes, and the 'Oakboys' and 'Steelboys' formed a counterpart—feeble, indeed, and not of long endurance—to the 'Whiteboys' of the provinces of the South.

The lines of the Irish Land System were thus laid down, and though they have been greatly changed and softened, they may still be traced in some of their aspects. A gradual improvement began to appear soon after the middle of the eighteenth century. Humanity revolted from the Penal Code ; its cruel severity was relaxed by degrees ; the distinction between Protestant and Catholic was somewhat lessened, and

this became apparent in landed relations. The dominant caste, now less aliens, and more Irish, in thought and sympathy turned, in some measure, towards the subject race; the connection between them became less unfriendly, the owners and occupiers of the land were less divided. At the same time, as the island increased in wealth, the country gentry lived more and more on their lands; absenteeism very largely diminished, middleman tenures and other evils began to disappear; agriculture showed manifest signs of progress. We do not hear any more of repeated famines; the aspect of the country was more kindly; the resources of Ireland were much developed. Yet the change was more superficial than has been supposed; the deep divisions of race and faith still kept Protestant and Catholic largely apart, and had their evil effects in the land system. We still read of numerous instances of unjust oppression, especially in the case of the inferior gentry. In Ulster improvement was more decided; the linen manufacture enriched the province; its agriculture rapidly advanced; some of the towns, especially Belfast, became rising seats of commerce. Yet landed relations were even now by no means free from disorder and trouble; the Anglican landlord and the Presbyterian tenant were not united in faith or in feeling; there were still complaints of harsh dealings on the part of landlords, and especially of attempts to destroy the Ulster custom by rack-renting and unfair evictions.

A considerable change passed over the Irish Land System during the period that, broadly speaking, was measured by the long and memorable reign of George III. The worst provisions of the Penal Code were abolished; Catholic Ireland was admitted within the pale of the State; the Irish Catholic was enabled to acquire land, and to obtain a permanent estate in it. The number of Catholic landlords was much increased; a class of large Catholic farmers grew up, and Protestant ascendancy was in some degree balanced by a counterpoise in landed relations. The political and social influence of the Protestant landlords, owing to the independence won by the Revolution of 1782, was, at the same time, greater than it had ever been; and the Catholic occupiers of their estates

seemed to have been more attached to them than ever had been the case before. The Irish gentry became, for the most part, resident; absenteeism continued to grow less; the class of middlemen was largely diminished; the peasantry seemed to regard their superiors with something like affection. Yet, notwithstanding these signs to the contrary, the deep-seated divisions in Irish social life were not really bridged over; the horrible rebellion of 1798 proved how the old distinctions of race and religion still separated the classes seated on the soil of Ireland. And, simultaneously, if the wealth of the country increased, it is certain that, at the bottom of the social scale, the mass of the people remained steeped in poverty. The legislation of the Irish Parliament encouraged the growth of population in many ways; this was enormously stimulated by the great war with France, which, by creating an immense demand for corn and meat, changed the vast tracts of pasturage, which had hitherto been the ordinary features of the Irish landscape, into tillage extending over millions of acres. The land thus became divided to a great extent into petty holdings occupied by a mass of poor peasants; one of the most remarkable phenomena of this period was the aggregation of ever increasing multitudes on the Irish land.

The manifold consequences of this state of things became gradually evident in the course of time. As the population multiplied on the land, rents were unnaturally forced up, and the wages of labour largely pulled down; the potato, too, a very precarious root, became generally the food of the peasant millions of Ireland. Another, however, and a more far-reaching change began to operate throughout the entire Land System. As the land passed more and more out of the hands of large grazing farmers, and was occupied by thousands of small tillage holders, the dwellings, and the additions that were made to the soil, became more and more the creation of the class of small tenants; the owners of the land, in fact, could not afford to make them, as has been seen in other countries besides Ireland. By reason, however, of these improvements, the peasantry, in almost every part of Ireland, acquired, by degrees a real interest in the land; and this brought out and

quicken the old latent tradition, that they had a right to the possession of their holdings, subject only to a 'fair rent.' A kind of inchoate Tenant Right was thus evolved; and under similar conditions the Ulster custom acquired rapidly augmented force, and established a Tenant Right which virtually formed a considerable proprietary right to the land. Edmund Burke witnessed the beginning of this new order of things; and with the insight of genius wrote to prove that it ought to have the protection of law; but his counsels were disregarded by inferior men, and Irish Tenant Right, being inconsistent with English tenancy at will, was treated as a bad usage in no sense law-worthy. The rights of the Irish tenant were thus set at nought; but things, on the whole, went on tolerably well, until the great collapse of prices that followed the Peace. Rents then suddenly fell; wages fell in proportion; the peasantry were reduced to far-spreading distress; and as hundreds of landlords were also placed in great straits, they began, very generally, to enforce their claims, by evictions, and other processes of the kind. They were most unfortunately backed by the Government, which simply ignored the moral claims of the tenant, and gave facilities to evictions often harsh and unjust.

A period of grave social disorder followed, marked in places by dearth that was almost a famine, and by a frightful outburst of Whiteboy outrages, as the peasantry combined to resist being driven from their homes. After a few years comparative order was restored, but the state of the Land System remained critical, and even became more dangerous. The resources of Ireland greatly augmented, but this affected the upper and the middle classes only, the millions settled on the land probably became poorer. Absenteeism was promoted by the Union, if absentee estates were better managed than of old; middlemen tenures, and their mischiefs, were diminished; agriculture made, on the whole, progress. But the Irish landed gentry became, by degrees, more estranged from their dependents than they had been, largely owing to the agitation for the Catholic claims; and their political and social influence was almost destroyed in the struggle, in which O'Connell

plainly the unsympathetic ignorance of our statesmen of the Irish Land Question. One of their chief objects ought to have been to secure for Tenant Right, whether complete or inchoate, the protection which law can alone afford; they treated it as an excrescence on the just rights of property, and urged that the alien law of land tenure should be maintained, with a feeble measure in favour of tenants' improvements. A revolution of a most appalling kind ere long violently broke up the Irish Land System. This is not the place to describe the Great Famine of 1846-7; suffice it to say that it caused deaths by thousands; that it lifted up millions of wretched peasants from the soil; and that finally it sent a huge mass of the people in despair, across the Atlantic, to create a new Ireland in the West. The change was marked by evictions often ruthless, by severe measures on the part of the State to compel the peasant to abandon his hold on the land, but also by world-wide and lavish charity; its chief economic and social result was that it cleared vast spaces of the Irish Land from a weight of teeming misery that hung like an incubus on it. In this position of affairs it was generally believed that the Irish Land Question would right itself, and nothing was done to improve the conditions of Land Tenure. But leading statesmen imagined that they would accomplish a great reform, by a measure of confiscation, cruel and unwise, which effected the ruin of hundreds of the landed gentry, through the agency of the Encumbered Estates Acts, and which only placed in their stead landlords of the very worst type, the successors of the grasping and oppressive middlemen, by this time very nearly extinguished.

A long period followed that seemed for a time of bright promise for the Irish Land System. As the excessive population was drawn away from the land, rent was not forced up, as it had been; indeed rents were considerably higher sixty years ago than they have been since the Famine of 1846-7. Wages, too, rose rapidly, and remained at a level they never attained in Ireland before; and the condition of the peasantry immensely improved. The humbler classes, indeed, became comparatively prosperous, and even well off; the beggary and

the rags of the past disappeared; this progress has happily been maintained. At the same time, as the land was thrown open to better husbandry, agriculture made remarkable strides; the mud hovel, and the potato patch, vanished over largely extending areas; the class of large farmers became much more numerous; the modes of tillage, the breeds of animals, showed extraordinary signs of improvement. The period, too, was one when Free Trade had enriched the country, and had not yet flooded it with foreign imports; the prices of corn, cattle, and meat were high; and the development of the railway system brought the products of Ireland to British markets with a facility that had never been known before. The change was more conspicuous in Ulster than anywhere else; Belfast and other towns became fine centres of trade; but it was manifest, too, in the Provinces of the South. And moral and social progress appeared to follow in the train of material progress. Rents were easily paid and farming prospered; evictions became exceedingly rare; there seemed to be no feud in landed relations; the landed gentry lived at peace among the occupiers of the soil. There was an astonishing diminution of agrarian crime; the abortive rising of 1848, the Tenant Right movement of 1852 had scarcely any evident results; the trade of the agitator was deemed gone, when O'Connell had passed away from the scene. The Catholic Church in Ireland, indeed, under Ultramontane influence, condemned popular stirrings of every kind, and discountenanced lay and sacerdotal demagogues.

Time, however, was to show that this apparent harmony was to a considerable extent superficial only. It depended in the main on mere prosperity, which could not of course be everlasting; and, beneath the smiling surface of things, there were symptoms of old and of new evils. The landed gentry, ruled by the bureaucratic Castle, were deprived of nearly all that remained of their power, a thoroughly false position for an aristocratic order of men; they became more strict in their inquiries than their fathers had been, as the value of their estates increased; the purchasers, under the Encumbered Estates Acts, as we have said, were usually bad landlords, and

if there was little oppression while the country thrived, the whole body remained apart from the classes beneath them. At the same time not a few landlords, encouraged, no doubt, by the steady refusal of Lord Palmerston and other statesmen to recognise the moral claims of their tenants, began to encroach on the Tenant Right of Ulster, and on the immature Tenant Right of other parts of the country, and this caused much sullen alarm and discontent. Meanwhile, as Ireland grew more wealthy, the rights of the tenant farmers became greater than ever, by virtue of improvements and the sale of 'goodwill,' yet these were disregarded as much as before; and if there were not many instances of flagrant wrong, ill-feeling and apprehension began to arise. The divisions of race and faith in Ireland was not really closed, and simultaneously as the peasantry increased in knowledge and comfort, they became more alive to the ills of the Land System. By degrees, too, a young generation of Catholic priests took again to agitation and stirring up trouble; although their efforts had little result, they sowed the seeds of mischief and bad passions. The most dangerous element, however, in the social life of Ireland during this period was introduced from abroad. The millions who had fled from Ireland before the dire stress of famine, formed a new Ireland in the United States, and this great and growing community simply abhorred England and Irish landlords, both of whom they charged with driving them from their homes in despair. The emigrants and their sons were in constant relations with their kinsfolk and friends in the old Ireland of their birth, and rebellious and socialistic ideas, especially in all that related to the land, made their way by degrees across the Atlantic. The Land System became deeply undermined, though it appeared stable, and even prosperous; old animosities and passions were reviving, and fresh sources of discord were opened.

The abortive Fenian rising of 1867 may be said to have marked the close of this period. The movement, as is well known, failed, but it directed the attention of English statesmen who, as regards Ireland, were living in a fool's paradise, to all that was bad in her political and social system. Mr.

Gladstone took up the Irish Land Question after disestablishing the Anglican Irish Church ; he addressed himself with characteristic energy to a searching reform. The condition of the Irish Land System was investigated by more than one earnest enquirer * before the Minister undertook to recast it. The inveterate divisions of ages were still to be traced ; there was no general outcry against excessive rents, but a revolutionary movement against rent existed. There were many complaints in Ulster that Tenant Right was being invaded, and there was a demand throughout Ireland for a reform of Land Tenure on the principles of the three F's that is, Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rent, and Free Sale. We condemn much that was done by Mr. Gladstone in after years as respects the Irish Land, but assuredly he understood better than other statesmen what was peccant and dangerous in the Irish Land System. He could not, of course, undo the evils of the remote past, and the results of conquest and confiscation, but in the celebrated Land Act of 1870 he made a great effort to improve Irish Land Tenure. It deserves special notice that he avoided the drastic methods he adopted afterwards ; he refused to sanction the fixing of rent through the agency of the State, or the creating in favour of the tenant a permanent estate in the land ; he denounced those ideas as false and unjust. The measure he proposed, if not without defects, was founded on right principles, and, in the main, statesmanlike. He gave the support of law to the Tenant Right of Ulster and to the nascent Tenant Right of the three other Provinces ; he thus reasonably vindicated the joint ownership which the Irish tenant had in numberless instances acquired in the land. But he grafted, besides, a Tenant Right on almost all farms in the form of 'Compensation,' as it was called for 'Disturbance,' and he made large provisions for compensation as to tenants' improvements. This was the wisest Land Act ever applied to

* I may be permitted to say that at this time I examined the Irish Land System as special Commissioner of *The Times* ; it would be affectation to deny that my letters contributed greatly to the passing of the Act of 1870.

Ireland, but it was injured by the over-subtlety which has always been a fault in the legislation of Mr. Gladstone; it bristled with exceptions and limitations, and it was capable of being evaded in many ways. This reform in land tenure was accompanied by clauses in the Act which enabled tenants to acquire their farms by purchase, part of the purchase monies being advanced by the State. This was the policy advocated by John Bright, but that eminent man never dreamed that Irish tenants were to be made owners of their holdings without any outlay of their own, and through what really was a free gift of the State.

Mr. Gladstone announced that the Act of 1870 was to be a final settlement of the question; millions of money—especially funds of the Disestablished Church—were, on the faith of this solemn promise, invested in the security of the Irish land. The Act was, on the whole, well received in Ireland; its main principles were felt to be just; but more than one well informed and capable thinker—the late Judge Longfield and the late Isaac Butt may be named—foretold that it would not solve the problem. The new law fell on unpropitious times; like other Irish reforms it came late; as had been foreseen, it could be eluded; it did not stand the trial of severe distress. The year 1879-80 was, as regards the harvest, the worst known in Ireland since the Famine; it led to a great rising of the peasantry in many counties, accompanied by an explosion of Whiteboy crimes, which had been regarded as things of the past. The character of this movement, though laid bare by the damning Report of the Special Commission, is still little understood in Great Britain; it was a revolutionary outbreak of a Fenian type, planned, directed, and subsidised from the United States, the work of the American Irish, which made use of trouble connected with the land, and of wild ideas that had spread in Ireland, to further distinctly rebellious ends; but it is a mistake to suppose that it was anything like general. Mr. Gladstone, however, after brave words to the contrary, thought that a reform of Land Tenure, would make it powerless; and throwing his former pledges to the winds, he introduced, and carried through Parliament, the

famous Land Act of 1881, a measure wholly inconsistent with that of 1870, and, in important respects, contradictory to it.

This piece of legislation may be shortly described as an attempt still further to secure the Ulster Custom, and to extend the principles of the three F's—Fair Rent, Fixity of Tenure and Free Sale—to nearly every part of the Irish Land System, and to the overwhelming majority of Irish tenancies. It effected these ends, however, in the most infelicitous way; under conditions that can be only deplored; and with such a palpable disregard of justice, and such a defiance of rational methods, that its passing into law can be explained only by the immense authority of its designer, and by the terror caused by the Irish Land League. Mr. Gladstone, disregarding warnings uttered by himself, introduced into our legislation, for the first time in history, the principle that the State was to fix Rent—Adam Smith and his fellows were sent off to Saturn—in order to secure fair rent for the Irish tenant. This fair rent was not to be settled once for all; it was left to be adjusted by a number of inferior Courts, which were not even informed by the Act, what the principles of a Fair Rent were, and were thus abandoned to their own devices; the determination of a question of immense difficulty was abandoned to litigation, without stint or limit, and certain to lead to confusion and discord. As regards Fixity of Tenure, Mr. Gladstone refused to give the tenant a perpetuity in the land—he had described this, in 1870, as a gross wrong to landlords—but he really did what was a great deal worse; he drew out of the fee simple a terminable estate, making it renewable at intervals of fifteen years, when Fair Rent was to be fixed again, thus causing the frequent recurrence of law-suits, troubles and disputes of classes. As to Free Sale, that is the empowering the tenant to transfer his interest, this last of the F's. was fairly well arranged; but the provisions of the law, even in this respect, were not free from objection. By these means, and by these alone, Mr. Gladstone contended that the rights of the tenant in his holding would be secured; he dilated on the subject with unctuous rhetoric; and he seems to have forgotten what were the rights of the landlord, which he simply

confiscated wholesale by the worst kind of processes. This, however was not all; like that of 1870, the Act abounded in provisions certain to lead to quarrels; and as a kind of *coup de grace*, it enacted that rent was not to be charged on tenants improvements that had not been paid for; this complicated and almost hopeless enquiry being also relegated to the Courts, as if to render their task well-nigh impossible. The Act somewhat increased the facilities given to tenants to acquire their holdings by the aid of the State, but they were still obliged to advance part of the purchase monies themselves.

This revolution in the tenure of land was condemned by the great majority of thinking men in Ireland. Granting that the Irish tenant had, very generally, acquired a real joint-ownership of the soil; that this had not been completely secured by the law already in force on the subject; nay, that it was advisable to mould the Land System according to the principle of the three F's, and of old ideas that had never perished, still this violent change was obviously unwise and unjust. In the state of Ireland in 1881-2, when the distress of the peasantry was certainly trying, and when there was a movement against rent, Parliament might perhaps have reduced rents for a time; and a measure like this might have been justified. But that the whole Irish Land System should be suddenly transformed, and that the three F's should be made the mode of tenure, under the conditions laid down in the Act of 1881, was open to objections of the most insuperable kind, was, in fact, legislation that nothing could excuse. A reform of the Act of 1870 could, indirectly, have secured Fair Rent, for the great majority of Irish tenants, without having recourse to the dangerous principle that the State was to undertake to fix rent, a task for which it was utterly unfit. That the State, too, should attempt to fix rent, without setting up any kind of standard for it, through the agency of a great many tribunals, by litigation, and at intervals of time, was plainly a most mischievous policy, certain to be attended with immense and grave evils; if the State was to venture on the work at all, it should have done it once for all, as John Stuart Mill had indicated in his comments on the Irish Land

Question. Fair Rent, vindicated in this way, it was foretold in Ireland, meant the spoliation of landlords, unjust concessions to tenants wholesale, dissatisfaction in landed relations, increased division and feuds of class, the disorganisation, in a word, of the entire Land System. As to Fixity of Tenure it was felt that to give the Irish tenant what really was a lease renewable for ever against the landlord, subject only to a State settled rent, was a gross violation of the rights of property, and a violent abrogation of contracts, the process reducing the wronged landlord to the position nearly of a rent-charger; and as to Free Sale, it was clearly perceived that it would force Tenant Right up to such a value, that the charge would be very injurious to incoming tenants. The restrictions and limitations, too, which abounded in the Act, it was seen, would multiply litigation of a very bad kind; above all, that the Courts should have imposed on them the duty of discovering and assessing tenants' improvements, as a prelude to establishing the new tenure, in every given case, was evidently making what was already bad, worse. It was also plainly dangerous to enact a law, which would necessarily injure the whole class of landlords, without providing compensation, in some way, for their losses.

In spite, however, of able warnings from Ireland, the Act of 1881 was hurried through Parliament. We shall notice its working and effects afterwards, when the system of legislation, of which it was the herald, and principal part, was fully developed. It was found impossible not to extend and amplify the changes it made in the Irish Land System, especially as the years that followed were a period of 'hard times,' and in which the Land and the National Leagues remained powerful. The Land Act of 1881 applied only to tenants from year to year in Ireland, no doubt, probably, five-sixths of the class of tenants; the privileges it conferred were given by an Act of 1887, to leaseholders, to a very great extent, written contracts being thus rudely torn up; and by a singular provision the few remaining middlemen were enabled to repudiate the tenures, under which they held, and to sever their connection with their superior landlords. This was

followed by an Act, passed in 1891, which extended the benefits of the Act of 1881, to nearly all leaseholders, and to fee-farm grantees, however long the duration of their estates might be; thus, apart from a few classes of lands and tenancies, the three F's were made applicable to the entire Land System, if the occupiers of the land chose to resort to the Courts. Meanwhile a great and far-reaching change was made in the conditions, through which the Irish tenant could acquire the ownership of his farm, with the assistance of the State. The former requirement that he must be prepared to advance part of the purchase money himself, was dispensed with, for his supposed benefit; he was enabled to become owner, if his landlord chose to sell, the State advancing the whole price agreed on; and he was to repay this by an annuity only, considerably less than a 'fair rent,' and lasting for no more than forty-nine years. The State, therefore, almost made him a gift of the land; he became a 'purchaser,' so-called by an abuse of language, without any effort, or outlay of his own; he was in Burke's words 'rocked and dandled into his possessions,' by a process not far removed from a bribe. Parliament passed an Act, known as that of Lord Ashbourne's, which in 1885 allotted a sum of £5,000,000, increased afterwards to £10,000,000, in order to carry this policy into effect; a subsequent Act of 1891, bearing the distinguished name of Mr. Arthur Balfour, made about £30,000,000, secured by somewhat hard restrictions, available for the same purpose.

This legislation has been, for the present, closed by the Act passed in the Session of 1896. This measure proceeds upon the lines which have been laid down since 1881; it is a mere supplement to the existing law; its authors have described it as only a make-shift. It has admitted, but with many exceptions and limitations, certain lands and tenancies, excluded hitherto, to the benefits of the Three Fs.; it extends, but not widely, the former domain of Fair Rent, Fixity of Tenure, and Free Sale. It makes, also, considerable change in the law as to the exemption from rent of improvements which had been the work of the tenant; it does away with a set of restrictions which had impeded the claims of the tenant, owing

to the inter-dependence and close connection of the Acts of 1870 and 1881; in this it greatly favours the tenant, but it secures for the landlord some protection, though more than one of its provisions, beyond question, will seriously affect the rights of property, and afford precedents that may greatly injure the owners of real estate throughout Great Britain, and especially the class of ground landlords in towns. It has left, however, the whole subject of fixing Fair Rents, through the intervention of the State, as it stood before; this is abandoned to the decisions of a number of Courts, without guidance from the law, and a single settled principle. It aims, finally, at facilitating so-called Land Purchase, as this has been inaugurated of late years, and in this effort it will, no doubt, be successful, whether with good or evil results, time alone will tell. It has removed many of the somewhat harsh conditions which, especially under Mr. Balfour's Act, discouraged landlords from selling their lands to their tenants, and therefore prevented these from acquiring their farms; and it has expedited, in a variety of ways, the process of transfer. It contains, also, important provisions to enable hopelessly encumbered estates to be thrown into the land market, and to give the occupiers an opportunity to 'purchase' their holdings; and in this respect it has let in, for the first time, the principle of 'compulsory purchase,' but under conditions that cannot be deemed unjust. The landlord, in these instances, must be, in fact, insolvent; he cannot, therefore, be said to be 'compelled' to sell an estate in which he has no interest, but if three-fourths of the tenants agree to 'purchase,' the remaining fourth will be 'compelled' to concur; and as the transaction will give them a very great boon, there can be no reasonable objection to it.

This system of law has been in progress for sixteen years; we may briefly consider what have been its results, with reference to the Irish Land System, as a whole. Let us see first how it has affected Land Tenure, that is, the relations of landlord and tenant, and especially as regards the subject of rent. The fixing of Fair Rents has been made the work of the County Courts, and the Courts of Sub-Commissioners subordi-

nate to the Irish Land Commission ; but the County Courts have fixed comparatively few rents, the task has chiefly been devolved on the Sub-Commissioners. The consequences have, in all respects, verified a prediction of the late Judge Longfield, that rents settled by the State would be iniquitously cut down, and have falsified the assurances of Mr. Gladstone that rents would not be largely or generally reduced. Mr. Lecky has denounced, in emphatic language,* the composition and the conduct of the Sub-Commission Courts, and unquestionably, they are tribunals that cannot command respect. But we have no doubt they have done, in the main, what they thought right, though they have systematically worked rent down to an extent that would have been deemed impossible. Yet the reasons of this are not far to seek, without imputing to individuals improper motives. It was formally announced by the chief of the Land Commission, when the fixing of rent began, that the object of the Act was to make 'tenants live and thrive ;' rents have been fixed accordingly, with little regard to the real value of a farm, but to the position and the prospects of the tenant upon it ; and they have tended to gravitate to a level that will permit the most worthless tenant to retain his holding. Extraordinary ideas, too, have prevailed as to the principles to be followed in fixing Fair Rents ; rent, it is said, is never to be charged on the tenants' interest, assumed to be at least a third part of the fee, so that two-thirds of the land are practically to be alone chargeable ; it is said, further, that rent is not to be charged upon an alleged 'occupation right,' which is supposed to belong to the tenant. By these means the landlord's freehold is largely eaten out, so far as regards the right to rent, and rents have been pulled down all over the country to the astonishment very often of the tenants themselves. An additional and large slice has, also, been taken out of rent through the provision that exempts from rent tenants' improvements, which the landlord has not satisfied. The enquiries on this subject, from the nature of the case, could not be satisfactory or attain the truth, but they have done the grossest wrong to the fair rights of property.

* See *Democracy and Liberty*, Vol. I., chap. 2.

There is no one really acquainted with Irish affairs, and with the nature of the Irish Land System, but would wish to secure within reasonable bounds the joint ownership the tenant has often acquired, to see him subject only to a fair rent, even to assimilate his tenure to the three F's, the mould into which it naturally tends to run. But these huge and almost universal reductions of rent have certainly been excessive in thousands of cases, and it should be added that, since the recent Act has been passed, they have gone on in an ever increasing ratio. They have been excused on the ground of the depression of agriculture; it has been said that they fall short of the reductions of rent that have been made in England. But the agricultural depression that has befallen Ireland is by many degrees less acute or general than that which has befallen England; it hardly affects the small Irish farmers—the immense majority of the entire class—for they lose very little by the fall of prices, as they obtain the necessaries of life cheaper, and it is vain to compare reductions of rent in England made voluntarily, and probably for a short time only, with reductions made in Ireland by tribunals of the State, and that assuredly can be never lessened, for it is ridiculous to imagine that State settled rents will ever be raised by the Courts in Ireland. That rent in Ireland has been most unjustly worked down is conclusively proved by the simple fact that the landlord's fee simple has fallen at least one-half in value, and that the value of the tenants' interest has been at least doubled. There has been, in short, a vast confiscation of landed property in the half-veiled form of reduction of rent, and this—a precedent of the most dangerous kind—without compensation to a large class that has been wronged. Fixity of Tenure, too, as it has been established, has most seriously injured landlords; the creation in favour of the occupier of an interest renewable for ever against the owner makes his fee simple little more than a rent-charge, and it is a direct violation of the plainest rights of property, and an annihilation of existing contracts, attended, as had been foreseen in Ireland, by pernicious results. As to Free Sale, this has conferred an immense benefit on the class of tenants in possession of the

land, but it has operated most mischievously against incoming tenants by increasing extravagantly the sums that are paid upon the transfer of farms for their 'goodwill.' It, in fact, subjects incoming tenants to most oppressive rack-rents, and will probably ultimately lead to grave discontent.

But if the landlords of Ireland have been cruelly wronged, and have suffered losses which cannot be justified, have the Irish tenant farmers obtained a corresponding benefit? Thousands, doubtless, have had their rents excessively reduced, and have secured the advantage of an improved tenure, bad as the conditions are, under which it has been reformed; but a considerable deduction must be made from their gain in these ways. Since the new legislation has come into force, the landlords, as was inevitable, have, for the most part, ceased to make expenditure upon estates which the State has largely taken out of their hands; the results for their dependents have not been fortunate. Ireland is a land that especially is in need of drainage; this, in most districts, has been done by landlords as far as arterial drainage is concerned; but all this is now a thing of the past, and the main drainage of Ireland has markedly become worse, since the tenant class has been left to attempt it. Again, landlords, in numberless instances, were accustomed to improve the breeds of animals on their estates; they have ceased to lay out money for this purpose; the horses, cattle, and sheep of the Irish tenant have certainly deteriorated as the result.* Agriculture and stock-raising have gone back in Ireland, over whole counties, of late years; the loss has fallen chiefly on the occupiers of the soil; it must be added that, as a consequence of the agitation and troubles since 1880, and, above all, of the wholesale breach of contracts, which has been the effect of successive Land Acts, the Irish tenant no longer possesses the credit, which he often had, as a resource, before late changes. Besides, if thousands of tenants have secured the three F's for themselves, many thousands have not appealed to the Courts from fear of the ruinous

* See on this important point the evidence taken by Mr. Morley's Committee on the Irish Land Acts.

litigation involved; they thus remain, so to speak, out in the cold, so thoroughly vicious and evil are the principles on which the Land System has been transformed. And if this legislation has, on the whole, been advantageous to the class in possession of the land, it has been most oppressive to those who seek to possess it. Incoming tenants are, we have seen, compelled to pay enormous sums for the 'goodwill' of farms, amounting to the worst kind of rack-rents; the land market, in truth, is almost closed against them. The circumstance, too, that rent has been extravagantly cut down, has a direct tendency to keep land in the hands of pauper, worthless, and slothful tenants, to lock it up in a kind of mortmain, as in the days of the Penal Code, and to prevent men of substance from getting a hold on it. This is against the interests of numbers of the tenant class in Ulster, who, with their Scottish descent and industrious habits, would certainly acquire farms in many parts of Ireland, were they not prohibited through the effects of the existing Land Acts. The sturdy, enterprising, and thrifty Scot, the best colonist the world has beheld, has everything to gain by 'free' trade in land in Ireland, at present 'protected' by most unwise laws.

A great reform, however, of Land Tenure, must be judged, in its effects, on a country, as a whole. How have the recent Land Acts affected Ireland, still looking at the relations of landlord and tenant? They may have promoted agriculture, to some extent, by securing the tenant a better tenure; but they have injured it, we repeat, in other directions, by discouraging efficient arterial drainage, and the amelioration of the breeds of farming animals. In another way they have led to much mischief, as regards the general progress of husbandry; Fair Rent, as we have pointed out, is to be revised, at intervals of fifteen years, by the Courts; the consequence has been that, in thousands of cases, tenants have deliberately run out their lands, in the hope of obtaining increased reductions of rent. This is one of the gravest objections to the present system, which, in the instance of the Ryots of Bengal, has been attended with the same results; farms in Ireland have been deteriorated very largely; the deterioration, by the way, being

seldom considered by the Courts engaged in fixing Fair Rent, though they take care to exempt improvements from rent, and that most liberally, as against Irish landlords. The Land Acts, besides, must be charged with other less obvious, but, perhaps, more pernicious mischiefs. In the first place, they have in a great degree, failed; such has been the vexation and expense of carrying them out, and such the litigation they have brought in their train, that, after the lapse of more than fifteen years, they have not embraced more than a half of the soil of Ireland; this still remains under the old modes of tenure, qualified only by the Act of 1870. The land of Ireland, therefore, is, at this moment, held under different and conflicting systems of law; and an immense body of its occupants is debarred from the benefits that had been held out to them. Another and evil result is, that the operation of the Land Acts in annulling contracts, in casting estates adrift upon a sea of troubles, in accumulating law suits, and disputes of class, has been such that capital shrinks from the Irish land, and will not seek an investment in it. It is scarcely possible to sell an acre in fee simple, in the open market, or to borrow on mortgage, to a large extent; the bad consequences of this require no comment. Yet the worst evil of all, perhaps, has yet to be told; the fixing of Fair Rent has been a fruitful cause of profound demoralisation among the Irish peasantry. The hard swearing, the frauds, the falsehoods, of everyday occurrence in the Courts, as the Irish tenant labours to cut his rent down, form a miserable if a grotesque spectacle; it is lamentable that a law exists to encourage such things.*

This legislation, therefore, in principle false, and proceeding upon ill-designed lines, has almost broken up the Irish Land System, and, in the relations of landlord and tenant has been fruitful of manifold evils. It has imposed on the State the

* The conscientiousness of the Irish tenant, on the subject of rent, is thus described by Swift, more than a century and a half ago:—'It has not been known, in the memory of man, that an Irish tenant ever once told the truth to his landlord. . . . If they paid me but a half crown a year, they would be readier to ask abatement than to offer an advance.' Such has been the character produced by the misgovernment of the past.

hopeless duty of determining the rate of rent; it attempts to carry this out under the worst conditions; it has produced litigation on a vast scale, discontent, animosities, and feuds of classes. It has enormously confiscated property, without compensation; if it has conferred advantages on the Irish tenant, it has been injurious to him, in many ways; it has tended to banish capital from the land, to keep the land in the possession of worthless tenants, to exclude from it thrifty and industrious men; above all, it has been a cause of demoralisation, wide-reaching, and profound. Nor has it accomplished its avowed objects; it extends only to parts of the country; it has not established a general system of Land Tenure. And its mischiefs are to continue, we must bear in mind; the process of fixing rent by numerous Courts of the State, without a rule to guide them, and often in conflict, is to go on at successive and short intervals of time with the inevitable results we have already beheld; and the recent Land Act, it must be added, will probably increase the existing confusion and trouble. Yet this vicious system is to be prolonged; as a matter of course, it receives the approval of the revolutionary and socialistic party in Ireland, which has found in it a most effectual means to whittle away the just rights of property, and ultimately to wreck the Irish Land System. Nor is it at all impossible that it may yet be applied to landed relations in Scotland and England; for agricultural distress makes wild demands, and Radicalism is eager to overthrow landlords; at all events, it has afforded precedents for iniquitous and reckless attacks on the owners of land, which can scarcely fail to have a wide scope.

This system, indeed, of Land Tenure is generally felt to be extremely bad, and Unionist statesmen, although the authors of the Land Act of 1896, have condemned it with no uncertain voice. They believe, however, or profess to believe, that the train of mischiefs on which we have dwelt will be removed, or, at least, greatly lessened, by what is commonly called Land Purchase, that is the conversion of occupiers into owners of the Irish land, through advances made by the State amounting to gifts. This leads us to say a few words on the Irish

Land System, on the side of ownership, and on the policy of Land Purchase, as it has been described. Here it is necessary to keep in mind what the conditions are available for this boasted reform. A sum not exceeding £30,000,000 is all that is forthcoming for Land Purchase, and though this fund may be increased to a small extent, the increase cannot be large, and must be slow. And, at the same time, Unionist statesmen have declared that Irish landlords are not to be forced to part with their lands; that 'compulsory purchase,' is not to be thought of; that the process by which land is to be transferred to the tenant must be voluntary on the side of the landlord; and the Liberal party has fully accepted a principle, which could not be violated without sanctioning intolerable wrong. We do not hesitate to say that, under these conditions, Land Purchase would be of little avail to affect really or deeply the Irish Land System, still less to diminish in any marked degree the existing vices of Irish Land Tenure; and though this view is in conflict with a loose mass of ill-informed and shallow opinion, and is opposed—what is more important—by a curious combination of powerful interests, we think we can prove it is in all respects correct.

Land Purchase is to be a substitute for Land Tenure; that is, tenants are to be converted into owners by the State; but if so, it must be on a most extensive scale, and must embrace the immense majority of the farming class in Ireland. This is evident from the very nature of the case, but it would be inevitable for another and special reason. Under the conditions on which the State has pledged itself to make the Irish tenant an owner of his farm, the terminable annuity, which alone he would be required to pay, would be considerably less than even the lowest rent; if, therefore, lands were largely transferred in this way, a standard of payments would be set up against landlords which would at least strongly urge them to surrender their estates at anything like a reasonable price. Land Purchase, therefore, must be general, in fact, universal; but this, Mr. Gladstone has deliberately said, would cost the State not less than £300,000,000; and assuming the amount to be only £150,000,000—the lowest estimate that has ever

been made—how is this enormous sum to be made forthcoming, or, what practically is the same thing—how is the credit of the State to be staked for it? The idea is a mere Laputan dream; and this single fact at the outset proves how impossible it is that Land Purchase could be generally carried out in Ireland, or could generally supplant the relations of landlord and tenant, especially when we recollect that it was difficult in the extreme to obtain even £30,000,000 for this purpose. But, further, Land Purchase to be general must be compulsory, that is, landlords must be forced to sell their estates in order to place their tenants in their stead, for it is simply a delusion that the great majority of Irish landlords, wronged as they have been, are willing to abandon their homes and their lands. Compulsory purchase, however, we have seen, has been denounced by both the parties in the State; they could not indeed decently do otherwise, for Land Purchase, on this principle, would be mere robbery, for which no example can be found in the history of modern Europe. For this additional reason, therefore, Land Purchase cannot be very general, but there is an idea abroad that it can be carried out extensively by a voluntary process, it being assumed that Irish landlords, as a class, are eager to sell their estates. Hundreds, no doubt, will have no choice but to sell, after the reductions of their rents made by the Courts of the State, and it is to be hoped that the charge has no foundation that their property is being filched away by the Courts of the State in order to make them adopt this course—a charge which assuredly we do not make, but which, if true, would be terrible even to think of. We repeat emphatically, however, Irish landlords do not desire generally to sell, and this being the case, it is simply impossible that, taking the conditions which must be assumed, Land Purchase can generally reform Land Tenure, or very largely transform the Irish Land System.

Let us assume, however, for the sake of argument, that it would be possible to expropriate the Irish landlords, consistently with the usage of civilised States, and, by some means, not as yet discovered, to place the great body of their tenants, as owners of the land, in their room. Would this

conduce to the lasting welfare of Ireland, would it really improve the Irish Land System? Irish landlords are an unpopular order of men, their antecedents and history have, through no faults of their own, drawn a line between them and the occupiers of the soil; but no one can deny that, through stormy centuries, they have been the mainstay of British rule in Ireland, and that, especially, in the Southern Provinces, they have been the chief element of civilisation in Irish social life. Their disappearance from Ireland would be simply ruinous, particularly, if we recollect, that, as no doubt will happen, Irish Local Government will be placed on a broader basis; if any one questions this, let him simply read De Tocqueville's profound chapter on the disastrous effects of the annihilation of the old Seigneurie of France, an aristocracy like, in many respects, to the Irish landed gentry. Looking at the subject, however, from the other side, the making the Irish tenants generally the owners of their farms, means the creation of an immense class of small peasant proprietors, holding little freeholds of a few acres each. That such a class should prosper in Ireland, with her small country towns, her extensive pastures, her wet climate, her great and sluggish rivers, and her vast areas requiring constant drainage, is contradicted by the experience of ages; small farm ownership never flourished under these conditions; Nature herself, we may say, has pronounced against it. Furthermore, the habits and the traditions of the Irish peasant are directly opposed to a tenure of this kind; he has no desire to become a freeholder, though he will, of course, accept the position for a bribe, his idea is to hold under a superior at a fair rent; and the notion that he and his fellows will ever form a thriving yeomanry, like the old English freeholders, is only a piece of purblind ignorance. There are conclusive reasons, besides, why Irish peasant ownership on a general scale would, under the proposed change and its conditions, end in calamitous failure. Peasants who, like those of France, really paid for their lands, have given pledges to fortune to be an industrious class; it necessarily would be altogether otherwise in the case of peasants who had acquired

their farms without paying a shilling for them, and who, in the scornful language of Burke, would be the mere grantees of a 'confiscation' made for their interest, and made by a process akin to corruption. All history, and especially that of Ireland, shows that a class such as this would be a thoroughly bad element in the community in which they would be nearly supreme; they would be thriftless, lazy, mere drones in the hive in which they had been thrust by an evil external agency. Yet the most decisive reason against the scheme has yet to be stated. Under the conditions referred to, the peasant owners would pay the State a terminable sum far under the true rent; they would, therefore, inevitably sublet their lands wholesale; a natural tendency engrained in them would be enormously stimulated by an artificial process. They would thus, in thousands of instances, become the rack-renting landlords of down-trodden serfs, gradually multiplying in misery on the soil, and as time rolled on, Ireland, over whole districts, would return to the condition that existed before the Famine.

A sum of £30,000,000 we have said, is available to effect Land Purchase in Ireland, in cases in which landlords agree to sell to their tenants, and also in the case of practically bankrupt estates. This sum will not transfer a fifth part of the Irish soil; the process must be tentative, gradual, slow; it may not be open to grave objection, under these conditions, but, obviously, it cannot make a great change in the Irish Land System. The experiment has, hitherto, been in some degree successful; the tenants converted into owners have, as a rule, fairly discharged their obligations to the State; a certain number have possibly risen in the social scale. But that, as a class, they have made any marked progress, or that the Land System of Ireland has been sensibly improved, is a mere myth contradicted by the facts; and hundreds of these so-called 'purchasers,' have not only not thriven, but are doing the very mischiefs which they do naturally from the position that has been made for them. Many of these peasant owners are deeply sunk in debt, having mortgaged their land to village usurers; many have run out their farms and cut down the timber on them; a great number have sublet their buildings,

and have become the harsh landlords of cottars at rack rents. Such a state of things was almost certain to happen; it is idle to suppose that Irish tenants, made owners of land by a bribe of the State, will have the qualities of real owners; and the experiment has, already, in many districts failed. But, be this as it may, it cannot replace Land Tenure, to a very great extent, or in any sense transform the Irish Land System. Land Purchase, in fact, and especially on a great scale, would never have received support on its inherent merits, had it not been backed by many and powerful interests. Absentee landlords who wish to part with their estates, mortgagees who seek to recover their loans, bad Irish landlords eager to save something from a wreck, doctrinaires, who see in peasant proprietorship a panacea for social evils, statesmen who think that Ireland will be more easily governed by attaching a multitude of petty farmers to the soil, and politicians who believe it would be a good thing to divide the Irish tenant class by a reform of this kind—all these advocate Land Purchase, and talk of it as if it was to be universally carried out. But we have written in vain if we have not shown that this policy is utterly impossible, and would be attended with most pernicious results; and if it be said that it finds favour in public opinion, we can only refer to the Irish Encumbered Estates Acts, which passed through Parliament with a chorus of acclaim, yet accomplished a confiscation as evil as any in Irish history.

If the observations we have made are correct, a general reform of the Irish Land System must be sought for, not in Land Purchase, but in Land Tenure, that is in the relations of landlord and tenant. The present state of things is not the mere anarchy, which Mr. Arnold Foster and others imagine; but it has done immense wrong, and produced grave evils; and it has failed to accomplish its author's objects. It is scarcely possible to suppose that the existing system of fixing rents, through the intervention of the State, by many tribunals, at brief intervals of time, and of binding land in the chains of leases for ever, can ultimately prove a permanent settlement. Land Tenure in Ireland must be thoroughly

recast if the Land System is to rest on a sound basis; and the principles on which this end can be attained have been laid down by more than one able thinker. It will be necessary to protect the joint-ownership of the tenant, but to reconcile this justly with the rights of the landlord, and Land Tenure should follow the lines of the three F's, to which Irish usage and custom have long given sanction. As things now stand, it would be hardly possible to avoid the adjustment of rent by the State, but this should not be done as it is done now, that is, by a method which combines a maximum of evil with a minimum of good. The task has been rendered difficult in the extreme owing to the vicious legislation of the past fifteen years; but the difficulties must be faced, and they may be overcome by wise and, above all, by well informed statesmanship. Sciolists have declared that the attempt would be mere quackery, but such has not been the judgment of real thinkers. Edmund Burke, towards the close of the last century; John Stuart Mill, at a later period; Mountiford Longfield, and Isaac Butt, almost in our time, have one and all agreed in the general principles of a thorough reform of the Land System of Ireland.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

ART. II.—THE HISTORY OF THE ROUMANIANS.

Histoire des Roumains de la Dacie Trajane depuis les origines jusqu'à l'union des principautés en 1859. Par A. D. XENOPOL, Professeur à l'Université de Jassy. Avec une préface par A. Rambaud. 2 vols. 1896. Paris : Leroux.

THERE is perhaps no people more sensitive on the subject of their ancient history than the Roumanians. To every Roumanian it is a matter of vital consequence to establish beyond question or cavil that his nation represents the descendants of the provincials of Trajan's Dacia; and an

expression of scepticism as to this first article of Roumania's historical creed would be worse than blasphemous—it would be unpatriotic. The fervour with which they cling to this belief is not due to the mere ambition of a small State to compensate its present insignificance in Europe by a noble pedigree. Nor is it explained by the satisfaction of finding in an august origin some consolation for the domestic divisions, the gross misgovernment of the rulers, the long servitude to the Turk, which mark the weary annals of the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. Nor can the adequate cause be found in the isolated position of the country—a Roman island in a Slavonic sea—which might make them cherish with regret days when they were continuous with the Roman Empire. All these sentimental elements do indeed enter into the Roumanian feeling, but they are not the root of the matter. The real cause is a political one, as is shown by the zeal with which the Hungarians have essayed to refute the claim of the Roumans to their descent from Trajan's Dacia. It is not in the kingdom of Roumania but in the land of Siebenbürgen or Transylvania that the true, the political interest of the question lies.

Siebenbürgen might indeed be said to be the true home of the Roumanians. Moldavia and the eastern portion of Walachia never belonged to the Rouman province of Dacia, and it was by chiefs from Siebenbürgen, who crossed the mountains in the 13th and the 14th centuries, that Walachia and Moldavia became independent Rouman principalities. Siebenbürgen has a large Roumanian population. In the Roumanian view, *they* are the rightful possessors of the land who have held it from of old, and the Magyar is the intruder. In the Hungarian view, the Roumans of Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia are all alike late immigrants from beyond the Danube, and their claim to be regarded as Trajan's and Aurelian's Romans is unfounded. In other words, Roumania wants Transylvania as naturally belonging to her, and if the Austrian Empire ever comes to be dismembered, she may get it.

Thus obscure questions as to the history of Trajan's Dacia,

a somewhat unclear passage in the *Historia Augusta*, various brief or vague statements of mediæval chroniclers, the etymologies of local names, have such a close bearing on the burning question of the Carpathian hills that they might be described as political explosives.

Siebenbürgen, indeed, is only a part of Roumania's dream, though the dearest and the most cherished. The Great Roumania, which she fancies may be realized in the future, comprehends also Bukovina and the Banat of Temesvar. In ancient times the Banat was part of Rouman Dacia; while Bukovina is part of Moldavia, and was only annexed by Austria towards the close of the last century. But present facts have greater political influence than facts of a hundred or a thousand years ago; and the real point is that there are now more than four million enslaved Roumans in Siebenbürgen, Bukovina, and the Banat, who are inspired by national feeling, and long for union with the five millions of their emancipated brethren of the free kingdom of Roumania. There is yet another region which, on the same principle, may be claimed for Great Roumania, but where such a claim seems still more visionary. This is Bessarabia, which also contains a Rouman population, and, like Bukovina, was a Moldavian province.

The Magyars hate the Roumans, and the Roumans loathe the Magyars. It is not surprising that there should have been bitter opposition in Austria and Hungary to the unpalatable historical facts to which Roumania could point; nor, on the other hand, that the Roumanians—who till recently had no trained scholars—should have weakened their case by an uncritical presentation of it. The Roumanian histories of Roumania have been vitiated by the confusion of fact with fiction, by want of critical analysis in dealing with the sources, and by the blindness of national sentiment. An impartial history was much needed, written by a scholar who, while commanding and capable of handling all the sources, could rise above partiality and prejudice, and present the facts as they really were.

M. Xénopol, Professor at Jassy, has attempted to supply the need, and has achieved a considerable success. His name

is already known to those who interest themselves in the history of the Danubian regions. He prepared the way for this main work by various preliminary studies, especially by his essay, *Les Roumains au moyen-âge*, dealing with the crucial question, and by his admirable investigation of Trajan's Dacian wars, which appeared in the *Revue Historique*. Apart from some defects in arrangement, Professor Xénopol may be congratulated on his new History. He has avoided all the bitterness of controversy, and one observes that the names of Roesler and Hunfalvy, the most powerful prosecutors of the Roumanian claims, are hardly ever mentioned. The arguments for the Roumanian case are well stated, and though some of them are rather fine-drawn, they are on the whole fair and reasonable.

There can, I think, be no doubt that a Roman population continued to exist in the Carpathians—in the mountains which separate modern Roumania from Siebenbürgen—after Aurelian had formally withdrawn his protection from Dacia. There is no proof, and no probability, that the act of Aurelian meant the departure of *all* the provincials from that province. On the contrary, there is distinct evidence of the existence of a Roman population there in later times—evidence which cannot be got rid of without manipulation. I therefore cannot but concur with M. Rambaud—who introduces M. Xénopol's work to the French public—that the belief of the Roumanians as to their own origin is confirmed by the data of history. They are the inheritors of Roman Dacia, being the descendants of the Dacian Romans. 'C'est dans la Dacie trajane,' says M. Rambaud, 'ou du moins dans la partie montagneuse de cette Dacie, en un mot dans le massif des Carpathes, que la race roumaine s'est perpétuée sans interruption de l'empereur Aurélien jusqu' à nos jours. Ce massif-là, c'est proprement la Roumanie. La Valachie et la Moldavie, fondées l'une en 1290, l'autre en 1348, n'en sont en réalité que des colonies.'

What makes these historical facts so dangerous and offensive to the Hungarians is the extraordinary power of assimilation which resides in the Roumanian race. The importance of this quality is well pointed out by M. Rambaud. In Tran-

sylvania the Roumans have absorbed the Serb settler, and similarly in the regions of the Theiss; in Walachia and Moldavia they have absorbed all heterogeneous elements that they found when they came. They only acquired the Dobrudza in 1878, and yet it is said that there are already signs of their absorbing the Tartar population of that region. The Magyar has so far resisted this assimilative force, but one can easily understand with what disquiet he has beheld the process go on. 'He sees his conquest of the ninth century menaced, his kingdom of St. Stephen gnawed and, as it were, dissolved by these people, who seem to come out of the ground. It is the triumph of the genius of Trajan over the genius of Arpad, of eternal Rome over the ephemeral invasion.' The anti-Hungarian feeling of the Roumanian subjects of Hungary was conspicuously shown in the revolution of 1848. Hungary awoke at the voice of Kossuth to regain her liberty. *Her* liberty, but be it observed only her own; the claim of liberty for the other subjects of the Austrian Emperor, of the Croatians, the Servians, and the Roumans, she was prepared to resist with equal violence, and to impose her own language upon them. Accordingly Croatians, Servians, and Roumans, made common cause with the Imperial army. In two months, 4000 Roumans were shot or hanged by the victorious Magyars. The Roumanians invoked the aid of Russia, and one has the curious spectacle of the Czar intervening, in the same year, in Walachia and Moldavia to crush a Roumanian revolt, in Siebenbürgen to protect Roumanian liberty.

I. The leading events, the very names of the most conspicuous heroes, of Roumanian history, are so little known to the educated public that, instead of discussing vexed questions or differing with M. Xénopol on minor matters, it seems more useful to present an account of that episode to which the Romans of the Danube and Carpathians look back with more interest and excitement than to any other in their history,—the reign of Michael the Brave. He is the true hero of Roumania, next to Trajan himself. With him they connect their dreams of a future reunion of the scattered members of their nation. For he, once and but for a moment, united Walachia, Mol-

davia and Transylvania under one ruler. And he closes the line of the great Roumanian warriors who carried on the struggle against the Ottoman power; he is the brilliant successor of Mirtschea the Great, Vlad the Impaler, Stephen the Great, and John the Terrible. The events of his short reign of eight years (1593-1601) exhibit in a striking way the political rocks and quicksands amid which the Walachian and Moldavian rulers had to direct their tortuous course.

Michael the Brave won the throne of Walachia in the usual way, by giving a large sum, 400,000 ducats, to the Sultan, and deposing an obscure predecessor. He had to borrow the sum at Constantinople, and it was not long before his palace was surrounded and besieged by greedy Turkish creditors, demanding their money and overwhelming him with insults. The whole land was, indeed, at this time, infested with the creditors of former Walachian princes. They formed themselves into bands and went about the country to reimburse themselves by plundering the inhabitants. Michael had no money to pay them off; he decided to put an end to the evil in a summary fashion. For nearly a year and a half he endured, but he was maturing his plans. When the moment had come to cast the gauntlet to Turkey, he summoned the creditors together, announcing that he had a large sum of money, which he purposed to divide among them. They streamed eagerly into the palace, but presently they discovered that that the palace was wrapt in flames. Escape was impossible, for Michael's soldiers surrounded the building; and all the Turks who were not burnt alive were put to the sword.

Michael had not challenged the Turkish power without having reckoned with the political situation. The Empire at this time was engaged in struggles with the Turks. The Emperor paid the Sublime Porte 30,000 ducats a year as a tribute, but he was constantly forced to repel invasions from his territory. At the time of Michael's succession to the principality of Walachia, Turkey had declared war against the Empire. Sinan Pasha, the Grand Vizier, had intercepted a despatch of the German Embassy, in which the desirability of getting rid of that 'old dog, Sinan Pasha,' was mentioned (*es ware alles*

gutt, wenn man nur den alten Hund den Sinan Passa könnte ums Leben practiciren); and was infuriated by the indiscreet words. The Emperor therefore had to look about for allies, and concert with the Pope a league for resisting the Infidel. Besides the Czar of Moscow and the King of Poland, they negotiated with the prince of Siebenbürgen, Sigismund Batori, and with the Jew Emanuel Aron, who, with Turkish help, had established himself upon the throne of Moldavia in this same year, 1593.

Naturally the Pope and the Emperor also thought of Walachia, but it is extremely curious, as M. Xénopol remarks, that neither of them knew who the Prince of Walachia was. A letter is extant, of the date, March 3, 1594, addressed by the Emperor to 'Stephen Bogdan, hospodar of Walachia,'—a prince who had been deposed three years before, and succeeded by Alexander Bogdan, the immediate predecessor of Michael. Stephen had been a mere creature of the Turks, so the Emperor did not build upon his help.

Michael made his existence known. He was determined to shake off the yoke of the Turk, to which his later predecessors had tamely submitted, and he sent an embassy to Sigismund Batori of Siebenbürgen, begging help for this purpose. Sigismund was at this moment anxious to form an illustrious marriage alliance with an Archduchess, and he conceived that he could urge his suit for the hand of a niece of the Emperor with greater chance of being accepted if he came forward as the suzerain of a vassal prince. He therefore agreed to the proposed alliance with Michael on condition that Michael acknowledged his suzerainty; and a treaty to this effect was concluded (Nov. 5, 1594). It is quite certain that if Michael had not been anxious in his own interests for the support of the prince of Siebenbürgen, he would never have humiliated himself so far as to own the prince's superiority. If it had been the Emperor and Batori who were seeking the help of Michael for the Turkish war, the terms of the treaty would have been very different. It is therefore quite clear that Michael undertook the rebellion against the Sultan entirely of his own initiative, and not through any influence brought to bear upon him from Austria

or Transylvania. It was due to chance that the Emperor's anti-Turkish league and the revolt of Walachia coincided; though we must at the same time admit that in preparing that revolt, Michael had taken account of the political situation.

The conflagration of the Palace and the creditors was followed up by the capture of the Turkish citadel of Giurgiu and the slaughter of two thousand Turks in Bucharest. Then Hassan Pasha, the beglerbeg of Greece, was sent at the head of an army of 40,000 men to crush Michael and replace him by Stephen Bogdan. But this army, repeatedly defeated, is driven from the land, and in March (1595) Michael crosses the Danube on the ice, routs the rallied remnant of the Turkish force, and devastates the Sultan's provinces. Hassan Pasha, returning again, is again routed; and both himself and his son slain. Meanwhile the Moldavian prince Aron, who had joined the Imperial league, captures the Turkish fortresses, Ismail, Bender, and Kilia, crosses the Danube and occupies the Dobrudza. He then unites his forces with those of Michael, and they take the citadel of Braila; so that both banks of the Danube were now entirely in the hands of the Roumanians. They devastated far and wide; advanced under the gates of Hadrianople; and when they returned to their homes they were laden with immense booty. The Roumanian success was a heavy blow to the Turks. Almost all the provisions of the towns of Thrace came by the Danube; Hadrianople and Constantinople and the rest of the country were threatened by a famine. It was soon found necessary to suspend their military operations against Hungary until the Walachian rebellion had been suppressed.

Sigismund Batori, the Prince of Siebenbürgen, seeing the danger in which his vassal, the Prince of Walachia, now stood, threatened by the strength of the Ottoman State, took advantage of the crisis to force Michael, in return for armed succour, to acknowledge in still stricter terms his relation to his suzerain. Michael, in this necessity (May, 1595) resigns all his authority into the hands of 'our very merciful lord,' Prince of Transylvania; all his acts are to be issued in the name of his suzerain; he is to use his suzerain's seal, and without his

suzerain's assent is to conclude no treaty. Sigismund indeed had not the power to enforce these concessions; and Michael never had a scruple about conceding in name what could not be enforced in act. His first object was to throw off the really formidable yoke of Turkey.

Sinau Pasha came himself with an army of 100,000 men to take possession of Walachia and Moldavia, and place these countries under the immediate government of Turkish Pashas. Michael had only a force of 16,000 to meet the immense force of the oppressor, but he did not hesitate to take the field. He cleverly chose a position near the village of Calugareni between Giurgiu and Bucharest. Two wooded hills draw nigh to each other beside that village, and are kept from meeting by a defile, along which comes the road from Bucharest to Giurgiu. A stream, crossed by a bridge, bathes the feet of the hills. Here, the hills, covered with trees, would hinder the Turks from fully deploying their forces, and to advance northward they would be obliged to pass through the defile. It was, as Professor Xénopol observes, a modern Thermopylae. 'The combat raged especially round the bridge, for on its possession the victory depended. The Roumanians performed prodigies of valour. Michael the Brave threw himself into the mêlée at the decisive moment. The Grand Vizier, seeing his soldiers giving way, did the same notwithstanding his great age; but he was thrown from his horse into a marsh formed by the overflows of the stream and was almost drowned. When night came, the Roumanians remained masters of the bridge; so the victory was theirs.' The standard of the prophet had fallen into the hands of the Roumanians.

Such was the brilliant victory of August 13, 1595, which deserves to be reckoned with the battle of Lepanto, as one of the great feats of Christian arms in the sixteenth century against the Moslems. It reveals the degeneration of the military power of the Turk from what it had been in the days of Mahomet II. and Solyman. But the battle was not decisive. The forces of the Turks, in spite of their losses, were still far more than a match in numbers for the weary soldiers of Walachia; and there was the danger of the enemy getting round

the hills (as the Persians had done at Thermopylae) and taking the Roumanians in the rear. Michael therefore fell back on the Carpathians, to wait for help from beyond the mountains. He had not long to wait. Forth from the cradle of Roumania, came sixteen thousand men, led by Prince Sigismund Batori, who, as the suzerain of Walachia, assumed the nominal command. Moldavia also sent succour, under her new prince—him too a vassal of Siebenbürgen—Stephen Rasvan. The united Roumanian forces now approached 45,000 men with 80 canons. Such a host the Turks, demoralised and diminished, felt unable to meet. They were compelled to retreat for the Danube, and were then attacked by Michael at Giurgiu, and driven beyond the river.

Such a beginning might have led to a career of still greater achievements against the common enemy of Europe. The Bulgarians were ready to rebel. Michael, if he had been able to follow up the struggle, might have been handed down as one of the most famous champions of Christendom. But he became involved in other strifes, arising out of the relations of the Roumanian countries with their Christian neighbours—political relations which had always hampered the development of Roumania. A peace was concluded between Michael and the Sultan in 1596—a peace which was quite necessary for the exhausted lord of Walachia, and was approved of by Michael's suzerain, the Prince of Siebenbürgen.

Meanwhile, an event had taken place in Moldavia which had important consequences for Michael. At this time Poland was on friendly terms with Turkey, and on hostile terms with the Emperor. The latter circumstance was due to the contest for the Polish throne, in which the Emperor's brother had been unsuccessful, and Sigismund (son of the King of Sweden) had been elected King. It necessarily followed that Michael the Brave, being at war with Turkey, Poland's friend, and being the ally of Sigismund Batori, the ally of the Emperor, Poland's enemy, was on unfriendly terms with Poland. Sigismund Batori himself incurred Poland's enmity on yet another ground. Not only was he Rudolf's ally, but he had asserted rights of suzerainty over Moldavia, which Poland always regarded as a

state in vassaldom to herself. He had entered into Moldavia, dethroned the Jew Aron, and established as his own vassal Stephen Rasvan. Accordingly the Poles, in autumn 1595, marched into the principality, and set up, instead of Rasvan, a Moldavian boyar, Jeremy Movila, who took the oath of vassalage to the King of Poland, and was recognised by the friend of the King of Poland, the Sultan of the Turks. Hence Moldavia became hostile to Walachia.

In Siebenbürgen, too, changes frequently took place which were of the utmost importance for Michael and were followed by him with anxious attention. They were not due, as in Moldavia, to foreign interference, but to the temper of the native prince. Sigismund Batori was a curious man, of variable mood. In the midst of the splendour of his court, dealing with high questions of state, he was filled with disgust for the vanity of worldly greatness and sighed for a tranquil retreat. But when he retired from the cares of the principality, the passion for glory and activity returned. In one of his moods of aversion from the world, he resolved to resign his throne in favour of the Emperor. When Michael heard of this resolution, he exerted all his efforts to hinder its execution. It did not suit him to have the German power so near. It suited him to have a suzerain in Transylvania who was not strong enough to enforce the suzerain's rights. 'In other words, Michael wished to make use of the struggle between the Empire and the Turks in order to maintain the independence which he had won by so many sacrifices; it was not his idea to have escaped the Turks in order to humiliate himself before the Germans, which would inevitably happen if the Emperor took the place of Sigismund Batori.' Accordingly, Michael sought to induce Batori to cede his crown to one of the Transylvanian nobles. Batori had already settled the matter with the Emperor, and Rudolf sent two Jesuits to see that he did not alter his intention. Michael then tried to form an alliance with the Turks, but the negotiations were unsuccessful; and when Batori finally left his principality in May 1598, the Prince of Walachia had nothing for it but to enter into relations with the Emperor. He took the usual oath; and the Emperor on his

part engaged himself to pay 5000 soldiers, and in case of need, assist Michael against the Turks with all the forces of Transylvania. Rudolf also guaranteed the throne to Michael and his descendants; and if the line became extinct, he undertook to recognize whoever should be chosen by the country. Under this treaty Michael was in a much freer position than under that which bound him to Batori.

At the same time Michael received a letter from the Pope, begging him not to abandon the cause of the Christians and exhorting him to unite himself to the Roman Church. In order to show the Walachian nobles that an alliance with the Emperor was very far from implying a Roman religious propaganda, Michael expressed the most profound contempt for the missive of the Holy Father, and held his nose while he was reading it. He replied by inviting the Pope to abandon the heresies of Italy and embrace the true religion.

It was not long before Sigismund Batori grew weary of his retirement. The Emperor had given him, in exchange for the cession of Transylvania, the castle of Ratibor in Silesia and a pension. But the pension was paid irregularly, for the Emperor was always short of money. Sigismund therefore determined to make an attempt to return to power, supported by a powerful faction in Transylvania who chafed under German rule. The Imperial Council, learning this design, advised that a commission should be given to Michael of Walachia to force Sigismund to respect his engagement. But Michael thought otherwise. We have seen his dissatisfaction at Sigismund's abdication; Sigismund's return suited him from every point of view, and he did not intend to drive him from Siebenbürgen for the sake of the Emperor. His idea was to induce the Emperor to permit things to resume their original situation before Sigismund's retirement.

In order to accomplish this, he performed for the Emperor some important services. He attacked the Turks, crossing the Danube, and defeating them in several combats; he roused agitations in Servia and Bulgaria, and threatened the Turkish line of retreat from Hungary (autumn, 1598). Rudolf was immensely pleased at these achievements, and sent large pre-

sents to his voivode. Michael seized the occasion to write a letter to the Emperor, openly defending the cause of Sigismund Batori, and especially insisting on the fact (well known at Vienna) that Transylvania itself preferred its national prince. He stated that the boyars of Walachia had prayed him not to dissolve the bond which united him to Batori. He added casually that a *Turkish friend of his own* ascribed the devastation of the district of Grosswardein in Hungary to the divisions between the chiefs who were charged with its defence. Here there was a threat, well hidden but implied. Michael had Turkish friends. What if he and Sigismund allied themselves with the Turks? The Emperor bethought himself, and Sigismund would probably have again ruled Transylvania but for his own strange temper. He suddenly renounced his claim in favour of his cousin, Cardinal Andrew Batori of Poland, who looked at things from the Polish point of view and was a friend of the Turks. Thus Transylvania came under Polish influence, as well as Moldavia, a change which was directly contrary to the interests of both the Emperor and Michael.

Although the nobles of Transylvania elected the Cardinal in order to escape from the detested rule of the Germans, he was not really liked better by them than he was, as a Catholic, by the Saxon Protestants of the country. Unpopular, the Cardinal leaned entirely on the support of Poland, and formed the design of a close connexion with Turkey. With a view to this he desired to renew with Walachia the bond which had connected the two countries in the days of his cousin's rule. He sent an embassy to Michael for this purpose (June, 1599), and Michael took the required oath, accepting Andrew Batori as suzerain. He took the oath with the deliberate purpose of breaking it. The act was one of deep dissimulation, intended to blind the ecclesiastic who ruled Transylvania as to his real designs. For Michael suspected and detested the new ruler of Siebenbürgen. The Polish connexion and Turkish proclivities of the Cardinal were accentuated, in a manner especially dangerous to Michael, by his relationship with Michael's enemy, Jeremiah Movila, the Prince of Moldavia and the protégé

of Poland. Jeremiah had already been attacked by Michael, and forced to flee into Poland; and he had asked the Sultan to confer the throne of Walachia on his brother Simeon.

The Prince of Transylvania was himself dissimulating. As soon as he received the written deed of the submission of Walachia, he threw off the cloak, and committed an act of the foulest treachery to the cause of Christendom. He, a cardinal of the Catholic Church, submitted to the great enemy of Christ's religion, the three Roumanian countries, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia. For the Emperor, this base act meant that the Turks would now have within his own dominions a strong mountainous citadel; for Michael it meant that Poland, Moldavia, and Turkey would combine to dethrone him in favour of Simeon Movila.

But in the great jeopardy, Michael, with a touch of genius, saw that a great chance lay. If the Prince of Transylvania had united the three lands, as a vassal of the Sultan, why should not the Prince of Walachia unite them, as a vassal of the Emperor? He determined to attack Transylvania at once. He obtained the Emperor's ready acquiescence and the assistance of an Imperial force. But Basta, the general who commanded this force, withdrew, after an interview with one of the native nobles, and the enterprise of Michael fell through in consequence of his inaction. Michael accused Basta of having been bribed, and gained the perpetual and fatal hatred of that officer.

Michael saw that he must conquer Siebenbürgen by his own unaided forces, and he completely routed the Cardinal in the battle of Schellenberg (Oct., 1599). The Cardinal fled to Moldavia, but in the mountains fell into the hands of some Roumanian shepherds, who killed him. Michael, although he had acted without Rudolf's consent, professed to be doing what he had done in Rudolf's behalf, and assumed the title of: Voivode of Walachia, Councillor of his very holy Imperial Royal Majesty, and his Lieutenant in Transylvania and dependent countries.

Michael's success extorted an Imperial approbation of his conduct, although the Emperor divined his intention of

appropriating the conquered country, and did not intend to permit him. The conquest of Transylvania created quite a sensation in Europe as a military feat. 'It was reported to be impregnable even by the Turks, who were never deterred by obstacles. The smaller states of Europe had then a different value from that which they possess to-day. Holland could victoriously withstand the great Spanish monarch, and the day was not far off when Sweden could cast her sword into the balance of a European war. The Walachian prince, by taking possession of a large, powerful, and rich country, was at once placed, in the view of his contemporaries, in the rank of great conquerors.'

Fear of the Turks compelled the Emperor to remain on good terms with Michael, and Michael conceived his position in Transylvania to depend on the countenance of the Emperor. But Michael made a capital mistake, on which Professor Xénopol has instructively insisted.

A great warrior and general, a clever diplomatist, he was a short-sighted politician. He had a great chance in Transylvania, for if he had adopted the true policy he might have been established so strongly in that country that the Emperor could never have shaken his hold on it. In Transylvania there was a sheer breach between the nobles and the lower classes. All the noble Roumanian families—like the Corvini, for instance—had Magyarized; they oppressed the peasants, and the peasants hated them. In fact the Roumanian people of Siebenbürgen had become a serf population. This change was mainly due to the loss of the native nobility, most of whom had left the country in those emigrations which founded the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia; the small remnant had amalgamated with the Magyars. And so it came to pass that the class-contrast between noble and peasant ultimately coincided with the race-contrast between Magyar and Rouman. The Rouman people, tenacious of nationality, was ready to welcome Michael with open arms, as a prince of their own blood coming from beyond the mountains to deliver them from foreign oppression, and crush the hated Hungarian. They rebelled as soon as he arrived,

killed their masters, and pillaged their houses. If Michael had espoused their cause, come forward as their protector, and accepted their help, he would have established his domination on a solid basis. But he had no political foresight. He rejected the Rouman demonstrations, and took severe measures against their rebellion. He only thought of conciliating the ruling class, and failed to see that this was an impossibility. The nobles never put full confidence in him, and disdained to be ruled by one who belonged to the subject nation. Therefore Michael stood alone without any firm support either from nobles or peasants.

It seems as if impatience to compass a large scheme of conquest kept the new prince of Transylvania from seeing the necessity of consolidating what he had won, before he took any further step. Hatred of his rival, Jeremiah Movila, also stimulated him, and he lost no time in preparing to subdue Moldavia. The Poles, indeed, were already making this country a basis of operations, with the intention of restoring Sigismund Batori to Transylvania, and foisting Simeon Movila on Walachia. The Emperor, fearing a war with Poland, advised Michael not to attack Moldavia, but Michael urgently demanded permission and asked Rudolf to send an ambassador to the Polish court to assure the king that the conquest was being made for the greater good of Christianity. He even went further and proposed to the Emperor a far-reaching scheme of conquest; no less than to follow up the acquisition of Moldavia by attacks upon Podolia, Lithuania, and Red Russia—for which purpose he had been negotiating with the Czar of Moscow and the Cossacks of the Dnieper. The Emperor had no interest in the conquest of Moldavia, and thoroughly disapproved of the Walachian schemes. But Michael was bent on executing his plan; he entered Moldavia and conquered it before the middle of the year 1600.

It was but a short-lived conquest, without any conditions of permanence. But, nevertheless, the Roumanians will never forget that, once upon a time, in the year 1600, the union of the three lands, Walachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, under a native prince, the union of which they always dream, was

realized for a moment. Michael the Brave styled himself 'Prince of all Hungro-Walachia, Transylvania and Moldavia.'

But the end was approaching. Michael had failed to win the goodwill of the Hungarian nobles of Transylvania, and the Emperor was dissatisfied with his position there. He had also a number of private enemies, especially Basta, who had not forgiven him. He demanded, with impolitic insistence, the annexation to the principality of certain frontier districts. The Rouman peasants regarded him as an oppressor. I will not enter into the details of his fall. It is enough to say that a web was spun round him; that he was fooled by Imperial envoys to the top of his bent; that he suspected danger and yet had not the wit to see it clearly or take any measures to avoid it. He might have been saved if, even at the eleventh hour, he had taken the bold step of declaring the Roumanian peasants free. Basta came forth against him with an army, and the Walachian conqueror lost first his two conquests and finally his own Walachia. Transylvania gets back her old prince Sigismund Batori, who is supported by the Poles. But the change did not please the Emperor, who took Michael back into favour in order to secure his help against Batori, giving him a large sum of money to collect an army. At the same time he charges Basta to undertake the same task. Thus the two enemies, Basta and Michael, were once more engaged on the same mission, that of driving out a prince from Transylvania. This time they acted in concert and defeated Sigismund at Goroslov. But their enmity, suspended for a moment, broke out immediately after the victory and proved the ruin of the Walachian. Sigismund, for the purpose of sowing suspicion against Michael, had sent to Basta some compromising letters written by Michael to the Porte. The letters were forgeries. But Basta—jealous of Michael's services at Goroslov, afraid that the Emperor might make him Governor of Transylvania, and still bearing the old malice in his heart—made use of the false documents to destroy his rival. He declared Michael a traitor and ordered a company of Walachian soldiers to arrest him. Michael drew his sword to defend himself and was slain.

With the death of Michael ends the struggle of the Roumanians for independence. A period begins in which there is no attempt to revolt against Ottoman domination, and in which intellectually the principalities pass entirely under Greek influence. The rulers play a game of ignoble and petty diplomacy, based on principles of most unblushing perjury and treachery, to hold a precarious position between their Turkish lords on the one hand, and Austria, Poland, and Russia on the other. This series of rulers culminates in the wretch Brancovano, who perished so miserably in Constantinople. But I have not space to follow here the later history of Roumania, which brings us into the diplomacy of the eighteenth century. I have chosen the career of Michael the Brave as exceptionally illustrative of the nature of Roumanian history and the difficulties which attended the growth of the Rouman countries. His mistakes are instructive. Let him get the credit of having unified Roumania for a moment; but it is of much more significance for Roumanian history that he lost his unique chance—such as had come to no other Roumanian prince—of compassing a union that might have been permanent, a union based on a common nationality. But the last thing that Michael thought of was the good of his people. He came into Transylvania as a conqueror, not as a deliverer. He was as selfish as the other princes, to whom Roumania owes her long tale of misfortunes; and more impolitic than some of them. Yet he stands out as a great figure,—bold, fearless, and active; and the blots in his career, perjury and ill-faith, cannot be too hardly pressed against him, if we remember the traditions in which he had been brought up, and the political atmosphere of south-eastern Europe, in which such practices were the rule and not the exception. And it may be pleaded for his ill-success, as M. Xénopol (whose narrative I have closely followed in the foregoing pages) pleads, that he had undertaken a work beyond his strength, a work for which the time was not ripe. The truth is, that the idea of regenerating the Roumanian nation had not yet emerged in the days of Michael the Brave.

II. I will take this opportunity of adding an appendix to

M. Xénopol's chapter on the Vlacho-Bulgarian empire. Bulgarian sway had extended in the earlier period of the first Bulgarian kingdom over the Vlachs of Dacia; and, in the later period of the first Bulgarian kingdom, were the Vlachs of Macedonia. These two Roumanian peoples have nothing more to do with each other than is implied in the fact that both have continued to speak a Latin tongue. That they never formed a single people during the Middle Ages is quite clear from a comparison of their vocabularies. The Dacian and the Macedonian Roumanians use names derived from different Latin words for many common objects such as the moon (Dacian, *luna*, Macedonian, *mesu*). In the early Middle Ages there were Latin-speaking folk in other parts of the Balkan peninsula, and we may conjecture that Roumanian families in Moesia were assimilated to their Bulgarian conqueror, just as the Roumanian nobles in Transylvania became Magyars. But a great many of the Moesians retreated before Slavs and Bulgarians into the Balkan mountains,—here, too, repeating what had happened in Transylvania. It was these Roumanian shepherds of the Balkans who started (in 1185) the movement which founded the Vlacho-Bulgarian empire.

The large Roumanian settlement in the mountains west of Thessaly still exists. A most interesting glimpse of it is afforded in the work of a Greek writer of the eleventh century, who describes a revolt of the Vlachs of Great Vlachia in the reign of Constantine Ducas. The author's name is Kekaumenos, and the work was discovered since Finlay wrote.* As this episode has not yet found its way into any English book so far as I know, I will reproduce it here. It illustrates the position of the Vlachs in the interval between the Bulgarian kingdom and the Vlacho-Bulgarian empire.

* The book of advice (on military and other matters) of Kekaumenos to his son (written between 1071 and 1078) along with a much shorter book of advice to the Emperor, written (c. 1080) by a kinsman of Kekaumenos, was first published, from a MS. in the synodal library of Moscow, by Vasilievski under the title *Soviety i razkazy vizantiskago boyarina xi vieka*, in the *Zhurnal Min. Narod. Prosviescheniya*. Vasilievski and Jernstedt have since published a new edition of the text (1896). M. Xénopol is not ignorant of the work, for he refers to it in another place.

Kekaumenos, experienced in matters of war and government, is teaching his son how a provincial governor may best behave in the case of a revolt breaking out in his district. If you believe, he says, that you will be unable to cope with the rebels, and you are hindered from freely sowing or reaping, meet them, and let your subjects proclaim as emperor the rebel-leader. Manage him partly by bribes, partly by craft, and write to the Emperor a full account of all, to secure your own safety. When the Emperor writes to you, do whatsoever he tells you in his letter; and so you will not lose the Emperor's fortress (*κάστρον*) and troops. To illustrate the soundness of this counsel, Kekaumenos cites an experience of his kinsman Nikulitzas of Larisa (in Thessaly), 'in the reign of the late Emperor Ducas.' The Emperor set much store by him, and believed in his words. And one day Nikulitzas said to the Emperor: 'Sire, there is going to be a revolt in Hellas, and if you command me I will tell you in what wise it will be.' Hellas means the theme of Hellas, which in the eleventh century included not only Attica and Boeotia and Phocis, but a good part of Thessaly. But the Emperor bade him hold his peace, and changed the subject, nor did he recur to it. So for many days Nikulitzas kept going to the *protosyncellos*, Sire George the Corinthian, suggesting to him to tell the king privately about the threatened insurrection. But he kept putting him off from day to day. For thirty days Nikulitzas stayed in the City for this purpose, wasting his time and getting no answer, and then he withdrew in disgust. A comet appeared at this time; astronomers pronounced it to be a *dokos*, and said it was baleful. This was the comet of A.D. 1066. It was large, like unto a beam, appearing every evening like the moon. In those days it was also said that Robert the Frank—that is, Robert Wiscard—was preparing to come against the empire. So Nikulitzas, partly from vexation that the Emperor would not talk to him (about the revolt), partly in fear, on account of the appearance of the star and what it was said to betoken, left the city, and went home to Larisa. There he learned the details of the conspiracy, and wrote the information to the Emperor. But the Emperor—why, Kekaumenos cannot say

—did not reply. Nikulitzas—who had obtained his information by spies, for the conspirators had not ventured to make overtures to him—was much vexed at the Emperor's silence. He was in a difficulty. He would have liked to arrest the ringleaders; but he calculated that, if on arresting them he did not blind or behead them, their comrades would rise against him,—for they were in league with the Vlachs and the people of Trikkala—and might overcome and destroy him. On the other hand, if he resisted, and there were a war, and some of the rebels were slaughtered, or if on capturing the ringleaders he blinded them, then the Emperor would say to him: ‘The country belongs to me, not to you. You called my attention to the expected rebellion more than once, and, if I had chosen, I would have listened to you. How dare you, without my orders, deprive people of their eyesight or put them to death? It was from jealousy of their prosperity you did this thing.’ For the Emperor of blessed memory was compassionate in such cases. These considerations and the reflection that it would be ill for him if he acted contrary to the Emperor's command, decided Nikulitzas to remain in his house, as though he knew nothing of the matter, though he had many spies who kept him informed of the conspiracy. He knew that if he made any movement, the rebels would burn his house, put to death his two sons and his two brothers, Theodore and Demetrius, and taking him to the city leave him there to perish of hunger.

Meanwhile the rebels were considering how they should act in regard to him. If we ignore him, they said, we cannot accomplish our design. If we attempt to kill him, we are not likely to succeed, and if we fail he can oppress us. For he has people and troops of his own, and the fortress and country obey him implicitly. No, let us reveal our plans to him. And so they did. They sent their chiefs to him, namely, John Grêmianêtês, ex-protospathar, and Gregory Vamvakas, who told him all. He feigned complete ignorance and said: ‘Certainly, if you move, I will join you.’ His idea was to be present at a full meeting of the insurgents and attempt to turn them from their enterprise. Now they were to hold their meeting

on the morrow in the house of Verivoos, the Vlach. When they told the Vlachs that the protospathar Niculitzas Delphinias had consented to join, they were hugely delighted, and all wanted to come to him. But he anticipated them, and went to the house where they were assembled. When they saw him they leaped up at once, went to meet him most obsequiously; and when he alighted from his horse, they received him and led him into their midst, saying to him: 'We regard you as our father and apenti;* we would not do anything without you, for it would not be right. Since you have come, tell us what we should do.' He replied: 'This won't do. It is an offence against God, and it is an offence against the Emperor, who has many forces to move against us and can obliterate us. It is now the month of June. If trouble comes, how can we get in the harvest?' Then he turned to the Vlachs, and asked: 'Where are your cattle and wives now?' They said, 'In the mountains of Bulgaria.' For it is their habit to keep their cattle and families from April to September in high mountains and cold regions. 'Well,' he said, 'will they not be plundered there by those who are loyal to the Emperor?' When the Vlachs heard this, they were persuaded by his arguments, but the rest were not convinced, and said, 'We will not give up our design.' But the subject was dropped, and they sat down to breakfast. When breakfast was over and they had rested, at noon all came to him again, both Vlachs and Bulgarians, urged on by the Larisæan conspirators. For his Larisæan fellow-castellans (*συγκαστρίται*) said to them: 'Henceforward the plot cannot be hidden, especially as his sons, Gregoras and Pancratis, are in the city. He is putting obstacles in the way in order that the Emperor may hear of the matter and take us.' Moved by these arguments, they say to Niculitzas: 'What you have said is all very fine; only it does not suit us to give up our enterprise.' Then all ran together and laid hold on him and said: 'From this day we make you our head and

* *αὐθέντης* is the word: 'lord and master'; whence modern Greek *ἀφέντης*, 'effendi.'

lord, and choose you, in the present revolt, to order us what we are to do.' He repelled them repeatedly, for he wanted peace. But some of his friends came and conjured him in the name of God, saying: 'If you do not consent, they will kill you.' So against his own desire he became their head; he had wished to catch them in the toils, and he was caught himself. So they referred to him all their evil plot, and estranged him from the command of God. He undertook the matter, to prevent all the country being swamped and ruined, and his men slain and enslaved. Then he went from home to Pharsala and the river Plêrês, which runs through a great plain, and divides the country of the Vlachs. There he encamped and collected the Vlachs and Bulgarians who were in the neighbourhood, and a large army was gathered to his standard. And he also sent a detachment to Kitros (the ancient Pydna), with orders to dismantle the fort; and this was done. And he wrote to the Emperor to this effect: 'Surely I told you with my own mouth that there would be a rising, and afterwards, when I returned home, I wrote to you about it; and now I notify it to your gracious majesty. They have rebelled and made me their head. Thank God then that I have the troops in my hand and can put an end to the insurrection, if you will follow my advice and revoke the additional taxes which you imposed on them.' The Emperor sent him the most solemn oaths: 'All that they have done* from the day on which I came to the throne to the present day, I pardon; and not a man shall be banished or expelled; I pardon all, as I fear God.'

But before Nikulitzas had received the Emperor's sworn promise, he had marched against the fort of Servia. † That castle is situated on lofty rocks, surrounded by wild and very deep ravines. When he reached the place, the insurgents were not willing to attack it, so he withdrew and encamped

* *ἐπολῆσα* is in the text. We must read *ἐπολῆσαν*.

† In Macedonia. In another passage of the treatise (c. 76) we are told that *Sérveia* is a strong city in Bulgaria. In the present passage the name is in a plural form (*Sérvia*).

below the fortress and within sight of it, in the plain, and bade the people in the place come down to him. They all came down and dismounting from their horses stood in front of him in the middle of the camp with their hands tied, saying they were his slaves, and, if he bade them, would call long live Nikulitzas, or, in other words, salute him as Emperor. He replied; 'I know quite well that if I set you free and you return to the fortress, you will not keep your covenant with me; so it were better that I should detain you here. Still it is an old military usage that when a man comes of his own free will to the Emperor, or to a tyrant, or to a general, he should not be detained by him against his will, but should be permitted to return home freely. Therefore I let you go. Go home in peace. If you lie, I will not spare you.' They made a thousand promises to him and went off. But when they had got up into the fortress they began to revile him after the manner of vulgar and uneducated people. And he began to assault their fortress to chasten them for their insolence. Otherwise he did not want to attack them. For he had not willingly joined the rebellion, to get himself proclaimed, but on account of the troops, lest if he offended them he should be put to death. Then, however, on account of the insolence of these people he went against them and took their fort on the third day.

After this, the oath and the picture of the Emperor Constantine Ducas arrived. In the same picture were represented Christ and the mother of Christ and many saints. With these, Nikulitzas called the army, and shewed them the pictures, and read out the Emperor's sworn promise, and urged them to make peace and depart each to his own home. They refused, and said; 'You have excited a war, do not seek peace.' When he insisted, they would not consent, but shouted like an undisciplined, armed mob. So he gave orders that the leader of the Vlachs, Sthlavôtas Karmalakis, and the leader of the Larisaeans, Theodore Skrivon Petastos, should be separated from their respective troops and arrested. When all the rest saw them led off to death, they were afraid, and falling down, besought him to pardon them, saying: 'We will do

whatever you command.' He was moved by their entreaties and pardoned them. And having taken with him the chiefs of the Vlachs and of the Larisaeans, he went to the Catepan or Governor of Bulgaria, Andronicus Philokalis, who had sent him the Emperor's oath. And he found him at Peteriskos, a village in Thessaly, very much afraid; for he did not expect that Nikulitzas was sincere with the peace. From there Nikulitzas went to Constantinople to the Emperor, who gave him a kind welcome, and for four months he walked about the city securely, along with the Vlachian and Larisaeian chiefs who had accompanied him. But after this the Emperor sent him to the then Patriarch of Constantinople, Sire John Xiphilin, in order that if the Patriarch annulled the oath of pardon, and pronounced the covenant to be void, Nikulitzas and his comrades might be dealt with accordingly. But when his Holiness the Patriarch rather confirmed the oath and pardoned him along with all the others, and acquitted him of the charge, the Emperor did not hide his chagrin, but banished him to the fortress of Amasea, in the Armeniac theme, keeping him a prisoner in the so-called Marble Prison. In that prison he wrote an account of his life to the father of Kekaumenos. The successor of Ducas, the ill-fated Romanos Diogenos, had been a friend of Nikulitzas, and on his accession at once released and recalled him.

In connexion with this episode Kekaumenos gives a most unfavourable account of the Vlachs (c. 187). The race of the Vlachs, he says, is utterly untrustworthy and perverse. They have not the orthodox faith, nor are they loyal to the Emperor, nor true to kinsman or friend, but they strive to overreach all. They lie and steal; swear every day the most terribly solemn oaths to their friends and break them without scruple. By contracting a 'brotherhood' with you or adopting your children, they will inform on you, if you are simple; but they have never been known to keep faith with anyone, not even with the Roman Emperors of ancient times. The Emperor Trajan made war on them, and utterly wiped them out; their king, Decebalus, was slain, his head fixed on a spear, and exhibited in Rome. For the Vlachs are the same

as the so-called Dacians and Besi. Formerly they used to dwell near the river Danube and the Save, where the Serbs now dwell, in strong, inaccessible places; wherein putting their trust, they used to pretend love and subjection to the old Roman Emperors, and, descending from their fastnesses, used to depredate the provinces of the Romans. Whereupon the Romans were wroth, and destroyed them. And they went forth from those places, and were scattered through all Epirus and Macedonia. But the greater part of them settled in Hellas. Moreover, they are cowards, with the heart of hares, and what courage they have is due to their cowardice. So I counsel you not to trust them at all. And if there should be an insurrection, and if they feign love and faith, swearing by God that they will preserve it inviolable, yet do not trust them. For it is better not to receive from them, nor give them, an oath at all, but to watch them carefully, regarding them as perjurers. Therefore trust them not, but do as they do, and pretend to be their friend. And in the case of a revolt in Bulgaria, if they say and swear they are your friends, do not believe them. And if they wish to bring their wives and children into an Imperial fortress (lit., a castron of Roumania), let them bring them, and put them within the keep (*kulá*), but let the men themselves remain outside the keep. And if they want to come in to see their families, let two or three come in, and when they go out let another relay come in. At the same time, keep close watch at the gates and on the walls. And if you act thus, you will be safe. But if you let a large number come in to their families, they will betray the fort, and will bite you like an asp; and then you will recollect my precepts. But if you follow my advice, you will keep them under, and will feel no concern.'

So far Kekaumenos. The Vlacks had a bad name at Constantinople. The main truth is that the Rouman has been far too tenacious of his nationality to please Magyar, or Bulgarian, or Greek.

J. B. BURY.

ART. III.—THE CYCLING EPIDEMIC.

. . . ἐν πτερβεντι τροχῷ παντᾶ κυλινδόμενον . . .
 . . . 'rolling along everyway on the winged wheel' . . .
 Pindar. Pyth : Carm. II., Ep. 1.

AMONG the many novelties and evolutions of the present century, perhaps the most phenomenal is the recent sudden popularisation of the twin-wheeled piece of mechanism known as the 'safety' bicycle. No such furor of fashion has been witnessed within living memory. Till two or three seasons ago bicycling was practically confined to a comparatively small number of males, many of whom had apprenticed to the art on the 'high' bicycle. Most of us can remember the fustianed artizan and an occasional amateur of the better classes perched aloft on the huge wheel with tiny attached satellite, and afterwards the supersession of the big rotator by the low equi-rotal apparatus which at first was so execrated for its intrinsic ugliness. But till the invention of the pneumatic tyre, the bicycle made little or no progress in public estimation. Indeed, but a few years back this locomotor was *taboo* to society. It was the exception for gentlemen to ride anything of the cycle tribe: the machine was mainly in the hands of the lower middle and operative classes. I know of a regiment in Her Majesty's service, an officer whereof, when it was quartered at an English garrison station some years ago, had the hardihood to ride a bicycle. But the thing had to be done *sub rosâ* with a certain shamefacedness, and the colonel of the regiment looked very much askance on the vulgar implement and its rider. Nor indeed, even when the bicycle had reached its air-tyred improvement, would the fair sex at first have anything to say to it. Of course we had seen an exceptional female of the Amazon sort here and there mounted *en bicyclette* in knickerbockers or 'bloomer' costume, but these persons were stared at as phenomena fearful and wonderful, and classed as 'outsiders.' No longer since than the Church Congress of 1894, Canon Knox Little, deploring some modern feminine tendency, said how deeply he regretted to hear 'that

some ladies even rode bicycles—a thing he should never permit a girl of his to do.’ *

Probably to this day, although the ground was prepared, and the harvest ripe for the reaping, the bicycle would have remained unappreciated by the mass of the feminine world, had not a few exalted personages given the *beau monde* a lead. No sooner was this done, and the Society papers discovered that women might ‘bike,’ than the craze to bicycle burst out with extraordinary vehemence, among the ‘creatures of impulse,’ and settled on the charming sex like an epidemic. Ladies took forthwith to bestriding the pair-wheeled ‘Jagannāth’ in Battersea and the other London parks. The feminine fashionable world of the great metropolis went clean crazy over the new pastime. Every girl or woman with any pretension to be *smart* flew to the bicycle. The cycle-makers awoke in a week or two to find their craft famous. The spectacle of ‘biking’ ladies perilously threading the London streets amid the turmoil-traffic of horsed vehicles and making off for the open green spaces, became unpleasantly common. And the set anxious expression on the countenances of so many of these feminine wheelers was another disturbing symptom of the new pursuit.

The new-born craze had its semi-pathetic side. Many ladies of position and consequence recorded in the Society journals their wails against it. Unfortunate mamas, who had hitherto kept jealous watch and ward over the doings of their daughters, found chaperonage of them on the *bike* impossible unless and until they themselves could acquire the new treading accomplishment. Thus it came about that not a few middle-aged and even elderly matrons, after balancing the *pros* and *cons* of the situation, had to make shift to balance their own persons on the wheeled abomination, albeit under grave inward protest and often discomfort. Some of these, however, have been rewarded by the discovery of the excellency of the new exercise. In the higher social circles the serving-men and stable-boys found a new labour in the cleaning of the machines of their masters and mistresses.

* *Daily Telegraph*, 3rd Oct., 1896.

New cycle-companies grew apace ; orders for bicycles multiplied by leaps and bounds. Old men and maidens, young men and children, all sorts and conditions of both sexes, weaklings and valetudinarians, as well as the robust, crowded to the cycle-shops. The tyranny of the tandem-wheels soon began to assert itself. The never-failing query dinned into the ears of every Society young woman, with nauseating and ceaseless iteration, was, 'Do you bike? you really must, you know.' The writer of these pages was abroad during the time the 'biking' fever raged to a head, and on his return, lo! the whole world, male and female, was on wheels. Girls who hung back from the dreaded ordeal of tuition in the new diversion, began to find themselves left out in the cold, in respect of distant garden-parties, boating expeditions, picnics, moonlight excursions, and the like, where the bicycle was a *sine quá non*. In this way numbers of feminine recruits were coaxed, or coerced by the stress of fashion, to submit to be propped up on the metal frame in unstable equilibrium, and to inflict upon their tender limbs scars, chafes, and bruises for days running, rather than be, as the phrase goes, 'out of it.'

One of the curious phases of the wheel fever was the manner of its acceptance in the provinces. When London goes mad after some new fashion, one generally finds it takes a certain length of time, it may be months, ere the slower-moving country districts get hold of it. So with bicycling for the women. It took many months to fight the prejudices and overcome the aversion of the provincial dames towards the new situation. Here, again, the most determined opposition was at first manifested to the idea of upper middle-class maidens bestriding a locomotive machine hitherto deemed vulgar, unfeminine, and out of the question for the use of ladies. Yet estimable matrons veered round on the question in a truly wonderful way. Daughter of theirs, they had vowed, should never touch the accursed thing ; but in six months from the registering of the vow, you found them in a mentally limp attitude declaring ruefully it was impossible longer to hold out. The omnipotent vogue had conquered ; opposition was at an end. Nay, soon they were vying with one another in the organisation of huge bicycling parties to

scour the country roads or ride 'bike' paper-chases. Not that it was always, this female cycling, a matter of popular acceptance among the humbler classes. In a certain Midland region I have heard of stones being flung at young ladies in the incipiency of the twin-wheel mania. And in a provincial town one industrial woman was overheard not long since remarking to another, apropos of two young ladies passing by on bicycles, 'That's the latest *imperence* as the new woman has *tuk* to.' But familiarity breeds indifference if not contempt, and ere long we shall probably see the wheeled metallic beast of burden an appanage of nearly every rustic's cottage.

As it is, the whole Press of the country has the bicycle more or less in evidence in its columns. Indeed, an extensive serial literature, exclusively devoted to cycling, has suddenly sprung up to swell the bewildering plethora of printed wares which crowd the bookstalls. We have dance-music sacred to the wheel, 'cycling polkas,' 'cycling waltzes,' 'bicycle galops,' and so forth. Cycling costumes, cycling travelling bags, cycling gear of every kind and description, cycling clubs and syndicates, form the subjects of advertisement in nearly every newspaper one takes up. One of the latest advertising novelties in this line was that of a wig-maker, who announced a new 'cycling fringe and chignon' for the benefit of the feminine sex, and these, I believe, still hold the field. Of a surety, there must be many who do not altogether bless our *fin-de-siècle* cycle of cycling! And even bicyclists themselves may be excused, with all this to-do made about the machine which carries them, if they sometimes feel a trifle cycle-sick.

'The cycle craze,' says a well-known writer of *causerie* (Lady Violet Greville), 'has proved verily a craze, for many people can "think, talk, and do nothing but bicycle." So much so, that for a time the wheeled idol became a kind of Jagannath, "lord of the world;" while, like its Hindoo prototype, it now and again slays or maims a certain number of its votaries!'

But it is time the present writer re-assured the readers of these pages as to his own sympathies towards the iron horse.

In its favour there are certain points beyond all question—

(1st) and foremost, there are the advantage and utility of its

speedy locomotion, especially for those who can afford to keep neither carriage nor horse.

(2nd). The healthfulness of the muscular effort, besides the exhilaration of the fresh air and rapid movement. I believe the medical faculty are, for the most part, agreed that the effect on the lungs and nerves is good, provided the exertion is not overdone.

(3rd). As a sudorific and consumer of tissue, an hour's fast bicycling is out of all compare with an hour's walk. It is what one may call concentrated essence of bodily exercise, and is thus doubtless of great value to persons of sedentary occupation and scant leisure. Indeed, it is claimed for the bicycle that it has put new life and vigour into many people of invalidish type, whether of poor constitution or indifferent physique.

But having admitted this, and endorsing to the full the merits of the new machine, we have to approach its contemplation in a sober spirit, and avoid the rhapsodical raptures in its behalf, which have latterly been so rife, principally among womankind. To read many of the recent periodicals, one might suppose that with the advent of the bicycle a millennial era had set in. It is 'our glorious pastime,' says a cycling weekly print; 'no pastime is comparable with cycling where health and enjoyment are concerned.' 'The joy,' writes an American, 'which is felt over the new power amounts to a passion.' Young ladies have written stanzas to their bicycles. Columns of women's serials are filled up from week to week and month to month with the record runs women on wheels have made, the gymkhana feats they have performed, the types of cycle they should ride, the costumes 'rational' or conventional they should wear. Complaint is even made that the consumption of 'shilling shockers' and light literature of all kinds is suffering from the worship of the *bike* fetish. Most of us may be disposed to think that this is not an unmingled disadvantage. The bicycle, too, we are told, is to relieve the female sex, who used to be all *nerves*, of their nervousness. It is to add to their self-reliance, a quality whereof the *new* young woman has already amassed a goodly stock. It is to quicken their circulation; it is to cure them of all manner of ailments. Truly, if we were a professedly Pagan people, the next step would

be the setting up of temples and the dedication of altars to this new-found Divinity of the Wheel, to whom we offer such incessant incense.

Small wonder, then, to learn, according to one of the periodicals, that during the first six months of 1896 new cycle-manufacturing companies were floated representing a total capital of *eleven* millions sterling!

And now, having rehearsed the merits of the double-*rota*, let us take note of what can fairly be said on the other side. In the first place, the machine is intrinsically an ugly one. No person with any pretension to a sense of artistic proportion will gainsay this. The dull uniformity in size of the two wheels, the position of the saddle, the gearing chain and pedals,—the whole fabric of the thing, in short, is a mean commonplace-looking piece of mechanism, distinctly inferior in appearance to the old-fashioned high bicycle. And when bestraddled by a human figure, there is a sense of disproportion added. The rider looks too big for his metallic steed, rather suggestive of an old *Punch* cartoon, in which a huge life-guardsman is depicted ridiculously too large for his undersized charger. I will pass by the stoop of the body, to which so many male bicyclists are prone, and which deepens the unbecoming effect of the whole get up, because this attitude is unnecessary. A far more fatal defect in appearance, and one intrinsic to the use of the machine, is the leg pedalling, which may be best likened to the up-and-down motion of the two pistons in a vertical-action steam engine.

Now, if we picture to ourselves the above drawbacks in a male rider, what are we to say of the aspects of the female figure when mounted on the twin wheels? To begin with, the limitations of woman's vesture are dead against her treading herself along with ease and comfort. Pages upon pages of journalistic literature have been devoted to the vexed question of her most suitable bicycling costume—short skirt *v.* knickers and stockings. The New Woman has tried her best to liberate her sex in this matter—as she puts it, from the trammels of antiquated prejudice—but in vain. In France and elsewhere, the spectacle of women-folk of all sorts, shapes, and sizes, clad in ultra-male attire, 'scorching' along the roads and boulevards with purple

visages, may be seen any day of the week. But the British feminine instinct, to its credit be it said—though in this case illogical—persistently refuses its sanction to this style of dress, even on wheels. The English matron has had to stifle many misgivings as to the figure cut by her daughters when balancing themselves on the dual circlet, but to set them up on it dressed practically as men, she will not tolerate. Thus we have the prevalent compromise in the lady bicyclist's attire. From whatsoever point of view she is viewed on the bicycle, it is a physical impossibility that woman can ever look her best there. Seen from behind, the saddle and back wheel make a huge ugly cleft in her skirt, awkwardly emphasizing the figure, while in any breeze the two separated portions of the garment oscillate from side to side in a most unbecoming manner. Added to this, the huge sacks or inflated balloons known, I am told, as 'bishop's sleeves,' in which so many of the charming sex still see fit to envelop their arms and shoulders, waggle and flap about like the canvas of a vessel brought up to wind before tacking. The lady rider may sit as upright as she please, but, again, sideways the steam-piston action cannot be concealed, accentuated as it so oft is by a too low seat and overbent knee. Lastly, at the end of an eight or ten mile ride on a warm summer's day with a few uphill grades to ascend, her complexion and general aspect will not have improved: though, for the matter of that, bicycling may compare favourably with the results to her of a hockey scrimmage, or even a bout of lawn tennis *singles*.

'Mothers of bicycling boys and girls,' says a cycling magazine, 'are being applied to in these days to treat wind-burned faces.' And a popular London 'daily,' discussing certain effects of female cycling, sounds a still more disconcerting note to the *biking* ladies. Another result 'is threatened, which will simply kill wheeling if it really does prove correct, and that is *the decadence of looks in women*' (my italics). 'Some say that complexion will coarsen from exposure to wind, sun, and wet: that hair will deteriorate from constant dust: that hands will widen from contact with the handles: and nether limbs become out of proportion from undue muscular development.' . . . 'The girls who go for tours on hired *bikes*, riding a large number

of miles every day, seldom look any prettier when they return, although they may have annexed a boyish ruddiness of face, and a pleasant appearance of rude health.* Probably, a more potent factor in any such decay of good looks is over-exertion: just as one has seen female enthusiasts in athletics grow thin and spare from the same cause. For, the truth is, too many of the emulous sex neglect the advice Horace gave to Licius:—in everything to choose ‘the golden mean.’

Nevertheless, given that a woman is youthful, sweet-faced, and fine of figure, it is a hard matter to place her in any position where she will fail to look *nice*.

Since the *biking* craze ‘caught on’ to the fashionable world, efforts have been made in certain sections of the Press, particularly the serials patronised by ladies, to belaud the appearance of notable women as seen on the bicycle. And innumerable portraiture of their pose behind the handle-bar have been given to convert us to an optimistic view. None the less, in my own experience many girls and women themselves, even when fairly enthusiastic and distinctly expert on the cycle, have candidly admitted that their sex do not and cannot look to advantage when riding it. Says a lady-writer in the *Badminton Magazine* (Sept., 1896), discoursing on female natation: ‘A bathing costume is no more really becoming to any woman than a cycling attire, however well thought out.’ A woman may be good-looking and of symmetrical shape: she may hold herself superbly erect with an air independent or disdainful as who should say ‘Look at me, how smoothly and decisively I wheel myself along, just as well as you men do, and better too:’ but the incongruity of the posture, the uncomeliness of the leg movements, the meanness of the vehicle, the dust and in wet weather the dirt it picks up along the roads, are all against her and the dainty garments she should at all times wear.

But I hear an indignant woman reader exclaim:—And pray what about the men, do they look any better? My dear lady, young or old, of course not: nobody contends that they do. A man on a bicycle is no better-looking an object than a woman

* *Daily Telegraph*, 22nd August, 1896.

thereupon : when he stoops much, as so many *biking* males do, he is not an edifying sight. But, be it remembered, *pace* the new woman, there is a difference in the sexes. How a man looks is of small matter : how a woman looks is a matter of the greatest consequence, not only to herself, but to the world at large. It is needless to labour this point, which has been self-evident from the beginning of the race.

But the question of her *appearance* on the treadling frame by no means exhausts the drawbacks the female bicyclist has to reckon with. Where the roads are hilly she must or often *ought* to dismount and tramp along the highway leading her iron steed. If, as sometimes happens, she has a male companion, and insists on being even with him in the riding, she may overdo herself with the strain of pedalling up gradients too steep for her strength, for every cyclist knows by experience what a heavy tax on the muscles even a short spurt of forcing up a steep rise may entail. A young lady I know of, with the pluck and emulation of her sex, overtaxed herself in this way. On arrival at the residence she was making for *en bicyclette* she fainted, and had to be carried indoors and laid on a couch to come to. In a recent long-distance female bicycling race one girl had to stop at the end of the third mile owing to a severe attack of hysterics.* Like examples are far from unknown, and for one such recorded there must be scores of unrevealed instances in which overstrain is consciously or unconsciously undergone.

For, says a medical authority, 'in women the nervous system is generally more delicate and more highly strung' than in men, and thus more liable to overstrain : a fact one has generally regarded as axiomatic, though certain robust-minded new women affect to pooh-pooh the idea as derogatory to the physical powers of their sex. An American expert, Dr. Thomas R. Evans, recently discussing certain harmful effects of the bicycle upon girls, deprecates among other things their disuse of walking since the advent of the twin-wheels. 'Observation teaches,' says Anna

* See a sensible article on 'Cycle riding and cycle racing for women' in *The Humanitarian* for January, 1896, by Edward Beadon Turner, F.R.C.S.

M. Galbraith, a lady-doctor and enthusiast for female bicycling, 'that very few people, especially women over 25 years of age, will take any form of exercise systematically for any continued length of time unless it is combined with pleasure.' So again, according to Dr. W. P. Carr, cycling is 'almost the only form of open air exercise that women can be induced to take.'* A woman, says Dr. Nash, should not 'attempt high speeds on difficult hills. When it is necessary for her to breathe through her mouth she should dismount and walk.' Dr. Millée of Paris claims that two specific disorders in women are likely to result from bicycle-riding.† And Dr. H. D. Fry, while admitting that the bicycle had some advantages 'in that it took women out of doors,' added that 'he had seen some injurious results from its use.'

These and such like notes of warning to bicycling women may pass unheeded now, nor will it be till the next generation that the full effects of the wheeling craze can begin to be realised. A fact of which M. Emile Zola, while lauding the bicyclette for women, takes shrewd cognizance. On the other hand, it is only fair to add that the preponderance of medical opinion appears to favour the use of the bicycle.

But again, the ordinary casualties of both road and cycle are necessarily more trying to a woman rider than to a man, especially when, as so frequently happens, there is no male escort. Suppose a pedal-screw be worn and its nut get loose [as once happened to the present writer in an early bicycling stage], so that the pedal works skew on the joint, one may have to be constantly dismounting to tighten it up, perhaps with a dirty spanner. Or, should the nut come away and get lost, off may drop the pedal, and you have the pleasure of riding the machine home on a single one. Again, an air-tyre may work slack and want re-inflating from the air-pump. Or, perchance—but luckily this should rarely happen—a tyre may be punctured, and then good-bye to further riding till that is mended. These and the like liabilities arising from defects in the material or workmanship of the cycle

* 'Trans. of Washington Obst. and Gynecol. Society,' 6th Dec., 1895.

† 'American Journal of Obstetrics,' April, 1896.

may be very troublesome to the lady on wheels. For, as a rule, girl-riders know little or nothing of the mechanism of the machine which carries them; they are content to enjoy its facile and animating locomotion. And, even when they do, grimy oiled hands and soiled garments must often be the lot of the bicycling woman who adventures upon long-distance wheel-rides, with the weather chances of wind and rain, mud or dust, just as they come.

The present type of saddle is another feminine difficulty. It is impossible to believe that the little narrow fan-shaped and rather hard leather seat most in vogue can be quite satisfactory or suitable for a woman taking a lengthy cycling ride, for reasons patent enough to most cyclists. I believe it has been attempted to lessen this drawback by making the saddle pneumatic, and so more elastic. Another variety, and one which certainly seems hygienically among the best forms of lady's bicycling saddle yet designed, is the double-disc cushioned seat, though I have heard it urged as an objection against this arrangement that it produces a tendency in the rider to slip off going downhill. But lady cyclists who use this pattern have assured me the supposed objection vanishes with practice. Be this as it may, it seems curious that the two-disc saddle is not more generally adopted by lady cyclists. 'The bicycle world,' says Dr. F. S. Nash of Washington, 'has experienced greater difficulty in devising a thoroughly satisfactory saddle [for women] than in anything else, and is now hard at work on this, which will probably be accomplished by taking a plaster or wax cast of a woman's seat, and working on this as a basis.*' Dr. Evans in the same periodical remarks that 'for centuries the horse has been utilised, but both the teaching of anatomy and propriety has prohibited the woman from bestriding his soft back.'

Yet another and that a rather serious contingency has to be reckoned with by girls and women bicycling alone along the country roads and lanes, especially at dusk. I mean the detestable waylaying of unescorted female riders by ruffians for black-

* See article 'A Plea for the New Woman and the Bicycle' in the *American Journal of Obstetrics*, April, 1896.

mailing purposes, whereof we have read authentic instances of late in certain localities. It is so obviously easy for a man on the look out to upset a bicyclist, particularly a lady, when on the 'spin' in the twilight. Moreover, so many of the women riders are now of the work-a-day class, who can only get out on the *bike* of evenings. It may become necessary to enact some specially severe penalty, like that say of garotting, to deter these miscreants. But meanwhile, the risk of encountering them remains.

As for cycling accidents, scarce a day passes without chronicle of one or another in the newspapers. 'The week before last,' wrote the *Morning Post* of 28th Sept. last, 'was sadly prolific in bicycling accidents, no less than six occurring in the short space of four days, of which five had fatal terminations.' 'The victims of the bicycle,' says *The Athenæum* of 31st Oct., 1896, 'are growing numerous.' No doubt, rash 'coasting' (as it is termed) down long hills with the foot up is responsible for a good many of the tale. But a sudden swerve, the side-slip, the snapping of a spindle, or other defect in the machine itself—may each and all bring even expert riders to grief. Moreover, it must be remembered that only a small proportion of the accidents, and those the more serious, get into the columns of the Press.

When, then, all has been said *pro* and *con* the bicycle, it will be evident—especially as regards the fair sex, with whom the recent cycling outburst reached its greatest intensity—that the delights of wheeling oneself about with velocity must be considerably discounted!

The foregoing remarks will not, I trust, be taken as meant to discourage the gentler sex from sharing in the benefits of the bicycle. Its use with them, mainly as a healthful recreation, involves a balance of calculations. All things considered, it seems undeniable that the advantages of the machine outweigh its disadvantages. The woman, it is true, has to sacrifice appearance; while—in common with men, though in some respects more pronouncedly than they—she has to face certain risks of scathe by the road, with other possible discomforts already indicated. But, on the other hand, she has the exhilaration—some female enthusiasts would perhaps call it ecstasy—of rapid facile movement, and abundance of

fresh air pumped into her lungs. She can go long distances in a comparatively short time, distances undreamt of for walking, and thus she can see (though with a far less seeing eye than the pedestrian) a greater variety and extent of her rural surroundings than she could do on foot, or otherwise—without spending money. A lady resident, of moderate means, in a country district, without horse or carriage, might desire to look in upon neighbours a few miles away for social functions; to get out to distant golf links, or to the riverside for boating; or, again, to shop in the neighbouring town. Before the evolution of the feminine *bike*, she must, where walking was out of the question, have resorted to a hired conveyance, rail, or what not, the cost mounting up to a formidable sum in the course of the year. Now she rides her iron roadster, with vastly greater independence and even saving of time.

Then, the hygienic value to hard-worked women and girls of sedentary occupation, must not be left out of count. I am told there are drapery establishments in London (notably one) in which bicycles are provided or their use materially encouraged by the employers for the staff of shopwomen, in order that after business hours they may have a run out to the parks or country. In the east-end of the Metropolis benevolent efforts have been made to procure cast-off bicycles for work-people's clubs, and let them out on hire at nominal prices. All honour to such employers and philanthropists. One can well imagine this to be a real boon to women-workers tolling long hours in the close, used up atmosphere of London shops. Here, indeed, the balance of advantage in the woman's bicycle is sufficiently apparent. Take, again, the case of the domestic servant. When the present writer took a house recently in the country for a summer sojourn, and had to engage a temporary cook, she arrived with a bicycle among her impedimenta. The explanation given of the possession of such an article was sensible enough. The day-long confinement to the kitchen was trying to the woman's health, and an hour of the wheel tonic in the early morning or evening did her all the good in the world. With men, of course, the bicycle has for years past been a utilitarian motor,

and now it is so more than ever. In place of wearily trudging miles to and from his work, many an artizan is now seen riding jauntily along with basket of tools on his back. Clergymen, too, visiting in large scattered parishes, can get over the ground with vastly more expedition than formerly. The postman and telegraph boy speed their missives grave and gay on the winged wheel. And for military purposes the bicycle has a distinct tactical value. I believe it was Colonel Savile who organised the first team of soldier-cyclists, less than ten years ago, and now the British army has a force of some 3000 armed and trained cycle-men.

As for bicycle-racing in public by women, the good taste and sober sense of the sex in this country have given there-upon no uncertain verdict. If the would-be athletic new woman is capable of being abashed, she will have learned her lesson long since from the average Press comments upon bicycling and other physical contests in which certain females exhibit themselves before the populace. 'From the lady-cyclist on the road,' says an influential Provincial organ, 'to the lady cyclist on the racing-path, was a development which might have been apprehended. . . Such entertainments may tempt for a time the jaded palate of the pleasure-seeking crowd. They are not likely to have any permanent vogue, thanks to the underlying delicacy in the English character, which always in the long run resents these unnatural displays of women in the athletic field. Such monstrosities as the lady-footballer, the lady-cricketer, and the lady-pedestrian, soon wear out even the contemptuous tolerance of the public.* Sound commonsense words, which the masculine man-woman of to-day would do well to ponder. And, according to *The Field*, which about the same date joined in commenting adversely on female bicycle-racing, the National Cyclists' Union has also set its face against the practice.

Among the social curiosities begotten by the bicycle was the announcement some months back of a Chaperon Cyclists' Association, designed to meet the scruples of old-fashioned

* *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25th Nov., 1895.

paters and maters requiring escort for their *biking* daughters. Married women, widows, and spinsters over thirty, were to be eligible to act as Associate Chaperons. Another industry of cognate kind, at once lucrative and gratifying to female vanity, has (according to a weekly periodical lately) come to the front for enterprising fashionable *belles*. Cycle manufacturers 'now glean profit by making it worth the while of ladies in society to use and recommend their machines. And some of them are not at all slow in meeting us halfway over the business,' declared one depot manager, who, after getting a hint from 'a very beautiful woman, the idol of her own little set,' presented the lady with a bicycle gratis. 'And we have just booked an eighteenth order from it,' he added. Another well-known lady, acting in like manner as a cycle-agent, got a commission of 15 per cent. on all orders she could bring to the cycle-maker. Here, indeed, is a promising prospective industry opening out to pretty and aristocratic women desirous to eke out their incomes. Nor does this seem any more objectionable than many other ways in which the up-to-date well-placed woman condescends nowadays to 'exploit' her social advantages.

A further novelty has been the advertising for governesses who could cycle, which drew a protest from the more middle-aged of this ill-appreciated class of gentlewomen. Then, again, across the Channel, single combats, *en bicyclette*, appear to be not quite unknown; for a London Evening Daily* lately announced that a duel with swords had just been fought out on French soil by two young men on bicycles. Each charged the other and was thrown, while the seconds, likewise mounted on *bikes*, were also upset and injured. Verily, a feat more than rivalling the bicycling polo, tent-pegging, and the like, of which one hears. Such an event, too, as the Cycling Carnival of last summer at the Crystal Palace, when, on a single day, some 12,000 cyclists passed along the road from London *en route* to the Palace sports, is another of the treadle-wheel marvels.

* *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18th August, 1896.

Of the Royalties who have taken to the wheel, *con amore*, and are accomplished cyclists, we hear of the charming Russian Empress who rides out with her ladies, the Queen of Italy, Princess Margaret of Connaught, described by a cycling journal as a wonderfully brilliant bicyclist, the daughters of the Prince of Wales, and other princesses of our own Blood Royal, besides many august male personages, Royal and Imperial, English and foreign, including the boy-monarch of Spain.

France, America, and some of our colonies, seem to have been even more bitten with the cycling mania than this country. A trans-Atlantic writer [*Forum*, August, 1896,] claims that the bicycle has severely damaged both the church and the theatre. In America, it seems, 'the churches are fast losing their young people,' and even the offer of storage-room for their machines in the basements of the sanctuaries proves unavailing. Then 'the theatrical season is dead everywhere as soon as the roads get good for bicycle-riding;' which, considering the nature of so many present-day stage-plays, may be no great disadvantage. Cheap cycling costume, substituted for cousin Jonathan's erewhile spick and span suits, has hit the clothiers hard, and the 'shoemakers say they suffer because nobody walks much any longer.' We have already noted the grumble of British purveyors of light literature at the falling off in the consumption of their wares, from the thralldom of the bi-wheeled fetish. The booksellers of the United States make the same complaint: one great news-agency firm in New York has estimated its trade loss in 1896, from the bicycling competition, at no less than a million dollars! The French publishing houses, too, are beginning to cry out. According to M. Lemerre *fiils*, the well known Parisian publisher, the sales, both of books and newspapers, are being seriously affected by the bicycle. Other leading Gallic bookdealers testify to the decline in the vending of novels since Monsieur, and especially Madame, the chief reader of fiction, took to the wheel. And even the Paris music-sellers, it would seem, have felt the prevailing pressure of the *biking* craze.*

* See the Paris correspondent's letter in *Morning Post* of 16th Oct., 1896.

Apropos of the *bike*, an amusing slip was perpetrated not long since by a paragraph-writer in a London evening journal of standing and wide circulation, which affects nothing if not up-to-date smartness. 'As to the inventor of the cycle,' says our journalist, 'we must go very far back. Even Juvenal speaks of ladies "tenui quae cyclade sudant," which must mean "who perspire along on the slender cycle."' Probably hundreds of those who perused this glib assertion carried away the idea of the high antiquity of cycle-riding. But, unluckily for this ingenious theory, 'cyclas' is not Latin for cycle, but means a particular sort of feminine circular robe, while the 'tenui cyclade' of the great poet-satirist had reference to certain women clad '*in a thin garment.*'

In summing up our views upon the great cycling mania, the strangest epidemic of the century, we naturally ask ourselves the question—Can it last? As we have seen, the flame which so suddenly burst out in the patrician world a couple of seasons back originated in the very topmost ranks of society, and rapidly spread downwards. For the time being it has taken extraordinary hold of the public mind, but already there are signs that the fire is burning itself out. The novelty of the thing is passing off, and the feverish excitement over its last new sensation, which is characteristic of the gay world [largely feminine] in all ages, is slacking down. The caprice of fashions repeats itself. Lawn tennis had its day for a score of years, but golf and the bicycle have pretty well broken its neck. And, having seized upon the bicycle as the latest *à la mode* occupation,—the last new baby,—the society woman is beginning to weary of her toy. 'The capricious woman of fashion,' says Lady Violet Greville, 'has already tired of her iron steed.' One had heard, indeed, latterly, of many a smart lady's *bike* being, after a brief turn in the park, handed over to attendant groom or footman to take home. And last season 'the sweet sylvan shades of Battersea' were 'practically deserted.' 'When,' said a leading French publisher the other day, not perhaps without exaggeration, 'an intelligent man takes to a bicycle he does not stick to it for very long—that is, with any passionate ardour,—and while thousands are con-

stantly learning to ride, thousands are trying to forget that they ever learned.'

And, after all, the opinion of many cyclists confirms me in the view that when one has wheeled day after day up to a certain number of scores of miles along the highways and byways, it is difficult to maintain the early enthusiasm of the novice, who has just discovered how fast he or she can fly along with the new-fledged wings. The movement becomes a trifle monotonous; the rural roads around one's residence grow a thought stale; and the rider traversing even a beautiful landscape country must perforce, however expert, turn his main attention to the track and its stones, if only to save his tyres. And even if one goes 'crawling' along an esplanade or public lounge with a congenial companion of the other sex, the bicycle somehow, easy as it is to propel, is scarcely the vehicle for quiet flirtation or confidential chit-chat.

By those of both sexes, then, who do not ride the bicycle, some comfort may possibly be derived from the above lucubrations. And, of a surety, many seem coming round to the opinion that the machine has been over-rated and the plaudits bestowed upon its merits overdone. For, if we leave out of count the amateur *gymkhanas* which afford a few ladies and gentlemen an opportunity of showing their skill in cycling dances, musical rides, singlestick practice at *Heads and Posts*, and the like—bicycling can hardly be classed among *sports*. It is certainly a pastime of a sort and a capital hygienic exercise withal, but 'to the general' it is not altogether without its risks of serious mishap. The non-*bikers* may further reassure themselves with the reflection that the 'safety' machine albeit a most useful appliance is intrinsically inelegant, not to say ugly, and that the human biped mounted upon it does not figure to advantage. The strong point of the *bike* is its utility as a rapid locomotor. Its use has spread to all classes: and, apart from the wearing out of its novelty, the experience of mankind attests as an unerring social law the fact that so soon as a fashion descends to the proletariat and thus becomes vulgarised, the selecter circles discard it like a squeezed orange, and look out for something fresh. Not that one has

any sympathy with the feeling which depreciates what is shared in common with the multitude : nevertheless the feeling is a reality.

Thus, the *bike* may be expected ere long to drop out of its present favour as a mere amusement with the *élite* of society : —to be replaced as seems probable in the very near future by variants of the auto-motor car, wherein the nether limbs of their feminine patrons may be spared the uncomely movements of the pumping piston. But, as a good servant to the work-a-day world at large, our bi-rotal treadler will doubtless live on for many a day.

Meanwhile, the bicycle like the era which has given it birth is eminently a cycle of change, a fact which would-be investors in cycling companies may do well to bear in mind. And to conclude, we may not inaptly apply to the twin-wheeled machine, which has been so prolific of social revolutions, the recent words, albeit in a sense different from his, of a popular living poet :—

‘ Now the long round is run,
The fruitful cycle won.’

T. P. W.

ART. IV.—ALBERONI AND THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.

1. *Lettres intimes de Jules Alberoni.* E. BOURGEOIS. 1892.
2. *Carte Farnesiane.* *Archivio di Stato.* Naples.
3. *Le Régent, l'Abbé Dubois, et les Anglais.* Wiesener. 1894.
4. *Die Quadrupel Allianz.* O. WEBER. 1887.
5. *Philippe V. et la Cour de France.* A. BAUDRILLART. 1890.

ALBERONI is generally termed an adventurer. This is one of those question-begging substantives which assume much and prove nothing. A man without wealth or family raises himself to a high political position. If he belong to our own party we call him a heaven-born statesman ; if to the opposition,

an unscrupulous adventurer. So it may be with Alberoni. France, England, and Germany combined to cause his ruin, and therefore French, English, and German writers have done little justice to his memory, at least in so far as his foreign policy is concerned. His lot was cast among foreigners; he belonged to no great political party, whose interest it would be to defend his memory. It is the object of this review to treat his career from the Spanish and Italian point of view, and to illustrate it largely from his own letters. Of these there are two groups—firstly, those written from Spain to his master, the Duke of Parma, of a most confidential character, which are still unpublished; secondly, those addressed to his most intimate friend, Count Rocca, the Duke's minister. These latter have recently been published. The perversity of historians is illustrated by the fact that, when arguing on the policy of Alberoni, they have seldom utilised these all-important documents, which alone give an insight into the statesman's motives and his responsibility for his actions.

Modern statesmen have a long life wherein to make their name, Alberoni had his opportunity for but four years, from 1715 to 1719. And yet his policy is still a matter of debate; it is doubtful if, 170 years hence, any living statesman, except Bismarck, will be the subject of so much discussion. The age was certainly favourable to rapid rises. In the eighteenth century there was perhaps less of aristocratic prejudice, certainly less of national prejudice, than in the period which followed the French Revolution. Dubois, who was Alberoni's opponent in the great diplomatic battle, rose also from the lowest ranks to be a cardinal and first minister of France. Berwick, who led the French armies against Alberoni's King, was an Englishman. The Emperor's chief adviser, Rialp, was a Catalan exile of no origin; his chief general, Prince Eugene, was a Savoyard. The two clever English diplomatists, Schaub and St. Saphorin, who thwarted Alberoni's schemes at every turn, were both Swiss. Alberoni's own ambassadors at London, Paris, and the Hague, were all Italians; his admiral, a Genoese; his general, a Fleming. Thus his success in Spain, in spite of his being a *parvenu* and a foreigner, was typical of the century—a century when

England was governed by Hanoverians, Spain by Frenchmen or Italians, Italy by Austrians, Austria by Catalans, Russia by Germans.

Of Alberoni's importance there can be no doubt. It has been said that the history of Europe in the eighteenth century was that of the undoing of the Peace of Utrecht. It was Alberoni who cast the first stone at this 'treaty of twenty-four hours, which contained the germs of eternal war,' 'this devil's peace, which did not restore but destroy the balance of power in Europe.' 'The dislocated bones,' he wrote in May, 1715, 'must be broken again and reset in their right places before induration begins.' No one thought yet of Italian unity. The power that was destined to unite Italy was Savoy, but no Italian people would at this time have tolerated 'that voracious beast, whose thought it was to swallow Italy.' Many, however, had already cried aloud for Italian independence, and among the loudest cries was Alberoni's. As early as 1712, his patron, Vendôme, gave expression to his aspirations: 'After the peace we must surely deliver Italy from her bondage. I do not despair of seeing the King of Spain called in by the Italians, and Alberoni, the instrument of their mutual trust, giving the start to so glorious a work.' No prophecy would have been more true. If Alberoni was but one of the many who went under in the cause of Italian freedom, he led the vanguard in the march of Spain's revival, he was the pioneer of the material advance which was to receive its check only at the French Revolution.

To the historical student Alberoni's career is singularly educational. At the opening of a fresh epoch it concentrates the relations of all the European States in a crisis which Alberoni himself created, bringing into focus not only France and England, Spain and Austria, but Holland and Savoy, Sweden and Prussia, Turkey and Russia. In several States it forces itself into domestic history. If Alberoni stimulated legitimist opposition to the Hanoverian dynasty in England, and to the Orleanist Regency in France, he agitated for national opposition in Hungary and Italy.

Alberoni, born in 1664, was the son of a jobbing gardener at Piacenza. Parma was so small a State that anyone of ex-

ceptional ability was likely to receive notice. Thus it was that when the French and Austrian armies burst upon Italy, Alberoni received a mission from his court to the headquarters of Vendôme. His task was to induce the French General to regard the little State as neutral, to forward information, and later to curry favour for the Duke of Parma at the Court of France. Thus Alberoni was not, as represented by Saint Simon, an unlicensed adventurer who attached himself to Vendôme by a disgusting joke, but an official representative of his Court. The two men, both eccentric geniuses, formed a close friendship; the only moment at which Alberoni was not acting as agent of the Duke of Parma was when Vendôme was in disgrace, and when the Duke vainly urged his servant to desert him. Alberoni followed his friend from Italy to Flanders, to France, and then to Spain, and it was in his arms that the most talented of Marlborough's opponents died. Alberoni's letters form a substantial commentary upon Vendôme's campaign. Here, however, but a few points can be mentioned which bear upon his later career. The priest had a poor opinion of ladies. The disasters of 1706 he attributed to Mme. des Ursins—'that comes of being governed by women, corpses that they are.' So also he railed against the two Megæras, Mme. de Maintenon and the Duchess of Burgundy, who thwarted all his patron's schemes. It is strange that he was destined to fasten the Termagant upon Spain, to inaugurate a long reign of petticoat government. Secondly may be noted his early belief in the possibilities of Spain, 'a nation capable of rising to pinnacles of honour and gallantry, which will make men speak of her, and give food for reflection to other States.' This passage is as early as 1709. 'It is a country of great resources,' he wrote in 1711. 'well governed, it could not only raise itself, but give aid to others.' Thirdly, his diplomatic methods may be observed in germ. He was a thorough Machiavellian. Men must be won through their pet weakness; gentlemen by gastronomy; ladies by flowers, or fans, or gowns from Venice. This was a fixed principle which he never tired of impressing upon his Court. He made himself popular with the officers of Vendôme's army by *recherché* dinners, by delicacies for their mess. 'It is little presents of the table that make Frenchmen like you

and remember you.' But Spanish grandees, even Mme. des Ursins and her suite were open to the same attentions. Englishmen were no better. Alberoni declared that he signed the commercial treaty with England to rid himself of Bubb's expensive appetite. He intrigued not on the backstairs but in the kitchen. From first to last he was the purveyor of Italian delicacies, Bologna sausages, Parmesan cheeses, Lombard haricots; with his own hands he made the maccaroni soup and the fennel broth, which were to make his diplomatic importunities palatable.

In the court cabals of Madrid Alberoni took a full part. He learned the characters of all the leading ministers and courtiers. But he did not neglect his master's interests, and obtained a reversal of the decree which forbade Spaniards to trade with Parma. The Duke of Parma did wisely in appointing him in 1713 as envoy extraordinary. He attached himself mainly to the Savoyard Queen Maria Luisa; she could of all others appreciate the views which he had already formed for Italy. Though she was a woman he had the highest admiration for her abilities, which, indeed, he confessed were above her sex. 'Her ideas are of no ordinary character, she has been brought up to work, she never thinks of pleasure, shuts herself within four walls, and is always toiling, she has a passion for ruling.' When in February 1714 she died, Alberoni bursts into indignation at the neglect shown for her memory. 'The dead queen was only spoken of for two days, and on the third, those who had chief cause for gratitude were the first to console themselves; people no more talk of her than if she had never been born.'

Notwithstanding his genuine regret for Maria Luisa's death it was this that made his fortune. Hitherto he had been but one of many clever Italians at the Spanish Court, within a few months he would stand alone.

It is needless here to describe the masterly intrigue by which Alberoni substituted for the dead Savoyard queen another Italian, his master's step-daughter, Elizabeth of Parma. His own letters prove that his entreaties induced the young girl to dismiss at her first interview the all-powerful Princesse des Ursins, who had dominated the lives of Philip and Maria Luisa,

who had acted as governess, medical adviser, first minister and political agent of the French Court.* On the night of December 23rd, 1714, the Princess was despatched shivering and starving over the wintry mountains into France. One day more, and Elizabeth Farnese had mastered for ever her uxorious husband. The disgrace of Mme. des Ursins was followed by the fall of the French party which had long conducted the government. It was succeeded by the Italian. Alberoni was still only envoy of his little court. The ostensible head of the government was a late patron, the Cardinal Giudici. But ere long French and English ambassadors realised that everything depended on the queen, and she on Alberoni. The Cardinal was but an ornamental and an inconvenient screen which the Abbé soon kicked over.

It was an extraordinary situation. Alberoni, a foreigner, a man of no personal or official position, absolutely devoid of administrative experience, was called upon at a moment's notice to govern a great country at a crisis of universal confusion. The relation of Spain to no one foreign power was fixed, for Louis XIV. was naturally offended at the unceremonious expulsion of the lady whom he had sent as councillor to his grandson. The French administrators, it is true, had done much to destroy the cumbrous bureaucracy which had rendered administration impossible, but they had not had time to replace it by a well ordered ministerial system. The Spaniards had loudly applauded the queen's action in dismissing their French rulers, but now they grumbled because every place of importance was given to Italians. And yet it was inevitable, for Spaniards would not and could not work, though they showed peculiar ability and industry in hindering those that would. It was long before Alberoni could find a competent subordinate who could pretend to be a Spaniard. At the capital five parties, the Spanish, the French, the Flemish, the Irish, the Italian, all intrigued against each other, and against the ministry. The Italians gave their chief representative more trouble than the other four. Madrid

* These letters from the Carte Farnesiane have been printed in the *English Historical Review*, Oct. 1890.

was crowded with dispossessed exiles from the Netherlands and Italy who expected to be rewarded for their sufferings in Philip's cause, with Irish who thought that their loyalty to the Stuarts must be a passport to the favour of a Bourbon. French merchants had monopolised the colonial trade, French shopkeepers enjoyed privileges of sale denied to natives. French peasants did all the reaping and sowing throughout Spain, French contractors had plundered the army and the navy, they did more mischief, said Berwick, than all the Catalan guerrillas.

Alberoni's position was precarious in the extreme, for it depended on his favour with the queen, who to him, as to others, was an unknown quantity. To win a woman's favour a man must be either indifferent or indispensable. In Alberoni's case, the former alternative was impossible. The queen had brought no attendants, she could speak no Spanish. She was thrown entirely upon the company of her countryman. When at length her old nurse arrived, she caballed against Alberoni in the palace and at Parma, thwarting his economical reforms, encouraging the queen in every idle or foolish tendency, giving him more trouble than all Spain together. Alberoni could scarcely leave the queen. She had no education, no resources. He, with no athletic or sportsmanlike tastes, spent hour after hour at the royal shooting, handing her the guns that she might beat her husband's bag of rabbits. The idler days he had to while away with gossip. His only exercise, he said, was to walk from his room to the royal apartments. He strove to correct her natural indolence, to interest her in State business. He had, in his own phrase, to bring it in mincemeat, to 'take her on the wing,' for young women disliked business, and she would not talk seriously for a quarter of an hour together. His one hope was her ambition and her love of praise. 'I strive to give her greed of glory.' Few queens have had a better councillor. At his first meeting he had saved her from a dangerous flirtation, which to him was an ever-recurring fear. He intercepted the would-be lover's letters, he spoke to her of the gratitude and love which she owed her husband, of his holy and pure affection for her, the sole delight of his melancholy life. It was due in great measure to himself that before long he could write of the innocent family

life of the royal pair, unique among the courts of Europe. The overworked minister had to pamper or correct the queen's appetite, bringing her Lombard dishes from his own kitchen, watering her wine behind her back, filling his pockets with sweetmeats that the royal infants might rummage them as he passed their room. In her confinements he was, as he told her, her nurse—'and quite old enough, too,' she would rudely answer. One mistake, one act of negligence, and he and the fabric that he was rearing would fall to earth. Nor indeed was Philip a factor of no consequence. In most matters he could be governed by his queen, but he had sentiments which neither reason nor caresses could overcome, and cantankerous prejudices which he mistook for conscience.

Government in Spain had become so personal that everything must pass through the chief personage's hands—military and naval affairs, commerce and taxation, the regulation of the household, and foreign policy. While Louis XIV. lived, it is true, there could be little change in the lines of foreign policy. One of the last acts of the old king was to obtain a subsidy from Spain to aid in the Stuart's attempt on England. But on September 9, 1715, Louis died, and Spain was left unfettered to Alberoni and his young mistress.

The power and the decline of Spain were alike due to the fact that she had two faces, one towards the Eastern, the other towards the Western sea. Should she be an American or a European power, a naval or a military? She scarcely possessed sufficient population to be both. The Treaty of Utrecht robbed her of her Flemish and Italian territories, and seemed to point her to the West. Her connection with her colonies had however become very feeble. America, in Alberoni's words, was a *terra incognita* to Spain. She sent out her governors, and very intermittent galleons brought back silver and gold to Seville. But it was twenty years since a merchant fleet had sailed from Spain; Spanish manufacture and agriculture had dwindled to vanishing point. Spain made nothing which her colonies would want, she could not therefore buy colonial produce. Her American and Asiatic colonies traded with others without enriching Spain. The great Acapulco galleon which sailed from Manila to Mexico

slipped through the southern seas never touching a Spanish port. If, then, Spain frankly accepted the conditions of Utrecht, she must revive her cloth and silk factories, replant her vineyards, her olive grounds and orange groves, and link herself to her American colonies, wherein still lay boundless possibilities of wealth. If the sirocco of the Mediterranean had sent Spain to sleep, the Atlantic breeze might brace her to new enterprise.

Yet it was difficult for Philip V. to turn his back upon the East, and his marriage with Elizabeth made it perhaps impossible. She was the presumptive heiress not only to Parma but to Tuscany. She seemed destined to give Spain a fresh foothold within Italy. Philip was too honourable, too sensitive, to surrender his wife's claims. It is all important to remember that Sardinia and Sicily were virtually Spanish, not Italian. Their connection with the crown of Aragon was far older than its union with Castile, far older than the conquest of Granada or Navarre. Even Naples had belonged to Spain for more than two hundred years, and Milan for one hundred and eighty. Thus Naples was an older possession than that of Alsace to France in 1870, and half a century older than her possession of Lorraine.

There was no peace as yet between the Emperor and the King of Spain. The former had never given up his title to the Spanish throne; he had his Council of Spain, his Council of the Inquisition; he created grandees, conferred the Golden Fleece. He was surrounded by Aragonese and Catalan refugees; Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia were only held under by Castilian garrisons. We are too apt to regard Austria as a weak, defensive power. In the temporary eclipse of France, Austria was strong, and the whole nature of Charles VI. was aggressive. He believed that he had a divine inalienable right to Italy, regarded himself as the successor of the Hohenstauffen emperors. The neutrality of Italy was indeed guarded by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt. But the Emperor was there, and the King of Spain was not. He had occupied Mantua, he was scheming to conquer Sicily from its new master, the Duke of Savoy, to incorporate Tuscany and Parma in the Empire. He treated the Pope as his puppet, bullied the Republic of Genoa,

laid contributions at will on the Italian princes. But the main aim was Sicily. If he could win this, said Alberoni, he would be omnipotent, for the possession of a fleet was all that he required to make him so. Anne died, the Tories were in exile, the Emperor's intimate friend, Stanhope, was in power. The first demand of Charles was for an English fleet to countenance his projects in the Mediterranean. Could Philip safely turn his back upon such an enemy ?

If Spain had two faces, Alberoni had two functions ; he was virtually first minister of Spain, he was technically envoy of the Duke of Parma. His one duty was to develop the resources of Spain, his other to gain support for a weak Italian prince. Always prone to daring combinations, he determined to combine two lines of policy. In five or six years, he believed, and this he repeated to his life's end, he could convert Spain into a wealthy commercial and naval power ; he would then utilize her wealth and her navies for the liberation of Italy. The interests of the two peninsulas were for him identical. The Duke of Parma pressed him every week for immediate intervention. Alberoni implored him to be patient, for his immediate duty was to Spain. Fortune favoured him. War broke out between the Emperor and the Porte ; its early stages were in favour of the Turk ; this should give the necessary respite.

Meantime Spain must have allies. France in the Regent's early days was too weak to be of service. The personal hostility between Philip V. and the Duke of Orleans, the insistence of Philip that his renunciation of the French throne was invalid, made close relationship impossible. French alliance implied French influence at Madrid, and this the fall of Alberoni. The old king's minister had tried first to bribe and then to bully Alberoni. The Regent sent Philip's former friend Louville to form a Spanish party to overthrow the minister, but Louville was never suffered to see the king. 'I keep impressing on my mistress that the two crowns should live in perfect harmony, but that each must be master in its own house. I only ask that France should do in Spain as Spain does in France.' Alberoni never could believe in the non-existence of the Pyrenees. He turned for support to the Maritime Powers. Their friendship

would keep the Emperor at bay in Mediterranean waters, and could aid in colonial enterprise; it would rid Spain of the ruinous French monopoly, and let air into her colonies. With Holland he completely succeeded, the Dutch minister at Madrid, Ripperdá, entered eagerly into his schemes. Dislike for the Emperor, and the prospect of trade privileges kept the Dutch out of the Quadruple Alliance until 1719, when the Spanish failure was quite assured. England, also, Alberoni thought that he had won. Spanish ministers had given Methuen the cold shoulder, they had thrown every obstacle in the way of English trade. Alberoni lavished the favours of his kitchen upon Methuen's successor Bubb, and in spite of the resistance of secretaries and friends forced through a commercial treaty in England's favour. This was followed by the concession of the *Assiento* to the South Sea Company. The Stuart Prince was waved off from Spain, his subsidies were stopped, he must wait, he was told, for an opportunity which must some day certainly arise. 'England,' wrote Bubb, 'could not make Alberoni too strong in Spain.'

Alberoni could now devote himself to his reforms. He asked for six years, he had but two. To appreciate his work we must take into account the time that he must spend upon the queen, his absolute inexperience, the indolence, the indifference, the opposition of the Spaniards, the disaffection of the Eastern provinces, the lack of skilled subordinates, the extraordinary detail into which he entered. Like all statesmen of the eighteenth century, like Arthur Young himself, he believed that national rise and fall was dependent on administration, that either could be mechanically produced. His theory was justified by practical success. We cannot here enter into the details of his reorganisation of fleet and army, his revival of trade, his reforms in finance, and justice, and the civil service.

The minister would often despair, 'This is an evil race, and were it not for my extreme obligation to their majesties, I would leave it to its own vile nature—they will not do any good themselves, nor suffer anyone else to do it.' 'I see most clearly that this principle of reforming the world is the mark of a lunatic, the sensible man leaves it as he finds it.' He was probably honest when he wished that those who envied him his place would try

it for two or three months; the sufferings of the Christian martyrs, he would write, were nothing to his own. Before his rise he had written that the Spaniards were very kind to him, but he shuddered at the very idea of dying in Spain. Above all he yearned for a single friend to whom he could impart his troubles. A few able subordinates he did find. The Dutchman Ripperdá was given the superintendence of the revived cloth factories and did good work. The future capable minister Ensenada was Alberoni's pupil. But the greatest discovery was that of Patiño, the Colbert of Spain. This is the first notice. 'I confess that I am at the end of my resources. One man alone I have found to help me, a certain Don Joseph Pattigno, of Spanish origin, but born and educated at Milan. A man of ability, of great industry, and whose hands are clean.' Had Alberoni done nothing more than bequeath Patiño to Spain, he would have done much for his adopted country.

A biographer is apt to exaggerate. Let those who doubt Alberoni's services turn for his character to his foes. Macanaz was a capable Spanish statesman of the French school, expelled from Spain by Alberoni. A few years after Alberoni's fall he wrote, 'I would give every drop of my blood for the cardinal's return, for he is the only man who can make Spain formidable to her enemies.' No foreigner knew Spain better than Lord Stanhope. On his return to the country in 1718 to combat Alberoni's schemes he wrote, 'If Spain goes on at this rate there is no power which will be able to resist her.'

If Alberoni, in the years 1715 and 1716 was mainly engaged in developing the resources of Spain, he was not forgetful of Italy, indeed the Duke of Parma was ceaselessly urging him to active intervention. His first aim was to create a national Italian party. Prospects were not favourable. Venice was at war with the Turk of the East and overawed by the Turk of the West, the Emperor. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was timid and slothful, he had no heirs of his body for whom to fight. The powers whom it was worth while to win were the Papacy and Savoy, the two powers who together in the present century opened the campaign for Italian independence. He attributed much importance to winning the favour of the Pope, and hence

reversed the anti-Papal policy of his predecessors in the Spanish ministry, negotiating a concordat which restored to the Papacy some at least of its prerogatives in Spain. At the Pope's request, moreover, he despatched a squadron for the relief of Corfu, which was besieged by the Turks, and for the protection of the Papal ports. He proved to Italian princes that Spain could send to Italian waters a force which the Emperor could not match. Not only with the Pope but with the King of Sicily was Alberoni in close communication. It seemed likely that Spain and the native Italian powers might combine to check imperial aggression.

All of a sudden the situation changed, and this was due to events in the North of Europe. In the break up of the dominions of Charles XII. of Sweden, Hanover had obtained possession of Bremen and Verden. On the return of Charles from Turkey, Hanover therefore had been a member of the Northern alliance which opposed the adventurous king. Tension, however, arose between the allies, and before long the Czar seemed likely to be a more formidable enemy than the King of Sweden. Hence the Whig government of George I., naturally inclined towards an Austrian connection, was pushed by the king's Hanoverian councillors into a defensive alliance with the Emperor. By the Treaty of Westminster, the Emperor received the English guarantees for his existing possessions and those which he might acquire. Alberoni rightly understood this as pointing to the imperial ambitions in Sicily, France, meanwhile, was isolated in Europe. The Regent had made advances to Spain which Alberoni had received but coldly. His ministers had, in anticipation of the celebrated somersault in foreign policy connected with the name of Kaunitz, manœuvred for a Franco-Austrian alliance, but the Emperor would be content with nothing less than the restoration of Alsace. The Regent, under the influence of Dubois, then turned towards England, but his overtures for long met little response. In the latter half of 1716, however, the danger in the North became more imminent, the Czar was threatening the occupation of Mecklenburg. There was a probability that the Czar would combine with Sweden; France and the Stuart Prince might easily find a place in a formidable alliance against the

Hanoverian government. Thus at length Dubois found a hearing in England, and the Triple Alliance of England, France and Holland, was effected on January 4, 1717. Apart from Hanoverian objects, England gained the exclusion of the Pretender from France, and in return for this she guaranteed the Orleanist succession in the event of the young king's death. Alberoni himself cared little for Philip's dreams of French succession, but the Triple Alliance was necessarily regarded with hostility by his master the King of Spain, just as was the Treaty of Westminster by his master the Duke of Parma.

The next object of the English government was to combine its two alliances. The Stuart Prince would then be boycotted by the chief powers of Europe, and England might snap her fingers at the combination of Russia and Sweden. Stanhope's views, as those of Dubois, were eminently peaceful; he wished to reconcile the Emperor with Spain and Savoy, to make him renounce his vain title to the Spanish crown. Unless he did this it was impossible that Philip V. should frankly accept his own exclusion from the crown of France. He knew that he should have difficulty with the Court of Vienna; he never seriously reckoned on opposition from Madrid. The Emperor's price was indeed enormous. Apart from demands for Mexico and Peru, for restitution of the privileges of Aragon and Catalonia, he made a *sine qua non* of the addition of the marquisate of Monferrat to the Milanese, of the acquisition of Mantua and Sicily, of the recognition of Tuscany and Parma as imperial fiefs. England and France were prepared to surrender Italy to his discretion, suggesting only that some compensation must be found for Savoy, and that the Queen of Spain must be bought by the promise of ultimate investiture of Parma for her son. The project was monstrously unjust alike to Spain and Savoy. The Treaty of Utrecht had purposely given Sicily to Savoy as a weak non-naval power. England had desired to protect her own very considerable commerce in the island, France, to keep open a door into Italy in case the old contest should be renewed. To Spain, moreover, was accorded the reversion to Sicily in the event of the extinction of the reigning line of Savoy, a not improbable contingency. The concession to Elizabeth Farnese's son was an absurdity. The

Emperor had no claim, either to Tuscany or Parma; the latter had long been recognised as a Papal fief; the right of Elizabeth Farnese to the succession of both Duchies was undoubted, it could receive no moral strength from the consent of the allies. Stanhope himself proved how one-sided the engagement was, by urging on the Emperor that a vast immediate benefit was his, that the concession with regard to Parma depended on the two eyes of a baby, that there were two lives between the child and the succession. For the protection of Hanover and the Hanoverian king Italy was delivered up, bound hand and foot to the German. The Treaty of Utrecht was flagrantly violated. By this the kingdom of Naples was left purposely weak, the addition of Sicily with its two magnificent harbours, and its numerous fortresses made it extremely strong. The Emperor's highest ambition was to create a naval power. Naples, Palermo, and Messina would be his; his treatment of Genoa had shown that the other great Italian port was at his mercy. Barcelona would eagerly admit an imperial fleet and its cargo of Catalan refugees. Between Monferrat and the Milanese, the Duke of Savoy could be squeezed to death; the Pope hemmed in by Tuscany and Naples would be the Austrian chaplain.

From Alberoni's letters there can be no doubt that he meant to fight for Sicily, and night and day axe and anvil were busy in his arsenals and foundries. Yet he was very patient; he implored the Duke of Parma to give no offence. He could scarcely believe that a Whig government dependent on the commercial classes would sacrifice her privileges in the Spanish Indies, and abandon her commerce in the Mediterranean to the imperial monopolist. He could not believe that the French Bourbons would allow this fresh accession of power to their hereditary enemy, excluding French ambition for ever from the Italian peninsula.

Peace might have simmered on for the three years which Alberoni craved, but for an act of brutal aggression on the Imperial side. The octogenarian Molines, appointed Inquisitor General for Spain, was travelling with a safe conduct given by an Austrian Cardinal from Rome to Madrid. He was arrested and imprisoned by the Austrian governor of Milan, and in a

Milanese prison he died. It was a characteristic example of German methods of government, equalled a little later by the imprisonment of the Pretender's Polish *fiancée* on her journey through the Tyrol. Philip V. always jealous of his honour clamoured for war. But Alberoni showed unexpected moderation; he convinced the ambassadors of France and England that he was bent on peace, and, for diplomatic satisfaction, he wrote a weighty memorial enforcing the arguments against a rupture. That he was honest in his desire to postpone war is proved by the fact that in his most confidential letters his abuse was levied at 'that most portentous old fool' the Cardinal Molines. Italian writers have absolved him from all responsibility for the war. His own letters show that his peaceful intentions were only opportunist; he wanted a few years more to complete his armaments, a few months more to secure the Cardinal's hat which his services to the Papacy had merited. But the King of Spain and his people were full of fight, and Prince Eugene still entangled with the Turks. The Cardinal's hat arrived, and within a few days the fleet sailed from Barcelona. The secret was marvellously kept. There was alarm in Genoa, in Sicily, in Naples, and in the Tuscan ports. But the fleet anchored in the bay of Cagliari and in a few weeks Sardinia was once more Spanish. The sensation in diplomatic circles was intense. Alberoni had proved that Spain was no negligible quantity, that in the reparcelling of Italy she must be seriously considered. He had counted rightly on the abstention of France and England; neither raised a hand to save Sardinia for the Emperor. Prince Eugene's great victory over the Turks at Belgrade relieved the Emperor from immediate danger on the Italian mainland, but the Powers were the less willing to augment Austrian influence in the peninsula. The Penelope's web of the Quadruple Alliance must be woven afresh. Sardinia was the equivalent which the allies intended to offer the Duke of Savoy for his cession of Sicily. It was now no longer in the market. Stanhope at once raised his bid to Spain; to Parma he added Tuscany, striving, it is true, to rescue Pisa and Leghorn as a free state. But Alberoni had little thought of peace. He now realised that England, for Hanoverian reasons, was the enemy of Spain and Italy. With

his usual versatility the Cardinal turned towards France. Philip's serious illness gave him an opportunity. The king was for a time virtually insane and there was an early probability of a Regency. This the Duke of Orleans coveted; he must therefore be tender towards Spain, and though Alberoni was his natural rival, he obviously controlled Spanish policy. Alberoni, on the other hand, hoped, by giving his support to Orleanist claims in France to purchase the Regency in Spain for his Italian mistress, that is himself. The Anglo-Imperial alliance was the work of Dubois alone. The ministers of the old school had strenuously resisted the revolutionary policy of the upstart Abbé. Foot by foot they contested his hold upon the Regent's favour, and whenever he was in London they gained ground. This powerful faction now worked for Spain. The first definite proposal seems indeed to have come from the Regent himself. Orleans, through the Duke of Parma, secretly informed Alberoni that if Philip V. would formally renew his renunciation of the Spanish crown France would aid Spain to recover her Italian possessions. Alberoni leapt at the proposal. He was already subsidising Sweden and the Pretender, he had sent an envoy to persuade Ragocsky to raise revolt in Hungary and to dissuade the Porte from making peace with the Emperor. His fertile brain now conceived a triple alliance of Spain, France and Savoy. While a Franco-Savoyard force overran the Milanese the Spaniards should conquer Naples. The Duke of Savoy should be king of Lombardy; to Spain should fall her ancient possessions in the South; to Elizabeth Farnese's son the central Duchies. Not a German should be left in Italy. France should find her reward in Flanders. Holland, still wrangling with the Emperor over the Barrier Treaty, could easily cast off the tow rope which bound her to England; the Northern powers were already combining against the Emperor and Hanover. The Triple Alliance between Spain, France, and Savoy, was no mere dream; within a few years of Alberoni's fall the three houses had nearly driven the Germans out of Italy. Already Prince Eugene complained that French agents at the Porte were thwarting his overtures for peace. The French ambassador at Madrid proposed a marriage between the Prince of Asturias and

the Regent's daughter. The Duke of Savoy had previously sought the hand of an Imperial princess for his son, he now sent to Paris to beg for another daughter of the Regent. The Savoyard envoy at Madrid, the Abbé Maro, who was on bad terms with Alberoni, was recalled, and Count Lascaris despatched from Turin with instructions for an alliance. The issue depended on the personal struggle between the two statesmen of fortune Alberoni and Dubois. The Frenchman won. He journeyed in hot haste to Paris, threw his whole weight upon the Regent, held him fast to the English alliance and forced him to refuse the bribe of Flanders. On the last day of 1717 Dubois could leave Paris for London with the final proposals for the Quadruple Alliance. It was Alberoni's first great defeat.

Until the end of January, 1718, Alberoni still had hopes of the French alliance. The arrival of Nancré at Madrid dispelled the illusion. The Regent was indeed most anxious to avoid a breach, and he had prevailed upon the English Government to raise its offers. Not only should Parma and Tuscany pass in due course to the son of Elizabeth, but Spanish garrisons should at once be sent to secure the Duchies against Imperial encroachment, and above all, Gibraltar should be ceded to Spain. It is even yet impossible to decide the question of Alberoni's responsibility for the outbreak of war. On June 8, 1719, writing to Rocca, he laid the blame on the obstinacy of Philip, who rated his offended dignity above all the misfortunes which war might cause. 'With our masters the only course is to make representations and then obey. I opposed both verbally and in writing any steps which might lead to a rupture, but when it came to a matter of obedience, my feeling against the war could not one jot diminish the application and energy which are my bounden duty when the king my lord and benefactor demands my services.' Even more important is a letter of April 5, 1718, written before the expedition sailed to Sicily. Here he says that as France would not join the dance, Spain could not open the ball alone, because even if she took Naples, she could not keep it, hence it would be wise either to accept a compromise or strive to postpone the conclusion of the treaties between the king's enemies. 'The king and queen, however, drawn on by our vast

preparations and the enthusiasm of the people, think that it would be cowardly and vacillating to draw back. . . So that they have given not the least approval to my resolutions.'

As late as May Alberoni suggested to the Duke of Parma that he should accept the project of the Spanish garrison. On the other hand, there are letters breathing war. Statesmen have as much difficulty in making up their minds as ordinary men. Alberoni probably had moments of excitement over his warlike preparations and of depression at the odds against him. When the decision was made, he did not conceal his anxieties. 'As Spain is to fight alone,' he wrote on May 26, 1718, 'I do not know what the result will be.' It is true that to the last moment Alberoni negotiated with Savoy, but the King of Sicily would not consent that the island should be delivered in pledge to Spain until the conquest of Naples and Milan were effected. The neutrality of Naples was guaranteed by the European powers; Alberoni determined to save Sicily. He would occupy this as he had occupied Sardinia; its cession to Austria would be then impossible. On June 17, the great armament set sail from Barcelona to Palermo, the failure or success of which would decide Alberoni's fortunes. The armament was well worthy of his notable reform. It comprised three hundred sail and thirty-three thousand troops, with one hundred pieces of siege artillery, all made in Alberoni's own foundries. The troops were full of fight, their pockets full of pay.

The Spanish army was enthusiastically received by the Sicilians. They hated the Savoyard garrisons as they now hate the Bersaglieri pickets. Palermo fell at once; within a few weeks only a fortress or two held out. Then the tide turned. The Emperor, in alarm for Naples, acceded to the demands of France and England. Byng destroyed the Spanish fleet, with its half-made sailors, off Cape Passaro. Alberoni's great creation was no more. This was no natural incident of war, but an accident unforeseen. The King of Sicily was not a member of the Quadruple Alliance; Sicily was not guaranteed by the Treaty of Utrecht; no war had been declared between England and Spain. Byng's instructions were to defend Naples. His only justification is a story that the Spaniards began the fire. But the

Spaniard fleet was prepared not for fight but transport. It is possible that Byng's ill-fated son less deserved shooting than his triumphant father. Byng then poured German troops from Naples into Sicily. The one Spanish army was shut up within the island without hope of release or reinforcement. Alberoni, however, did not despair. He at once began the construction of another fleet; in true Roman spirit he forbade all mention of the disaster in the streets of the Spanish capital. His calm and courage when Stanhope and Nancré conveyed the news, extorted the admiration of the two ambassadors. Hope was not indeed quite over. The Spanish army fully justified its creator's confidence; it took the fortress of Messina; for a year it beat back the trained German troops. But Alberoni was the last man to rely on defensive warfare; for each of the three foes he hoped to find occupation nearer home. The Regent, unable to win Alberoni, was once more intriguing to overthrow him. His ambassador at Madrid was plotting with the grandees of the so-called national party against the Italian who monopolised the royal favour, whose constant aim it had been to raise the monarchy above the oligarchy. This was a game at which two could play. We are accustomed to regard the Regent's government as liberal; it was undoubtedly unpopular. Not a single minister, except Dubois, had approved of the Quadruple Alliance. Huxelles, Keeper of the Seals, had refused to seal it; Torcy, the great minister of Louis XIV.'s last years, had long opposed it. Discontent was everywhere—among the princes of the blood, among the legal classes, among the old soldiers of the Grand Monarque, among the Jesuits, and among the Protestants. An army was required to keep down dissatisfaction in Languedoc; a revolt was on the point of breaking out in Brittany. The Spanish king might well hope to overthrow the Orleanist regency and place himself at the head of a Legitimist government. The Spanish ambassador, Cellamare, was under Alberoni's instructions, the centre of a plot for summoning the Estates General, and deposing the Regent in favour of Philip V. Alberoni, however, in his private letters, lays little stress upon this scheme; it was probably rather the project of the king than

of the minister. Neither Alberoni nor the Duke of Parma as yet believed that France would actively intervene.

With England it was far otherwise. The Whig government was in a most precarious position. Not only was there wide-spread Jacobite sympathy which an election might stir into a blaze, but there was a powerful schismatic opposition headed by Walpole whose policy was to be peace with Spain and non-intervention on the Continent. Alberoni had hoped to win the commercial classes by the Assiento Treaty, he now tried to terrorise them by letting loose his privateers and cruisers on the Anglo-American lines of trade. But there was much more than this. The Duke of Parma had been the staunchest supporter of the Stuart cause. He had flaunted the Pretender in the Ducal box at the theatre, saying that the English fleet could not bombard Parma. The Pretender had been largely instrumental in obtaining the Cardinal's hat for Alberoni. He now passed from Rome to Spain, and a powerful squadron under Ormond was to convey a Spanish force to the West of England or to Ireland. But even this was not Alberoni's main resource. Before he was minister he had cast sympathetic eyes upon the King of Sweden. In December 1714 he had said that Spain might subsidise the good King of Sweden, and that if he were King he would send him an ambassador. Immediately after the Treaty of Westminster he had engaged in the intrigues of Goertz and Gyldenburg for a peace between the Czar and Sweden, and a Swedish invasion of Scotland. These schemes in the beginning of 1718 he had renewed. Acting in conjunction with Goertz he had since the beginning of 1718 been striving to effect a reconciliation between Charles XII. and Peter the Great, and to bring the King of Prussia into a triple alliance of the north. Charles should be tempted by the prospect of recovering his losses from Hanover and Denmark, Peter by his lust for Mecklenburg, and a wider coast line on the Baltic, Frederick William by his hatred for George I. Peter's Baltic squadron should pass the Sound and convey Charles with his Swedish army to Scotland, where he should proclaim himself the Protestant protector of the Jacobite cause. Russians and Prussians should overrun Hanover and act upon the Emperor's rear. Such a diversion could not fail to revive the embers of

the Turkish war, and revolt might flame out under Ragocsky in Transylvania and Hungary. The English people at all events would learn that England was dragged into war with Spain in a Hanoverian quarrel. There is little doubt that this was Alberoni's chief resource. 'Our power of utilising the Pretender,' he wrote on September 5, 1718, 'depends upon the forces with which his well wishers can be assisted, and this aid cannot be had without the Northern league, for the conclusion of which I have for more than eight months been moving heaven and earth; but I have to deal with people born under a climate changeable and cold.' Again, on October 10, he wrote, 'If the Czar, Sweden and Russia do not conclude the league against the Archduke and King George we shall be obliged to accept the allies' infamous proposals.' Modern writers have regarded these schemes of Alberoni's as vain imaginings. They forget or ignore the Czar's jealousy of Anglo-Hanoverian influence on the Baltic. They forget that he actually proposed to the French government an alliance which virtually, though not professedly, was directed against England. The government of the Regent had no spirit of adventure; the forward policy of the Grand Monarque had been transplanted from Paris to Madrid. Alberoni would take up the old traditions of the Bourbons; with Sweden as his ally he would replace the decadent Poland by the rising Russian power, he would pose as the protector of the Stuarts and the Catholic faith. To contemporary statesmen this was no mere dream, or if it were it was a nightmare. Let us listen to Dubois, 'Our greatest danger is lest Alberoni should succeed in forming relations with the Czar and Sweden, the bare hope of this fosters all the schemes of the malcontents against the King of Great Britain and the Regent. This is the chief resource which Alberoni promises to his king. On this hope turn all the schemes of the Jacobites who are actually at their own cost sending a Swede with full instructions to Madrid on a vessel which they have hired at Saint Malo. The foundation of all the intrigues in France turns on the hope of a powerful diversion in Germany, and on the conveyance of a Muscovite force to Scotland.' It is well known that luck turned against Alberoni. He instructed Cellamare to lay the fuse to his mines and then leave

Paris. 'Mines without powder,' scornfully exclaimed the ambassador, who knew Paris better than Alberoni, who realised that society clergymen and smugglers, half pay colonels, and bad tempered duchesses, fanatical Jesuits and disappointed Huguenots are not the constituent elements of successful conspiracy. The mine did indeed explode, but it was Dubois who found both fuse and powder, and blew the conspiracy into thin air.

The English project fared even worse. Montesquieu in after years heard from Alberoni's lips the story of the failure. Charles and Peter had actually been reconciled and the Spanish subsidy sent to the Swedish king. Charles wrote to Alberoni that he proposed after all to conquer Norway first, but did not feel at liberty to use Spanish money for this purpose. Alberoni replied that the money was a gift from one king to another, but that he thought that Norway could be easily won if the expedition to Scotland were successful. Charles was obstinate, and the result was his death at Frederickshall.* The Czar gave up his martial scheme and returned home to the congenial occupation of murdering his son. In the following year the Duke of Ormond's fleet, with its five thousand troops, was scattered to all the winds of heaven in the Bay of Biscay. As a last straw, Alberoni clutched at the Breton insurrection. But his admiral was mutinous and the rising was crushed before the Spanish ships appeared.

On Charles XII.'s death, Alberoni knew that all was lost. Even in October he would gladly have made peace. But the king and queen were now out of hand. France and England had declared war. Who could have believed, wrote Alberoni, that Spain could have seen one French army massed at Saint Jean de Luz, and another at Perpignan. Who, indeed, would have believed that Berwick, who had led the Spanish troops at Almanza, should have been leading the French army against the king whom he had contributed to set upon the Spanish throne, and who was now striving to restore to England the Duke's half-brother? Who could have believed that, while French troops were destroying Spanish fortresses, an English fleet, acting in

* *Voyages de Montesquieu*, p. 242.

co-operation, was burning the rising arsenals of the junior Bourbon power. Alberoni accompanied Philip and his queen to the front but he had no illusions. Philip believed that, at his approach, the whole French army would desert; Alberoni wrote that he knew the temper of the nation better. He used all his efforts to keep the king from danger, while the French officers had instructions to avoid any chance of capturing the king of Spain. Philip and his wife returned to Madrid sulky at their fiasco, and disposed to attribute the failure to their minister. The palace intriguers redoubled their activity. The English and French governments would not believe that Alberoni was vainly struggling for the peace which all desired. Stanhope insisted on his dismissal as a *sine qua non* of all negotiation. The king, the queen, her nurse, the confessor, the Duke of Parma, the Earl of Peterborough, were all partners in a backstairs intrigue, which led to the minister's disgrace. Alberoni knew something of these plots. 'As for myself,' he wrote, 'I have no reason for disquietude, for if I were obliged to leave Spain in the manner thought of, it would be an exit only too glorious, and if I had any vanity my self-satisfaction would be complete. My disgrace is the least sacrifice I can make for peace.' None of the principals dared bell the cat. The king and queen left the Pardo and entrusted to a Secretary of State the order that Alberoni should leave Madrid in eight days, and Spain in three weeks. This was the first notification of the disfavour of the queen whose fortune, and of the king whose domestic happiness, he had made. Alone, of all the company, the gardener's son had shown any courage. In the words of Bragadin, the Venetian envoy, he might well boast that the greatest powers of Europe were more fearful of his counsels and his impetuous resolutions than of the material force of Spain.

Alberoni's administration in Spain needs no apology, his action in Italy has been almost universally condemned. His justification rests morally on his love for Italy, in his yearning to free her from the barbarian yoke. He was no mere particularist serving the petty interests of his tiny State, but an Italian of the modern type. 'Not only for the States wherein I had the happiness to be born, but for all Italy, if I can do no good, at least,

I will never do hurt.' It is often said that he would but have replaced a German by a Spanish domination. Between the two there was all the difference. Spain had held Naples for two hundred years, Milan for nearly one hundred and eighty. The old days of Spanish oppression were long past. Her rule might be economically disastrous, but to the Italians of the eighteenth century the very sleepiness of Spanish rule was comfortable. Spanish governors and officers, frugal at home, in Italy spent lavishly. The civil service was entirely in the hands of natives, there was no interference with local government, Italian regiments formed a considerable part of the Spanish armies. The German rule was from the first intolerable. Every post was given to Germans or Catalans. Every case out of which money could be made was transferred to Vienna. The native regiments were disbanded; Italian gentlemen no longer had a military career. Charles VI. deliberately drained Italy of her trade in favour of his artificial creation at Trieste, Italy got none of the contracts for the army of occupation; the clothes, the tools, the very rations were 'made in Germany.' The officers would not spend their pay like gentlemen, but saved it to send to their *fraus* at home. The Germans, wrote Montesquieu ten years later, were ruining Italy. 'One could not place the States of Italy in less inconvenient hands than those of the Spaniards: we shall have to come back to this.'*

Moreover, it is not true that Alberoni would have handed Italy back to Spain. He solemnly pledged himself to the Duke of Parma that his master would not convert the Duchies into tributary provinces. Over and over again he stated that his mistress was made to give princes to half the world; her sons, themselves Italians, should occupy the Italian thrones. This system of small sovereignties was in harmony with the past of Italy; it was the only possible solution of the Italian question until the fulness of time when Italy was ripe for unity.

Never is Alberoni's indignation so genuine, his language so nervous, as when he storms against the German tyrants—the nation always insolent and unbearable in prosperity, the nation

* *Voyages de Montesquieu*, p. 68.

which throughout history had been fatal to his country. On January 30, 1713: 'I hear that the Russians and the Saxe-Goths are going (and the devil with them) to all the devils. Heaven grant that the time may come when all this accursed race may be packed off to its accursed country.' As long as he was minister in Spain, he assured Count Rocca, he should employ all his power in the defence of Italy. 'Believe me, my dear Count,' he wrote on June 6, 1718, 'it is impossible to establish a safe and solid system in Italy by peace and quiet. What is wanted is a good war, not ending till the last German is expelled. That is the sole specific remedy—all else a mere palliative which will make the disease worse, and render it in the end incurable.'

In his love of nationality, Alberoni turns against the French and English governments, who sacrificed Italy to purely dynastic interests; against the English ministers, who bought their Parliament and were sold to Hanover; against the four English blackguards who imagined that they could divide the world into mouthfuls at their whim, cut it into slices like a cheese, and give the fractions to whoever suited their own fancy. But it was against the cowardice of his own countrymen that his invectives were most bitter, the Italians who were determined to be slaves, who would allow a single German regiment, nay, a corporal, to hold them down. 'I see of course that the king cannot place the least confidence upon the Italians, degraded by sloth and cowardice; there is not a man in Italy to remember that there were once Sicilian vespers . . . it is a miserable, sluggish nation, and deserves to be treated as a slave, and loaded with disgrace and misfortune, as will surely happen.' Alberoni railed against the Pope, Clement XI., as the patriots of this century inveighed against Pio Nono. He now reviles his cowardice, now threatens him with another sack of Rome, now with the awakening of Spain from centuries of superstition. 'Clement,' he writes, 'is just the Pope to lose the small portion of Europe still left to Catholicism;' and, 'Yet even in our times,' he cries, 'a resolute Pope might be a somebody.' He was perhaps only half in jest when he told Elizabeth Farnese that with her for queen of Spain and himself for Pope, they could rule the world between them. Italian indifference sometimes brought home to Alberoni

the incompatibility of his own two ends. He realised at times that Spain was better without a foothold in Italy. 'If I were King of Spain,' he wrote, 'I would not take back the lost States of Italy, no, not if they threw them at my head.'

Alberoni's political justification rests on the ultimate success of his plans. Taking a superficial view it may be said that the Sardinian expedition was a brilliant success, the Sicilian a disastrous blunder. Alberoni no doubt relied too much on chance, and on too many chances. But his life was not a failure because he fell. Pitt died of Austerlitz, but he had not lived in vain. Alberoni's main principle was that the friendship of France and England could not be durable, and that France could not afford to abandon Italy to the Hapsburgs. Within two years of his fall France had made a secret treaty with Spain, virtually directed against England, and providing for the cession of Gibraltar. England and France were vying for the hand of Spain. Within the few years' more grace, for which Alberoni had pleaded, the Regent, Dubois, and Stanhope were dead. In 1731 Don Carlos was recognised as heir to Parma and to Tuscany, and was escorted by the Spanish garrisons upon which Alberoni had insisted as the only guarantee of his succession. He had urged that the essential was to drive the Austrians out of Sicily and Naples, and that Spain, unassisted, had the power to do it. In 1734 Don Carlos conquered the two Sicilies with consummate ease, and held them, and then stormed northwards against Mantua. In this war Milan and Lombardy had fallen to Franco-Sardinian forces. Mantua alone was held for Austria; not a German would have been left in Italy but for Savoy's jealousy of Spain, and French treachery to her allies. In the war of Austrian Succession a second of Elizabeth's sons was established in Parma and Piacenza, and the Austrian Milanese suffered yet further shrinkage for the benefit of Savoy, an Italian power. And all this happened in Alberoni's life. He died in 1752, at eighty-eight years of age.

E. ARMSTRONG.

ART. V.—SCOTTISH BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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THE methods and aims of the bibliographer have undergone considerable change since Dibdin, in the early part of the century, discoursed in garrulous and gushing terms of the rare and precious tomes and exquisite bindings in the collections of noble owners, although his work, with that of his predecessors Ames and Herbert, is by no means yet superseded.

To-day, the bibliographer seeks not so much to chronicle these rarities and luxuriate in high-flown descriptions of immaculate copies, as to glean from study of the books themselves the facts and circumstances of their production; and the story which a book can tell of its own life-history is more to him than the number, or rather the fewness, of the copies which exist. Not that the true bibliophile is not, as ever, still susceptible to the virtues of a tall copy or the charm of a unique volume, but these are not now the chief objects of his quest.

This progress is quickly transforming the mere dilettanteism of bibliography into the well ordered methods of a scientific study, and of the increasing interest in the subject during the last few years there is ample evidence both in the work that is being done and in the literature which it has called forth.

The completion of the first volume of the proceedings of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, and the appearance of Mr. Gordon Duff's *Facsimiles of Early English Printing*, marking as they do a distinct advance in the progress of bibliography in Scotland and England respectively, suggest a glance at the position in which Scottish bibliography now stands and at the work which this Society is doing.

Late as was the arrival of the art of printing in Scotland, the facts of its introduction had two centuries later fallen into oblivion, and the recovery of the history of its early steps, slowly ascertained in progressive stages, has occupied the course of nearly another two hundred years.

When in 1713, Watson, the Edinburgh printer, brought out his *History of the Art of Printing*—the first attempt of the kind in Britain—the facts had so entirely been lost sight of, that the writer of the preface, Professor John Spottiswood, in essaying to relate 'the Beginning, Progress and late Decay of our Art in this Part of the Island' is obliged to assume that 'we had Printing very early here,' and that we had it from Holland; he can quote nothing earlier than Scotland's *Complaint*, printed at St. Andrews, in the Year 1540,' and even this was not actually Scottish work, for students are now generally agreed in attributing this bibliographical crux to a Paris press of about 1549.

Ames in his *Typographical Antiquities*, published in 1749, gets a step further, and is able to notice the Advocates Library copy of the *Aberdeen Breviary* which issued from Chepman's press in Edinburgh, in 1509-10. This book, though a copy of it had been presented to the Edinburgh University Library in 1635, was evidently unknown to Spottiswood.

In 1788 a notable link in the chain was supplied by the presentation to the Advocates Library of the volume containing, with two other tracts, the nine unique pieces printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508. The earliest dated of these is *The Maying or Disport of Chaucer*, and is, therefore, so far as we have documentary evidence, the first work printed on Scottish soil. The colophon of this interesting print, which gives not only the date of its execution, but also the names of the

printers and the location of their press, runs as follows,—
 ‘Heir endis the maying and disport of chaucer Imprëtit in the
 south gait of Edinburgh be Walter chepman and Androw
 myllar the fourth day of aprile the yhere of god. M.CCCCC.
 and viii. yheris.’

The discovery of this volume came just in time for Herbert to include it in the appendix to his recension of Ames’s work ; and in describing Chepman’s device, he rightly concludes that it is from France that printing was first introduced into Scotland, and not, as Spottiswood supposed, from Holland.

Stimulated by this find the zeal of George Chalmers was instrumental, through the researches of his friend William Robertson, in bringing to light within the next two or three years, the patent granted by James the Fourth in September, 1507, to Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar, in virtue of which they were privileged to establish under royal countenance and protection, the first printing press set up in Scotland. The discovery of this document established a well-defined starting point for the history of our native press, and here, so far as the genesis of Scottish printing is concerned, the matter remained until the discovery of one of Myllar’s French books about twenty-five years ago.

But though this interval was not productive of any notable discovery in the origins of our typographical art, Scottish bibliography was by no means at a standstill, and it marks an important period of industry in accumulating details and of activity in the rescue and preservation of our early literature.

The dispute between the King’s printers for Scotland and the Bible Societies in 1823, as to the right of the latter to introduce and sell Bibles printed in England, was a happy accident for bibliographers in that it called forth Principal Lee’s *Memorial for the Bible Societies*. But for this occasion the learned Doctor’s vast stores of bibliographical lore might have become but a tradition, and his fame among bibliographers handed down chiefly by his shadow-portrait as ‘Archdeacon Meadow’ in Burton’s gallery of mighty book-hunters—addicted to duplicates and to reading his own books, a type not unknown even at the present day. As it is, the

Memorial has preserved a gleanings of his harvest, and though written with an entirely different object, it is a storehouse of materials which no student of Scottish bibliography can afford to neglect.

It was within this period, too, that the Printing Clubs, which in the first half of the present century were such an ornament to the literary culture of Scotland, and whose traditions are being worthily continued in the kindred societies of the present day, produced the noble series of volumes in which are preserved, with notices of their typographical and literary history, so many treasures of our early literature, which but for their timely rescue in these reprints, would ere this in many cases have completely disappeared. These volumes also contain some valuable contributions to the history of printing, of which we shall only instance the transcripts of the Inventories of Edinburgh Printers in the second volume of the Bannatyne Miscellany.

With these Clubs is closely identified a name which will always hold an honoured place in Scottish bibliography. It is to the learning and industry of Dr. David Laing, and to his life-long devotion to the study of Scottish history and antiquities, that we owe much of our present knowledge of the history of what may be called the incunabula of Scottish literature. Indeed, so widely have his researches extended that a student can rarely traverse even the most forgotten by-path of our earlier literature without discovering that David Laing has preceded him, and that he is indebted in some measure to his work. The results of his labours, however, voluminous as they are, are scattered throughout the field of Scottish literature, and remain to us rather in the form of data for bibliographical history than as the history itself.

The bibliography of a particular subject is one of the most desirable and useful forms of bibliographical work, whether looked at from the standpoint of the subject itself, or as providing material for the ideal general bibliography, and much good work has already been accomplished in this direction. Among the many subjects that have been thus treated, it will suffice to name as examples, the list of Sir David Lindsay's

works, appended to Laing's edition of his poems, the list of John Major's writings in the Scottish History Society's translation of his *Historia*, Mr. Rae Macdonald's catalogue of the works of Napier of Merchiston, and the list of books relating to the history of Mary Queen of Scots mentioned below. Among local or topographical lists there are Mr. A. W. Robertson's *Bibliography of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine*, soon to be issued by the New Spalding Club, and the bibliographies appended to Blackwood's *County Histories*. Mr. J. P. Edmond's excellent *Aberdeen Printers* should perhaps have been mentioned first as being the model of what a special bibliography should be.

So far we have dealt mainly with the materials of our subject. For the commencement of the systematic study of Scottish bibliography, we must turn to a pamphlet published by Dr. Robert Dickson in 1881, under the title of *Who was Scotland's First Printer?* and in this we have the earliest account of the genesis of Scottish printing in the production of what are known as the two French books of Andro Myllar. These books, the *Garlandia* of 1505, and the *Expositio Sequentiarum* of 1506, both bearing Myllar's name and punning device, were until lately supposed to have been printed for him at Rouen by Laurence Hostingue, but they have now been identified by Mr. Gordon Duff as coming from the press of Pierre Violette, a noted printer of the same city, who produced many books for the English market. The circumstances of the production of these books have a peculiar interest for us as indicating the place where Myllar gained that practical knowledge of the art of printing which qualified him to become the working partner of Walter Chepman in the establishment, in 1507, of the first printing-press in this country, and so earning for him the title of 'Scotland's First Printer.'

Dr. Dickson afterwards expanded this brochure into his *Introduction of the Art of Printing into Scotland*, and this in turn was incorporated into Dickson and Edmond's *Annals of Scottish Printing*. This work is the first attempt to produce a comprehensive and authoritative history of our early printers,

with lists of their productions down to the close of the sixteenth century: for the meagre space given in Ames's work, and even the more extended notice in Herbert's edition, can hardly be considered as anything more than a mere tentative list of books. And if, as is hinted in the introduction, this work might never have been undertaken had Dibdin completed his edition of Ames and Herbert, then it is certainly a matter for congratulation that lack of encouragement compelled the great bibliographer to abandon his work before reaching his intended account of printing in Scotland. To say that it will doubtless from time to time receive various emendations and additions, is but to emphasise its value and permanent usefulness. In it is now gathered together, embodied with the authors' own researches and special knowledge, the scattered material which the workers of past years have accumulated; and both for its account of the printers and for the careful record of the books which came from their presses, it must always remain the corner-stone, as it is the *magnum opus*, of Scottish bibliography.

From this basis the study is now being continued by the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, which, since its foundation in 1890, has been quietly and unostentatiously doing excellent work in its particular field of research, though its existence is probably hardly known outside the circle of seventy to which its membership is limited. The scope of this Society includes the whole range of the bibliographer's hobby, but one of its chief objects is the collecting of materials 'with a view to the formation of a complete Scottish Bibliography,' and its first volume of proceedings, which is just completed, contains, with other interesting articles, some noteworthy contributions to this scheme. Indeed, considering the value of these papers and the eminently practical aims of the society, one is inclined to question the wisdom of so strictly limiting the issue of its papers, which, from their nature, are calculated to be mainly 'for the use of students,' and not to be mere dilettante productions to delight the eye and tickle the palate of the literary connoisseur. Work like this, in addition to being locked up in the archives of the select seventy, should

at least find a place in our public libraries. In the meantime, however, it may serve good purpose to note the chief contents of this volume and the results which it records.

That the interest of Scottish bibliography by no means commences only with the introduction of printing, is well instanced in one of the early papers in this volume, in which Mr. John Scott describes the *Arithmetica* of Jordanus Nemorarius, a curious work printed at Paris by Higman and Hopyl in 1496, and brings out the fact that in the printing of this book a Scotsman was concerned in the capacity of corrector of the press. The Latin colophon, as rendered by Mr. Scott, ends thus, 'And this same also does David Lauxius, a Briton of Edinburgh, as the assiduous supervisor of the press throughout from the original.' As to who this David Lauxius was, very little is known, further than that he is afterwards found as schoolmaster at Arras. Various suggestions have been made as to what the vernacular for Lauxius may be, but none of them is conclusive. The interesting question connected with the subject is that which Mr. Scott has adopted as the sub-title of his paper, 'Is it the first book with the printing of which a Scotsman was concerned?' For the present, this book holds that position, and David Lauxius, whatever may have been his patronymic, is that distinguished Scotsman.

Apropos of this subject, a contributor to a recent number of *Scottish Notes and Queries* illustrates another aspect of this wider interest of Scottish bibliography, in the announcement of the discovery of two books by an Aberdeen author, James Ledelh (Liddell), which were printed at Paris about 1494, and which are therefore the earliest known printed books by a contemporary Scottish writer, this distinction having hitherto been accorded to the *Exponabilia* of John Major, published at Paris in 1503. The titles of these books, which are in the Advocates' Library, are *Tractatus conceptuum et signorum*, and *Ars obligatoria logicalis*. The first was published by Dennis Roce and contains his device, and the other, though it bears no direct indication, was presumably also issued by him.

Considering the close and friendly relationship that so long existed between Scotland and France, and that the Univer-

sity of Paris was the fountain-head of knowledge to which the majority of Scottish students directed their steps in the fifteenth century, it is not surprising that the pursuit of early Scottish bibliography should have led us to Paris for the first instance of a Scottish author appearing in print during his lifetime. There we have also discovered the first Scotsman who was directly concerned in the printing of a book; and in this city we may yet stay to find the first two books printed in the Scottish language.

These books, *The art of good tyvyng and good deyng*, and *The kalendayr of shyppars*, are described in a learned and interesting article by Mr. Gordon Duff, who considers that they were both issued by Antoine Verard of Paris, about 1503. Mr. Duff also concludes that both were the work of one man, and he evidently a Scotsman; with a touch of piquant humour he clinches this latter point with the unanswerable argument that 'Speaking of the Latin nation, and mentioning the kings of Europe, he puts the King of Scotland first.' A *facsimile* of the *Kalendayr*, edited by Dr. Oskar Sommar, was published about four years ago.

An important addition to the scanty number of early Scottish books has been made in Mr. Duff's discovery, in the Aberdeen University Library, of a fragment of a hitherto unknown black-letter Donatus. The paper in which Mr. Duff describes this treasure trove, includes a valuable contribution to the elucidation of the beginnings of Scottish printing, in the identification of the type used in Andrew Myllar's two French books, to which we have already referred. No one is better qualified than Mr. Duff to speak with authority on early types, and the reasons he adduces for the identity of the types will be readily accepted as conclusive. This Donatus fragment, of which a *facsimile* is given in the volume, consists of one leaf only, and unfortunately contains no clue to the place or date of printing. As regards the type in which it is printed, Mr. Duff says, 'The type, so far as I can make out, is the same as that used in the books printed for Myllar at Rouen, the only differentiating mark being the use of a peculiar open paragraph mark, which I have never seen in any other book.' He

also says, 'The tenth poetical tract in the Advocates' volume may be in the same type;' and a comparison of the *facsimile* with the original tract, which we have since made, confirms this view, though the distinguishing feature of the open paragraph mark does not occur in the latter. The crude workmanship of the fragment, with its numerous errors and misprints, give it the appearance of having been an early effort of some newly established press, and not the more respectable production of an active printing centre such as one would expect in the case of a book printed abroad for the Scottish market. Appearances on the whole suggest for it a Scottish origin, but in the absence of more direct evidence, the question in the meantime remains open.

Mr. J. P. Edmond contributes two papers. One of them, 'Bibliographical Gleanings, 1890-93,' consists of additions and corrections to the *Annals of Scottish Printing*, and is aptly introduced by the remark 'That there is no finality in bibliography has become almost proverbial.' Among the most notable 'additions' in this list is 'The Hail hundreth and Fyftie Psalmes of Dauid, in Inglis meter, be Thomas Sterneholde, with utheris diveris Poyetis,' printed at Edinburgh by John Scot in 1567, which helps to bridge the gap in Scot's press between 1562 and 1568. Of this book, only the title-page, found at the end of a copy of the *Gude and Godlie Ballates*, is known. This unique copy of the *Ballates*, which is now being reprinted by the Scottish Text Society, is further remarkable in that it concludes with the 'baudie song, Welcum Fortoun,' which Bassandyne was reprimanded by the Assembly in 1568 for having printed at 'the end of the psalme booke.' The title is wanting, but the character of the printing, and the occurrence of the psalm-book title-leaf at the end, lead to the conclusion that the book was printed by John Scot in 1567 or 1568, and probably at the charges of Thomas Bassandyne, so that the evidence would, as Mr. Edmond says, 'warrant us in concluding that we have here an uncastrated copy of the very book which brought Bassandyne into trouble,' and of which no copy has hitherto been known. The baudie song,—which has been the subject of much curiosity,—

though not exactly sacred in tone, will be found by some readers at least to be disappointingly decorous. Mr. Edmond's other paper is an examination of the Inventories of Edinburgh Printers, 1577-1603, an interesting though rather unproductive field of research.

One of the special lines of work aimed at by the Society is the history and bibliography of Scottish printers after 1600, in continuation of Messrs. Dickson and Edmond's work. A commencement has very appropriately been made with monographs on the first two Edinburgh printers of the seventeenth century, Thomas Finlason and Andro Hart, with hand-lists of their books. From the stoppage of Robert Charteris's press in 1610 until Wreittoun commenced about 1624, these two had a monopoly of printing in this country, and they form an interesting study together. They seem to have held in Edinburgh somewhat the same relative position as Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde occupied in London a century earlier. Finlason, favoured by patronage and privilege, executed most of the official work of the time, and appears, as was perhaps only to be expected, to have had the better equipped printing-office, or printing-house, as it was then called. On the other hand, Andro Hart enjoyed the more distinguished, though less profitable patronage, of scholars and literary men, and issued from his press many works which have taken a permanent place in Scottish literature. The only work of an official nature which seems to have fallen to him, was the appropriate task of printing the University theses, a long series of which bear his imprint and that of his successors. His productions, though not so opulent in typographic ornament nor in general so well executed as those of his more influential contemporary, often display a better taste, and this is especially noticeable in the title-pages.

Another Edinburgh printer has been dealt with in Mr. John S. Gibb's paper on James Watson the younger, who, in the early part of last century did much to rescue Scottish printing from the low estate and villainous execution into which it had at that time fallen, and to whose *History of the Art of Printing* we have already referred.

In addition to his notice of Andro Hart, Mr. Cowan has contributed a paper on the bibliography of the *Book of Common Order*, or Knox's Liturgy, as it is more generally though less correctly called. Of this book or the metrical psalter which it includes over fifty editions were issued between 1556, the year in which the first was printed at Geneva, and 1650, when this version of the metrical psalter was superseded by that still in use.

A kindred subject is treated of in the notes on the bibliography of Archbishop Laud's Prayer Book, by Bishop Dowden, who is enabled by his fortunate discovery of some cancelled leaves, to follow some of the vicissitudes through which this ill-fated book passed before its final issue in 1637.

Mr. T. G. Law's *Bibliography of the Lives of Two Scottish Capuchins, John Forbes and George Leslie*, elucidates a curious subject which has been obscured by many extraordinary errors—errors evidently destined to multiply with the growth of the literature of the subject, as may be seen in Mr. Cunningham Graham's article on 'Father Archangel of Scotland,' which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1893, and which, moreover, has since been republished as the title-article in a volume of essays, as though Mr. Law's exposure—shall we call it?—of this entertaining misapprehension of facts, in a subsequent number of the same Review, had never been penned.

If any evidence were needed that the Society's interest is not limited to Scottish matters it would be found in Mr. Gordon Duff's notes on a unique edition of the *Psalterium beate Marie Virginis*, accompanied by an excellent *facsimile* of the fragment in question which is in the Bodleian Library. This fragment consists of the first and last of the four leaves which originally comprised the little book, and is important from a liturgical point of view as being the only known portion of the book in existence. It contains also a bibliographical puzzle in its colophon, which runs thus, 'Imprynted at London in Flete aley. the xxi. daye of October by Symon Voter.' Mr. Duff says, 'This appears a perfectly clear statement of fact, but still it is hard to explain. Symon Voter can be no other than the Symon Votre or Vostre, the well known

Paris publisher of service books, and the most important of all the Paris booksellers of the early sixteenth century. But what was he doing in London—or was he ever in London at all? The probability is that he was never settled in London, for we can find his name in the colophons of Paris books almost without a break from the start to the finish of his career. On the other hand, it is not at all improbable that, publishing, as he did, many books intended solely for the English market, he would have a shop or an agent in London.' This is followed by some very instructive general remarks on the transfer of type and woodcuts from one printer to another during the sixteenth century.

Among other subjects dealt with in this volume, and which can only be briefly referred to, are Mr. Gibb's notes on William Ged and the invention of stereotyping; Mr. G. P. Johnston's paper on the almost unknown book *An Apology for Tales of Terror*, which, printed by James Ballantyne at Kelso, in 1799, at the suggestion of Sir Walter Scott, is notable as being the maiden effort of the famous Ballantyne press; and, 'as a tangible memorial of the beginning of the life-long connection which associates for ever the name of James Ballantyne with that of Sir Walter Scott, possesses a deeply romantic interest.' There is also a *Bibliography of Scottish Popular Ballads in Manuscript*, by Mr. Macmath, and an extensive *Bibliography of Scottish Theatrical Literature*, by Mr. James Cameron.

The Society has just printed, as its second volume, an important addition to our bibliographies of special subjects, being a list of the books relating to the history of Mary Queen of Scots printed before 1700, compiled by Mr. John Scott. This list, which is elaborately annotated, extends to just upon three hundred numbers, and is an attempt to deal with a vast subject such as could only be made by prolonged research and in connection with the unique opportunity which Mr. Scott's unrivalled collection of the literature of this subject affords.

One of the great obstacles in the way of the bibliographer who is pursuing the systematic study of early books is the inconvenience and difficulty of gaining access to the originals,

owing to their being scattered in various libraries; and though to this same cause there is the still greater difficulty, often impossibility, of bringing them together for comparison. This obstacle, in the case of the fifteenth century English books, has now been in a great measure removed by the issue of Mr. Gordon Duff's long promised *Facsimiles*, which, in a series of forty beautiful collotype plates, gives specimens of every type used in England during the fifteenth century, together with the devices of the printers and one or two continental types necessary for comparison. The notes on the printers and their types which accompany the *facsimiles*, bring up to date the knowledge of the subject, and give in a concise form all that is necessary for the use of the plates. The table of the types shewing the periods during which they were used is a particularly useful feature and forms practically a key to the typographic history of the period. It is interesting to note that the letterpress has been printed with types cast from matrices given to the University of Oxford by Bishop Fell before 1687, but it may be presumed that these types have been used more as a curiosity than for their intrinsic beauty. The impression produced by an examination of these *facsimiles* is surprise at the amount and variety, and sometimes even excellence, of fifteenth century English printing. This work, by providing for the first time a series of reliable *facsimiles* for comparison and reference, should greatly facilitate the systematic study of the productions of the first English printers, and it now places English bibliographers on an equal footing with their continental confreres, for whom a similar service has been rendered in the works of Holtrop, Thierry-Poux and Burger.

It is satisfactory to know that there is a prospect of the same facilities being afforded to Scottish students, a scheme having been formulated by the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society for the production of a series of facsimiles of early Scottish printing, commencing with Myllar's French books and coming down to 1640. This latter is the date chosen by common consent as a convenient limit for lists of early books, as it stops just short of the torrent of pamphlets—

declarations, challenges, replies, counter-replies, refutations, and answers—which poured forth from the presses of the country at the time of the Civil War, and which may well be left to a future generation of bibliographers to reduce to order.

Such a work as this, if well carried out on the ample scale which the Society apparently contemplates, would form a valuable illustration of the course of printing in Scotland, and would also serve to elucidate many doubtful points in regard to particular books. Not only would it give students an opportunity of studying the typography of our earliest books, too many of which alas! exist but in unique copies, but it would also clearly demonstrate the close connection which, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, existed between the various presses, and show their continuity. For until a late period, all the type used in this country had to be brought from abroad, and so in Scotland, to a greater extent perhaps than in any other country, we find the materials handed down from one printer to another; and both type and ornaments, and even devices, can often be traced through several presses, sometimes lying *perdu* for a generation or so, then perhaps unearthed by a new owner, pressed into service again. It would show, for instance, that the cut of the royal arms with which Bassandyne embellished the title-page of his famous Bible in 1576, eventually came, together with other materials, into the hands of Finlason, who used it for the *Regiam Majestatem* in 1609. John Ross' devices would be seen in books of Henry Charteris and Waldegrave, and then to drop out of use, until the smaller one, probably the same block, re-appears in 1638 above the imprint of George Anderson, having in the interval presumably been in the successive possession of Finlason and Robert Young. It might also lead to the conjecture that Hart was influenced in deciding in 1610 to commence the printing as well as the selling of books, by the opportunity which then occurred of acquiring the plant of the outlawed Robert Charteris. And yet again, it would show that Young, on closing his Edinburgh office in 1637, after the printing of Laud's Prayer Book, did not transfer his plant to London, but disposed of it in Edinburgh, and on his return

with Evan Tyler in 1641, re-commenced with an entirely new stock of type.

Bibliography is now sufficiently recognised as something more than a mere harmless mania, and its value is so well appreciated by students of history and literature, that it would be superfluous to insist on the importance and desirability of such a work as the compilation of 'a complete Scottish bibliography,' though the actual accomplishment of this can hardly be looked for in the immediate future. Indeed, in the absence of an official basis and centre of work such as a National Library would afford, it is not easy to see how a scheme could be devised for undertaking the work in the comprehensive and systematic way that would be indispensable to its satisfactory conclusion. In the meantime the accumulation of materials is going steadily forward, and there is yet much that can be done in the way of preparation, especially in regard to the books by Scotsmen printed abroad, and the books printed abroad for sale in Scotland, both before the setting up of Chepman and Myllar's press in the Southgait and during the century that followed. The recording of existing books is also far from completed, and the recent finds of the Aberdeen Donatus and the Rathen MS. are examples of the treasures that may yet be brought to light; and we still wait for printed catalogues of some of our libraries, notably those of Edinburgh University and the Hunterian Museum.

In referring to the absence of a National Library in Scotland we do not overlook or undervalue the many excellent libraries that already exist, and to all of which for the facilities they most generously afford, students must be very grateful. But as they each have their own particular sphere of work and consequent claims, it cannot be expected of any of them to discharge those functions of a National Library which can only be fulfilled by a properly endowed institution, devoted to that object and unencumbered by such limitations. It would perhaps be vain to expect that grant for the establishment of a Scottish National Library will ever find a place in the national budget, but it may not be so futile to hope that in the near future this object may happily commend itself to some munificent and patriotic Scotsman as a worthy scheme with which to identify and perpetuate his name.

HARRY G. ALDIS.

ART. VI.—EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

- (1). *History of Egypt*, by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. London. 1895.
- (2). *Cory's Ancient Fragments*. Edition 1876.
- (3). *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*. London. 1896.
- (4). *Contemporary Review*. May, 1896.

SINCE the time when Sir George Cornewall Lewis exposed the arbitrary character of Bunsen's work on Egyptian History, much has been learned by scholars as to the Egyptian language, and as to the interpretation of hieroglyphic records, but the historical results—with one interesting exception, to be noticed later—have been disappointing, and little has been added since the publication of Brugsch's *History of Egypt*. The antiquities of Egypt excite popular imagination, through the pictorial representations of ancient life in the Delta, which are constantly discovered, but the inscriptions are mainly of a religious character, and repeat with increasing monotony extracts from the *Book of the Dead*, or mysterious invocations of the gods, which cast little light on the civil history of the earlier ages. Valuable as are the remains of the Ptolemaic Age, or of the Roman period, or the Greek papyri, which have of late been recovered, our knowledge of the earlier dynasties is still confined to the names of kings, or to mythical legends connected with their reigns ; and before the time of the great Theban or 18th Dynasty, little that can be called history exists. For about three centuries Egypt was a conquering empire, which extended its frontiers to Asia Minor and Assyria—from 1600 to 1300 B.C.—but both before and after that period the power of its kings was confined to their own land, or to the regions of the Soudan on the Upper Nile.

When, therefore, in popular works on Egyptian history the chronology of the 18th and 19th Dynasties is represented as being fixed within a margin of ten years, and when confident

calculations of the age of Menes are put forward as the results of special study, it is still necessary to enquire carefully into the data on which such statements are made, and to ask whether the opinions of Bunsen, which still influence the later writers, have really been confirmed by recent discoveries. In many text-books the theories of a 'heretic king' (Khu-en-Aten), and of a 'Pharaoh of the Exodus' (Mineptah), are set forth as though they were accepted facts based on monumental statements, while differences of more than a century respecting the reign of the latter monarch are ignored, as if the chronology depended on accurate and contemporary statements of date. Quite recently the latter theory has received a rude shock through the discovery of a text relating to Mineptah's reign, yet attempts are made to save the situation by explaining away the monumental evidence, which seems to contradict the prejudiced or ignorant views of Manetho, on whose unreliable and late evidence Egyptologists are still wont to rely.

And first, as regards Chronology, it is necessary clearly to understand what sources of information exist, and what is the real character of each. Manetho was a priest who lived in the 3rd century B.C., and who had apparently access to earlier Egyptian chronicles or lists of kings. His work has perished, and is only known to us in part, through the quotations by Josephus—who had a poor opinion of his veracity—and of later Christian writers. He endeavoured to calculate the length of time during which thirty-one Egyptian dynasties ruled, between Menes and the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great; but whether he regarded these dynasties as successive, and as representing kings who ruled over the whole country, is at first not clear from these lists. The sum total represents a period of about 5400 years, which would place Menes about 5700 B.C. Lepsius, however, gives the era of this founder as 3892, and Professor Flinders Petrie as 4777 B.C.—a difference as great as that which separates Queen Victoria from Alfred. When we examine the text of Manetho, as it has come down to us through the hands of copyists, we find that in several cases the sum of the details of reigns does not agree

with the calculation of the total given, and an element of uncertainty is thus introduced independent of any opinion as to the credibility of the author, as will be seen below—

	Sum of details.	Total stated.
1st Dynasty,	- 263	253
4th „	- 284	274
5th „	- 218	244
14th „	- 184	484
18th „	- 259	263
22nd „	- 116	120
Totals,	<u>1324</u>	<u>1638</u>

Thus in the period preceding Shishak, the contemporary of Rehoboam, the details and the totals vary by about 300 years. To form an opinion as to the accuracy of Manetho it is first necessary to compare his statements as to the latest period, when dates can be fixed by independent means; and here it will be found that the result is equally unsatisfactory. Shishak according to Dr. Brugsch acceded about 966 B.C., and Tirhakah last of the 25th dynasty died in 664 B.C., but the total given by Manetho for this period of 302 years is only 251 years, according to the details, or 255 years according to the totals for each dynasty. From Tirhakah to Alexander, or from 664 B.C. to 333 B.C., was a period of 331 years. Manetho makes it 381 years by the details, and 377 years by the totals, or more than half a century too long. Necho II. began to reign according to him about 316 years before Alexander; but as he attacked Assyria in about 609 B.C., the true interval was 266 years. The Persian dynasties (27th and 31st) had, according to Manetho, a total duration of 164 years by the details, or 160 by the totals. The interval between Cambyses (527 B.C.) and Alexander (333 B.C.) was, however, 194 years, so that in no case can these later statements by Manetho be considered reliable within half a century, as they at present stand.

The chronology of the great 18th and 19th dynasties is asserted to be fixed within a limit of less than ten years, though Dr. Petrie differs from Dr. Brugsch by more than a century as to the period to which they are to be assigned. When we come to examine his dates we find that he relies almost entirely

on Manetho, deserting him, however, in one or two cases. Manetho gives names for 13 (or 14) Kings and Queens of the 18th dynasty, supposed to coincide with 14 names monumentally known. But Dr. Brugsch states that monuments exist belonging to the 39th year of Thothmes III., whereas Dr. Petrie gives only 32 years to this king, while Amenophis III. is monumentally known to have reigned at least 36 years, Dr. Petrie giving only 31 for this reign. Hence the former authority makes the dynasty to have endured 300 years, while Dr. Petrie gives only 259 years for the total. It is difficult to see how, even in detail, this chronology can be regarded as certain within ten years. In the 19th dynasty—as in the 18th—Manetho claims great exactitude, since he gives the number of months as well as of years that each king ruled. But he omits the reign of Seti I., which, according to Dr. Petrie, lasted 51 years. From Rameses I. to the death of Amenophis (supposed to be Mineptah) was a total of 87 years, according to Manetho, but the actual period seems to have been at least a century.

When we turn to consider the light thrown on the question by the lists preserved in papyri or on monuments, the results are equally unsatisfactory; and the attempts to settle certain years by astronomical considerations also lead to discordant conclusions. There is no list of Egyptian kings older than the time of the 19th dynasty, and we may well doubt if, at that period, there existed any certain information as to the chronology of the earlier dynasties 15 to 20 centuries before that time. We have three sources of information—the Turin Papyrus, which exists only in tatters, but which claims to give exact information even to the number of months and days of each reign: the Abydos tablet, which gives 65 names of kings to Ahmes of the 18th dynasty from Menes, but which gives no dates: and the Sakkarah list, which also disagrees with the two preceding. In the Abydos list the 18th dynasty immediately follows the 12th, and the intervening lists of Manetho are omitted, as though representing contemporary local monarchs who did not reign at Memphis or Thebes. Of these the 13th was Theban according to Manetho, but the rest were apparently kings of the Delta, including the foreign Hyksos.

Manetho differs greatly in the lengths of the reigns of early kings when compared with the Turin Papyrus, as the following instances show :—

4th Dynasty, Suphis,	-	66 years,	Manetho,	6 years,	Turin Papyrus.
5th „	Mencheres,	63 „	„	24 „	„
6th „	Tatkheres,	44 „	„	28 „	„

The first six dynasties ruled for 1487 years according to Manetho, or for 755 years according to the Turin Papyrus. The 12th dynasty lasted 159 years according to the later priest, but 213 according to the Turin Papyrus. As to the period between the 6th and 12th dynasties (given by Manetho as 783 years) it included in his belief 71 kings, while the Turin Papyrus enumerates 30, and the Abydos tablet only 18 kings. It is evident that the confusion between the various sources is so great as to leave the date of Menes entirely a matter of conjecture within some 2000 years at least. From Egyptian sources we can, properly speaking, derive no history before the rise of the 18th dynasty, when astronomical statements and regnal years are found in contemporary records; and even these have led to conclusions differing by more than a century.

It might have been hoped that astronomical calculations would lead to greater certainty. The double date on the Rosetta stone gives us the incidence of the Egyptian year in the time of the Ptolemies. The year consisted of 12 months of 30 days with 5 odd days added, and consequently lost about a quarter day yearly as compared with the solar year. Its cycle was 1509 years, and we have three ancient statements as to the heliacal rising of Sirius in connection with Egyptian months.

In the reign of Thothmes III.	Sirius rose on	28th Epiphi.
„ 9th year of Amenophis I.	„ „	9th „
„ 2nd „ Mineptah	„ „	29th Thoth.

The cycle of Sirius requires a further correction, being one of 1440·5 years, and it is doubtful whether the true heliacal rising could be observed correctly in these early times within several days.

As a basis for this calculation Dr. Petrie accepts the statement of Censorinus that a century before his time (239 A.D.)

Sirius rose heliacally on the 1st Thoth. He thence calculates the accession of Amenophis I. as occurring in 1562 B.C.; but even then, having failed to observe the correction for the proper motion of Sirius, he is 30 years too early. On the same data Mineptah would have acceded in 1190 B.C. There are, however, other statements which have been set aside in relying on this single observation of Censorinus—which may or may not have been correct. According to the decree of Canopus the rising of Sirius advanced one day in four years, which shews us that the calculations were rough, and did not distinguish the lengths of the Solar and Sidereal years. Clement of Alexandria states that the Crucifixion (15th Nisan) occurred on the 15th of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, which does not agree with the statement of Censorinus, but does agree with the calculation of Dr. Brugsch as to the incidence of the vague year, which would make Sirius rise on the 20th July in the reign of Thothmes III., and thus give a date for his accession about 1600 B.C. According to Dr. Petrie he acceded in 1481 B.C., and when this calculation is corrected by the cycle of Sirius the date is brought down to 1456 B.C., or nearly a century and a half later than the date supposed by Dr. Brugsch to be astronomically determined.*

In the presence of such discordance, even when astronomical data exist, it may be asked whether any means of fixing the great Conquering Age of the Pharaohs is to be found. Manetho is an unsatisfactory guide, and even the monuments disagree as to the number of kings forming the earlier dynasties, while some of their statements, which give reigns of 80 years duration, appear to be very doubtful historically. In early and troubled times an average reign of 8 or 10 years would be

* Corrections of the Egyptian calendar may very probably have been made, at various times, during the period of 3000 to 4000 years supposed to have preceded the Christian era. The addition of 5 days to the lunar year of 12 months would itself seem to shew that an alteration was made, at some unknown period, to convert a lunar year (such as all early races used) to one more nearly approaching the solar year. Such changes are disregarded by those who calculate back to the early ages as if the year were unchanged throughout.

probable—as in the case of the earlier Babylonian kings—and though some of the monarchs of the 18th and 19th dynasties had very long reigns, the Turin Papyrus gives very short averages in other cases. For seven kings of the 4th dynasty the average, according to this document, was only 16 years, and for the 13th dynasty the average is but 7 years. If we took an average of 15 years for the 65 kings of the Tablet of Abydos, the date of Menes would be brought down to about 2700 B.C., but actual calculations as to this early age are at present quite impossible.

We have, however, some means, outside Egyptian history, of checking the chronology, and of determining whether the calculations of Brugsch are more probable than those of Mahler, which Dr. Petrie has adopted in their uncorrected condition. We possess a valuable list of Babylonian kings, going back to 2300 B.C., which, whatever may be thought of its accuracy and reliability, is at least much more perfect than any Egyptian list, and contains no such incredible statements as those regarding the early Egyptian reigns. According to this tablet Burnaburias was king of Babylon about 1430 B.C.; and the Tell el Amarna tablets prove to us that this king was a contemporary of Amenophis IV. of Egypt, to whom he wrote. This date is much more in accord with Dr. Brugsch's calculation of the reign of Amenophis IV. than it is with Mahler's corrected date, which would place his accession as late as 1360 B.C. In this, as in so many other cases, the latest view does not therefore appear to be the best considered or most reliable.

It is not only, however, in chronology that Egyptologists still feel the influence of Bunsen, and still state as facts conclusions which are open to criticism. Two popular beliefs concerning Amenophis IV. (Khu-en-Aten) and Mineptah (or Merenptah) may be mentioned, as illustrations of theories which are not in accord with monumental data. The first of these monarchs is commonly called the 'heretic king,' and the latter is known as the 'Pharaoh of the Exodus.' In both cases the theory is traced back to Bunsen, but in neither is there any solid ground for its acceptance.

Bunsen believed that Khu-en-Aten, or Amenophis IV., destroyed the images of the god Amen, and introduced a new worship of Aten, or the 'Sun-disk,' into Egypt, under the influence of a foreign wife or mother. The theory has been expanded into an account of the reign of this king, which cannot but be regarded as an instance of antiquarian imagination. It is true that we now know that Amenophis IV. married an Armenian princess, Tadukhepa, daughter of King Dusratta of Matiene, and that his mother, Teie, was also apparently related to Dusratta. An extant tablet also proves that about this period Babylonian mythical tales (such as the legend of Tammuz and Istar) were brought from Asia to Egypt. A letter from Amenophis III. to the King of Babylon also shews that several earlier marriage alliances between Egypt and Babylon had taken place. But, on the other hand, we have no monumental notice of any religious revolution in Egypt during this reign, and King Dusratta writes, on his tablets, to Amenophis IV., as well as to Amenophis III., as to a worshipper of the famous Egyptian god Amen. The term *aten*, for the disk or orb of the sun, was not newly introduced into Egypt by Khu-en-Aten, for it occurs in the 64th chapter of the Book of the Dead, which is traced back as early as the 11th dynasty. Amenophis IV. also quotes on his inscriptions the Book of the Dead, which was the orthodox ritual of Egypt; and, although a knowledge of Asiatic religion certainly existed in Egypt in the time of the 18th dynasty, there is as yet no sound reason to describe Amenophis IV. as a heretic, who retired to a new capital at Tell el Amarna, and was finally murdered in an insurrection fomented by priests of Amen. The seals of Thothmes IV. and Amenophis III. have been found at Tell el Amarna, with letters addressed to these earlier monarchs, and stored in their library. The theory of the 'heretic king' should therefore not be regarded as monumentally proven, until it can be made certain that by order of Khu-en-Aten the statues of Amen were defaced, which appears at present to be very doubtful.

The question of the 'Pharaoh of the Exodus' is one of more general interest, but not only does it not rest on monumental

evidence, but it is even refuted, in all probability, by the latest monumental discovery. According to this theory the Exodus would take place as late as 1190 B.C. if we accepted Mahler's dates corrected. The ordinary understanding of the Old Testament chronology would place it approximately in 1520 B.C., or in the reign of Thothmes IV., who drove out the 'Syrian Shepherds,' if we accept the chronology of Brugsch; the Conquest of Palestine thus coinciding with the later years of the reign of Amenophis III. Bunsen's theory rested not on any monumental statement, for until quite lately no mention of Israel had been found in any Egyptian text, but it rested on two statements of Manetho, which he accepted in preference to any found in the Bible.

Josephus has preserved two statements by Manetho, which he himself considers to be unreliable. According to the first of these (*Contra Apion*, I. 15), a certain Thothmes (supposed to be really Ahmes, the founder of the 18th dynasty) ruled in Egypt after the 'Shepherds' (or Hyksos) had been driven out of the country to Jerusalem. According to the second passage (*Contra Apion*, I. 26), the Jews, suffering from leprosy, were driven out to Jerusalem either by an Amenophis or by a Thothmes; and an Amenophis is mentioned as succeeding Rameses II. (by mistake as the theory supposes for Mineptah) who first made this leprous people work in his quarries, and then exiled them and their leader Osarsiph. Josephus rightly calls this Amenophis, a 'fictitious king,' since the name belongs not to the 19th but to the 18th royal family of Egypt. It is possible that Manetho meant to refer to Mineptah, but it is equally possible that some confusion existed, either in the document copied by Josephus or in his understanding of the same, and that the libellous account of the Hebrew exodus was referred to the earlier time of Thothmes IV. and Amenophis III. We must otherwise distinguish two events—the Exodus of Shepherds under Ahmes or Thothmes, and the Leper Exodus under Mineptah. Manetho is so late and so untrustworthy an authority that we might well decline to accept his statements against the authority of Josephus, even if they could be brought into accord with Biblical data; but

when it is observed that he does not really mention Mineptah as the 'Pharaoh of the Exodus,' and that the records of that monarch now speak of Israel as living in Palestine during his own reign, we may well wonder that Egyptian scholars should still try to maintain so discredited an opinion.

Dr. Flinders Petrie has recently published, in the *Contemporary Review*, an inscription of the reign of Mineptah, which is one of the few historic texts of the period, and perhaps the most interesting yet found. It refers to Mineptah's attempt to recover the dominions of Rameses II. in Palestine, after the defeat of the great invasion of the Delta by Libyans and Asiatics, which occurred early in his reign. The translation is as follows:—

'Year 5 month of Epiphi, 3rd day . . . Merenptah . . . the sun has come clearing the storm that was over Kemt (or Egypt). . . . Eternal fear is in the hearts of the Mashawasha (or Maxyes of N. Africa). He who has caused the Lebu (Libyan) people to retreat when it invaded Egypt, and there was great terror in the hearts of the land of Egypt . . . the Tahennu (in N. Africa) have been burned up in a year. Sutekh has turned his back on their chief. Vanquished are the Tahennu: the Khita (Hittites) are quieted. Ravaged is Pa Kanana (a place near Tyre) with all violence. Taken is Askadni (perhaps an error for Ascalon): seized is Kazmel. Yenu (Janoah) of the Amu (or Asiatics) is made as though it had not existed. The people of Isiraal (Israel) is spoiled: it hath no seed. Ruten (Syria) has become as widows of the land of Egypt. All lands together are at peace. Every one that was a marauder hath been subdued by King Merenptah (Mineptah) who gives life like the sun every day.'

This text, in the usual boastful style employed both by the Pharaohs and by the kings of Assyria, clearly refers to a raid along the sea-coast of Palestine, to the Hittite country north of Tyre. It has been suggested that for Israel, Jezreel should be understood; but to say nothing of the difference of spelling, it is probable that if the town of Jezreel was intended, the sign for 'city,' and not that for 'people,' would precede the name. It would seem clear (as Dr. Petrie also believes)

that we have here an account of an attack by Mineptah on Israel in Palestine itself, when the harvest was destroyed and the people left 'without seed.' This scarcely can be reconciled with the idea that Mineptah expelled Israel from Egypt, since the preceding years of his reign had been occupied by a fierce struggle against invasion in Egypt itself, of which we have another monumental account. If, as we should conclude from independent considerations, the Hebrew conquest of Palestine occurred nearly 200 years before Mineptah's accession, there is no difficulty in accounting for their presence there in his time as an agricultural people. It is true that we have no notice in the Old Testament of such Egyptian attacks after Joshua's conquest, but we have only a very fragmentary history of the centuries which followed in the Book of Judges, and this work is devoted rather to the victories of Israel than to any detailed account of defeats. It is only by a passing allusion that we learn that still later, in Solomon's time, the Egyptians occupied the Philistine plain, even as far as Gezer at the foot of the Jerusalem hills (1 Kings, ix. 16).

Yet Dr. Petrie and other writers appear very unwilling to accept the evidence of this new monument, as refuting the usual and time honoured understanding of the passages in Manetho which have been thought to refer to Mineptah as the 'Pharaoh of the Exodus.' He suggests that either some Israelites never went down into Egypt, or that perhaps some had gone back to Palestine before the time of the general exodus. It is unnecessary to say that neither statement is countenanced by the only account which we possess of the Hebrew history. All Jacob's family went down to Egypt, and none are said to have returned to Palestine before the time of Joshua.* The explanation so proposed seems to resolve itself

* The passage (1 Chr., vii., 21), referring to a raid on Gath by Ephraimites may preserve the account of an early expedition from Egypt which was defeated. Dr. Petrie's attempt to reduce the period of the Judges to about 150 years (Proc. Bib. Arch. Society, Dec. 1, 1896), ignores three statements in the Bible (Judges, xi., 26; 1 Kings, vi., 1; Acts, xiii., 19-21).

into a suggestion that one exodus took place to account for the monumental notice, and a second exodus apparently to save the credit of Manetho, if indeed he means Mineptah when he writes Amenophis.

Such criticisms are not intended to detract from the value of Egyptian research, or of the highly valuable discoveries made by Dr. Petrie, which have cast so much light on the early social condition of the Ancient Empire. But it is necessary to distinguish contemporary monumental evidence from the corrupted and very late writings of Manetho, as they come to us second-hand through other writers. It is necessary to deny the claims of accuracy which are put forward for Egyptian chronology, as studied without reference to the contemporary history in other lands and in other literatures. It is equally necessary to receive with caution statements, even when the original papyrus or tablet has survived, which refers to events occurring ten or twenty centuries before. The desire for finality, which is so common a human weakness, leads popular writers to accept the latest views and calculations of specialists almost as dogmas, unless they are made aware by their authority that grave doubts and perplexities exist; and even if these are not concealed the public very often adheres to an idea once promulgated for many years after it has been discredited by further discovery. It is the duty of a critic to warn the general reader of the true state of knowledge in such cases, and of the specialist to avoid writing with over-certitude, on matters which can perhaps never be determined with historic accuracy.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. VII.—AN EDITOR'S RETROSPECT.

An Editor's Retrospect : Fifty Years of Newspaper Work. By CHARLES A. COOPER, Editor of the *Scotsman*. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1896.

HALF a century is a long period in a man's life. To the Editor of a great daily newspaper, who lives and works at high pressure, whose to-morrow begins almost before his to-day is ended, and upon whom the present presses with such insistence that he has barely time to reflect upon it, and still less upon the past, its fifty years may pass and accumulate insensibly ; but to ordinary mortals who are not editors of newspapers, great or otherwise, they often pass heavily and wearily, accumulating slowly, and registering themselves with clear notes of division, which make the numbering of them easy, if not at times exceedingly impressive. And even an editor like the one supposed, when he sits down with pen in hand to note his impressions of the men he has known, or of the incidents he has witnessed or taken part in, can scarcely fail, as one by one they recur to his memory and imagination, to be struck with the fact, that the fifty years which are reproducing themselves before his mind, form the main part of his life, and contain pretty nearly all that he is intended to do.

A retrospect of so long a period is not always or altogether cheerful to him who makes it. There is almost invariably, if not inevitably, a more or less perceptible undertone of sadness in it. When one makes the retrospect of so long a series of years, the buoyancy and hopefulness of youth are gone ; life and the world have taken upon them a 'sober colouring' ; with the thought of the things done there occurs the thought of the things that have not been done ; the record of the accomplished is written, but the record of the unaccomplished, of what was planned but never finished, and, it may be, never attempted, though planned and cherished with the utmost care and anxiety—the record of this, which, if not the greatest, is often the most impressive part of a human life, is left

unwritten, perhaps with a sigh. For, after all, notwithstanding our philosophies and philosophy of life, and in spite of the light which memory and experience throw upon it, human life, solemn and impressive and much studied as it is, is a queer and perplexing thing, as pregnant with awe-inspiring questions, as enigmatical and as full of disappointments and surprises now as ever. Men aim at one thing and often do another they had never the remotest intention of doing. While they are planning, and apparently working at their plans, a great power silently steps in upon them from behind, quietly sets aside their plans, and secretly turns their endeavours to the fulfilment of plans of its own. Circumstances, the things men meet with in life, amid which they have to shape their course, and out of which they have to obtain the materials with which to build, are not those tractable, or easily controlled things which those who talk about man being the 'arbiter of his own destiny,' or the 'master of circumstances,' would lead one to suppose. They are often far from tractable and far from controllable. As a rule they are strong and inexorable, armed with power to prevent the accomplishment of the brightest ideals, and often to shatter them to pieces. There are brilliant exceptions, or what seem to be such, but for the most part men are the children of circumstances. In the majority of instances, life is a series of disappointments and surprises. The retrospect of it is rarely, and in all particulars never, what it was intended or desired to be. Dr. John More, the Cambridge Platonist, used to say, 'There is something about us that knows much better what we would be after than we do ourselves.' But there is more truth in the hackneyed saying:

'There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.'

It is better, perhaps, that it should be so.

In Mr. Cooper's *Retrospect*, it is possible here and there to catch something of this undertone of sadness; but whether it is attributable to any of the causes we have alluded to, it is not for us to say. His pages, however, are always bright and lively, and if the notes of this undertone are here and there

perceptible, the tone which prevails upon them is, as it was almost bound to be, of an entirely different nature. As unfolded in the *Retrospect*, his life has been one of almost unvaried success, and the position he has attained is one of which any editor may be proud. Whether he has acted wisely in printing and publishing his 'Retrospect,' is a question we do not care to examine, and still less to pronounce upon. Some may be disposed to think that he has made a mistake, and to argue that the publication of reminiscences of the kind he has written ought always to be posthumous, or at anyrate that they ought not to have been issued while he is actively engaged in the direction of the paper about which he has so much to say. In a recent issue, indeed, the London *Times* has taken him to task, and pointed to his *Retrospect* as a violation of journalistic and social propriety. 'It is *pessimi exempli*,' we are told, 'that an editor should thus take the public into his confidence on matters intimately connected with his office which have come to his knowledge solely in his capacity as editor, that he should reveal to the world—we will not say the secrets of the journal he conducts—but the record of its inner workings, and details of the methods in which it has been conducted. These are matters upon which an editor's lips should be sealed, of which, at all events, during his lifetime, above all during his tenure of office, no disclosure should be made. We cannot but think that Mr. Cooper would have done well to reflect upon this view before he wrote as he has done of his relations with various high-placed personages. . . . The *Scotsman* has long been honourably distinguished for its steadfast adherence to the higher ethics and better traditions of the Press; and we cannot but regret that a book by its editor should be in any degree marred by signs of a want of reticence and dignity which is usually associated with the "New Journalism."' The *Times* is no doubt an authority on a matter of this kind; perhaps we should say it is the principal authority; but whether the Editor of the *Times* or the Editor of the *Scotsman* is right it is not for us to inquire. We should imagine, however, that there can be little doubt on which

side the public will be found. Rightly or wrongly, it is possessed by an intense curiosity to penetrate into every editorial sanctum, not excepting that of the *Times*, in order to dissipate the obscurity or mystery in which editors are supposed, or manage, to exist. Whether this desire ought, or ought not, to be encouraged, we do not say. There, however, is the fact. Mr. Cooper has not said all he might say; but by saying what he has, he has lifted the edge of the veil and shown what an editor's duties and temptations are, in what way his duties are often discharged, how they have been discharged in the office of the *Scotsman*, and not a few of the details as to the way in which, under its successive editors and managers, the *Scotsman* has attained its present position. To the public, with its desire for information on these and kindred topics, all this cannot fail to be intensely interesting as well as instructive. Whether the revelations it involves will prove in any way injurious to the position of the *Scotsman* is a question for the Proprietors. Mr. Cooper, we have no doubt, has already carefully considered it. If we might venture an opinion upon it, it would be that the effect will be the opposite. There is probably but one direction in which what Mr. Cooper has written can be said to be calculated to act with an injurious effect, and that is, in the direction of flying political kites—a direction in which, if the injury inflicted tend to discourage the practice, the result may be a great public good.

Fifty years in the history of newspapers carry us back to the days of the old wooden press. Most of the newspapers then were weeklies. Their offices were a kind of sleepy hollows. There was little to do, and that little was done leisurely. Railways were few. The electric telegraph had not been invented. The post brought the latest news long before the offices were closed for the day. Editors were then gentlemen of leisure. Some of them were men of good standing, and vigorous writers. Others of them, whatever their abilities, were given to much eating and to much drinking, and were often put to strange shifts to furnish the requisite copy. Mr. Cooper tells us that one editor of his ac-

quaintance, in those peaceful and slumberous days, printed an article, word for word, from *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* as his leader without a single word of acknowledgment; that another, who wrote dull articles when he was sober, was in the habit of making them bright and vigorous when drunk; and that a third, when applied to for his leading article, which was to appear next morning, called for the *Times*, cut out, with unsteady fingers, one of its leading articles, stuck it upon a sheet of paper, and then, taking his pen, wrote at the top, 'What does the *Times* mean by this?' and that with this introduction the *Times* leader appeared next morning as his own. Since then Journalism has been completely revolutionised. As Mr. Cooper puts it: 'Australia is now as near to us as London then was to Birmingham. The Houses of Parliament are at our doors in Edinburgh. A whisper in a European court is heard in every town in the United Kingdom. News from India is published here an hour before the time at which it was despatched.'

'The old wooden press,' he goes on to say, 'has gone. The Cowper machine has gone. The newspaper has had to keep time with the railway and electric telegraph. It is not often printed from type. The invention of the paper process of stereotyping has added millions to the circulation of newspapers. In the old wooden press days, and in the days of improved machinery that followed, the printing had to be done from type, and it went on at a slow and lumbering pace. Only one side of a sheet could be printed in a single operation, and only one machine could be used. By the adoption of the stereotyping process, it became possible to start several machines, and in that way several thousand copies could be printed in an hour, but on one side only. The other side had to be printed afterwards. Thus every sheet had to go twice through the press. This crippled production, and new presses had to be invented. Now, a single machine will print between twenty and thirty thousand copies an hour on both sides. Rolls of paper are at one end of the machine. At the other end there is an incessant outpouring of newspapers, folded and ready to go into the hands of the reader. The machine will do more than this. Instead of printing a single sheet only, it will print three sheets for the one copy of the paper, place them in position and paste them together. Thus larger papers can be produced than could be issued of old, and hundreds can be printed in the time formerly required to print one. Labour is vastly lessened in proportion to the work done. Yet there are at least a hundred workers employed on newspapers nowadays for one similarly employed fifty years ago.'

'The changes,' Mr. Cooper continues, 'have not been confined to mechanical appliances. The men employed on journalistic work are not what they were.' This of course we must admit. So also must we that 'there are more able men engaged on newspapers now than there were in the wooden press days.' It follows almost of necessity. Many, however, may be disposed to part company and even to join issue with him when he goes on to say:—

'I am a disbeliever in the giants of old times. I don't believe that Sterling or Black could have earned his daily bread as a journalist now. They could command thunderous sentences; they could not command agility. Perhaps the American joker carried my opinion to an extreme length when he said that Shakespere would not make a newspaper man—he lacked the necessary fancy and imagination. But the fact remains that for the most part the journalists of fifty years ago could not have done the work of the journalists of to-day. Nay, the point may be pressed further. Not only could they not have done present-day newspaper work, but present-day newspaper men can and do produce better work than came from the old men.'

'Nobody,' Mr. Cooper tells us, 'need accept this opinion unless he chooses;' but 'there it is, and it will be found difficult of disproof.' In that we fully agree, yet not for the reason Mr. Cooper seems to assume. To our mind the opinion is purely speculative and inferential on a matter in which there are not sufficient data either for proof or disproof. What the 'old men' could do or might have done nobody knows. They did all they were called to do; few men, even among modern journalists, do more. What they did do, the best among them did well; and the inference one would naturally draw, is that with the requisite training and pressure, or working under the same conditions as present-day journalists, they would have proved themselves the equals of those who have succeeded them. The inference may not be safe; we do not say it is; but it is quite as safe as the opposite and as little capable of disproof.

Mr. Cooper's own introduction to journalism was through the business office of a newspaper, presumably in Hull. During the fifty years he has been connected with it he has played almost as many parts as it is possible legitimately to play in

connection with journalism. He has been reporter, art-critic, London correspondent, sub-editor in London, and sub-editor in Edinburgh, the duties with which posts, as his present position as editor of the leading newspaper north of the Tweed sufficiently indicates, he has discharged with credit both to himself and to the journals on which he has been engaged. As reporter and art-critic, he met, as most reporters and art-critics do, with many men, and has not a few curious and entertaining reminiscences to record of them. The Pyne-Harrison Opera Company, he tells us, were used, when on provincial tours, to carry their musical critic with them. 'Of Miss Louisa Pyne,' he says, 'I still love to think as of the sweetest singer I have ever known. Not Patti in all her glory has dethroned my favourite. Grisi with her magnificent dramatic power, I had heard. Titiens and a host of others I can recall with pleasure. But Louisa Pyne, for flexibility of voice and absolute purity of intonation, is with me an abiding and delightful memory.' He has some good stories to tell of things that happened behind the scenes, an exceedingly amusing one of 'an unarranged-for actor' who turned up one night when 'The Manager in Distress' was to be given, and made 'the biggest hit of the night,' and another quite as amusing of Alfred Mellon, the genial conductor of the Pyne-Harrison Company, and his gloves. There are reminiscences, too, of the bad old electioneering days, when the custom of 'chairing' was still in vogue, and bribery at elections was scarcely counted an offence. He was present when Mr. Clay and Viscount Goderich, the present Marquess of Ripon, were returned for Hull. Shortly afterwards they were unseated, and this he tells us was the way of it:—

'A petition was presented against their return. . . . The evidence showed that there had been wide-spread bribery, and a commission of inquiry was issued. The head of that commission was a Mr. Solly Flood, who was, I think, an Irishman. The commission sat for weeks, and brought to light the fact that several thousands of voters had been bribed by payments averaging thirty shillings each. They had been nominally engaged as messengers, and never delivered any message, or went anywhere, except to draw their pay. The business had been managed by an expert old electioneer, familiarly known as Sammy Wilde. He was a little

stout man, whose business was that of a slater. He had been electioneering from his youth upward, and was trusted for his honesty by all the candidates he favoured. In his time he must have had many pretty experiences in the way of bribery; but he had never done it on so large a scale before. The borough narrowly escaped disfranchisement. I suppose its size and the fact that there were a few virtuous men in it saved the constituency.'

It was before this commission that Mr. Clay defended the practice of bribery at elections, at least at Hull, on the ground that those who had received bribes were not unprincipled men, but were in the habit of receiving payment for their votes, and expected to be paid for voting for the man with whom they agreed. The town of Beverley, it would appear, had an electioneering agent at that time who was quite as expert as the agent in Hull.

'Its Sammy Wilde was a man named Daniel Boyes, a publican. He was a great favourite with the free and independent electors. He always took care that there was a contest, and that they were paid. At one election two candidates were under his wing. They were Liberals. One of them was Mr. or Baron Goldsmid, a rich Hebrew. Jewish disabilities had not then been removed; and Boyes pointed out to the electors the everlasting glory that would be theirs if they did their part in the battle of civil and religious freedom by returning Mr. Goldsmid. That would be a great and crowning victory for them as Liberals. Strangely Boyes' ardour for Mr. Goldsmid suddenly cooled. It became known that there was a rupture between them. The rumour spread that Mr. Goldsmid had refused to put his cheque-book at the disposal of Daniel. Such a thing had never been heard of before. It was an unpardonable sin, and it was not pardoned. Mr. Goldsmid was rejected. The other Liberal was returned along with a genuine old Tory, Mr. Sackville Lane Fox. The free and independent electors had resented the indignity put upon them by Mr. Goldsmid, and had voted for Mr. Fox without payment. That at least was said at the time. I am not sure that they had shown so much self-denial.'

The amenities of the hustings figure as a matter of course in these old electioneering reminiscences. They were not always pleasant. Sometimes they were exceedingly rough, especially when they took the shape of paving-stones, brick-bats, rotten fish or rotten eggs. After withstanding a shower of these last, one candidate, as soon as it ceased, wound up what he had to say with the words: 'Gentlemen who

do not intend to vote for me, for these and other mercies' (pointing to his bespatterings) 'I thank you. It is most gratifying that you are not more in number. If you had been, you would have finished me as a man. As it is, you have given me strength as a candidate. You have proved that my foes are not so numerous as my friends. To-morrow I shall win at the poll.' And win, it seems, he did. Such, in fact, was usually the way. The candidate most likely to succeed often got the roughest treatment. Recent legislation has made these pleasant amenities of the hustings things of the past. It is to be hoped that, if it has not done so already, it will soon make the practices of such spirits as Mr. Sammy Wilde and Mr. Daniel Boyes impossible.

Of literary men in these, his early days, Mr. Cooper met with few. There were few to meet. 'At that time a real live author was a man to know. In these days they are as plentiful as blackberries, or Colonels in the United States.' However, he met with three: Samuel Warren, Thackeray, and Dickens. With Warren he seems to have been on intimate terms. At the time he was Recorder of Hull, and had already written his *Diary of a Late Physician*, and 'that wonderful novel,' *Ten Thousand a Year*—books which continued to be eagerly read for some years after, and are not entirely out of date in the present. As a judge, Warren 'was most polite,' and often most severe.

'He used to be as polite with criminals as with friends. On one occasion a prisoner had been found guilty of pocket-picking. He was an old offender. Warren had begun to sentence him with the words, "Prisoner at the bar," when he was interrupted by the Clerk of the Peace, who reminded him that some formality had been omitted. "I beg your pardon, prisoner," he cried, "I must really beg your pardon. I was about to be guilty of an irregularity." Then the formality was gone through, and after a ten minutes' lecture to the prisoner, that worthy was sentenced to as heavy a punishment as could be awarded in the case.'

Warren's weakness—a weakness to which, in Mr. Cooper's opinion, most literary men are given—was vanity. 'He was always posing, always feeling for applause. Yet you could not be angry with him or despise him. He was sincerely and honestly vain. It was the vanity of the child dressed in new

clothes. What is more, he knew he was vain, and he struggled against it without success.' Dickens, for some reason or other, failed to impress Mr. Cooper. 'Doubtless,' he says, 'that was my fault. Anyway, it is a fact.' His meeting with Thackeray was different. The story of it is delightful, and as it forms an hitherto unwritten chapter about one of whom little is generally known, and that little not always correct, though somewhat long, we shall here transcribe it, and as much on Mr. Cooper's account as on Thackeray's. Thackeray, we must premise, was in Hull delivering his lectures on the 'Four Georges.' Mr. Cooper attended the first of them as a reporter, and wrote out a fairly long account of it.

'On the morning when the report appeared, a note from Thackeray was put into my hands at the office. In it he simply asked that the gentleman who had reported his lectures would call upon him. I was mightily proud of the invitation. I pictured to myself the interview, and thought of praises which would be given to me. I knew the report was accurate as far as it went, and it did not enter into my mind that fault could be found with me. I went, and was brought to Thackeray. He rose from his chair, and standing with his back to the fire, beckoned me to a seat. Then the conversation began.

'“Are you the young man who reported my lecture?” he asked.

'“I am.”

'“Do you know, sir, that you have done your best to deprive me of my living?”

'“No,” said I, in sheer astonishment.

'“You have,” he said. “I make my living by delivering those lectures. If they are reported, no one will come to hear them, and I shall not be wanted.”

'“That view of the matter never occurred to me,” I said, somewhat nervously. “I had no other object than to let the general public, who could not hear the lectures, know what they were like.”

'“No doubt,” he said, “but there are people who will be satisfied with mere reports, and I shall be deprived of my just gains as a worker.”

'“Was the report good as far as it went?”

'“Confound it, sir, that is what I complain of. If the report had not been good, I should not have cared. The public would have seen that it was rubbish that I could not have written.”

'“In that case,” said I, “as I have not wronged you by incapacity or stupidity, you have nothing to complain of save my ignorance of your position. That ignorance is now removed, and of course, so far as I am concerned, I shall respect your wishes.”

'“Thank you. Is there any one else to be consulted?”

“Of course,” I replied, “the editor may have views of his own, and I must do his bidding, but I have no doubt that when I tell him what you have said, he will not require the lectures to be further reported.”

“Then you will tell him.”

“Yes, as soon as I see him.”

“Thank you. Then that matter is at an end.”

‘I was rising to go when he said, “And now young sir, what do you think of the lecture?”’

“I thought it very clever,” I replied, “but I thought you had used a great deal of cleverness in trying to hide a kindly heart under the cover of cheap cynicism.”

“Confound it,” he said, “you are frank enough. What do you mean by cheap cynicism?”

“Well, I am scarcely prepared to answer that question off hand.”

“I think you should try to tell me what you mean. It sounds like harsh criticism.”

“Please remember, it is the criticism of a very young man. Perhaps it is impertinent.”

“I am sure you did not mean to be impertinent, I should like to know what was in your mind.”

“I thought the lecture was cynical. You will, I think, admit that it is.”

‘He nodded, and I went on.

“It struck me that the cynicism was what any clever man who chose to give his mind to it could produce, and therefore I spoke of it as cheap cynicism.”

“Thank you,” he said with a smile. “Perhaps you are right. But no one has ever said such a thing to me before. Don’t imagine I am offended. *Ex oribus parvulorum*; you know the rest.”

‘I did, and I felt a little mortified. But the kindness of the tone soon removed all that feeling. I was a babe to him and I had been a venturesome babe.

‘That was my interview with Thackeray. So far as I remember, I never saw him in private again, and doubtless he soon forgot all that had passed. It had one good effect, so far as I was concerned. It made me much more modest in future in expressing opinions as to any man’s literary work.’

The number of those who heard Thackeray deliver ‘The Four Georges’ or any one of his lectures must be rapidly decreasing. The present writer once heard him, not on the same occasion as Mr. Cooper, but on another, and as he cannot remember having seen any account of Thackeray as a lecturer, he will set down what he is able to recall. At the time he

was very young and can remember little of the lecture itself. The place was a northern city, and the lecture, 'George the Third.' Long before the advertised time the hall was packed from floor to ceiling with some fifteen hundred or two thousand people. The area and side galleries were filled with the fashionable part of the audience and presented a brilliant appearance. Punctually to the moment Thackeray appeared on the platform, and after a brief introduction by the chairman the lecturer began. He stood tall and straight, clad in evening dress, with his large white head thrown slightly back, a little to the right, and perfectly calm. When well under weigh he stood upon one leg with the other thrown across it. His right hand was thrust into his trouser's pocket; in the left he held his manuscript. From beginning to end he spoke in a calm, clear, steady voice, well modulated, but seldom rising and seldom falling. Now and then he would change his posture, but made no attempt to assist his voice with the slightest action. The voice went on calmly, steadily, and without interruption. The only motion he made beside the one already mentioned was that of hitching up his spectacles, or shifting the sheets of his manuscript, a process which seemed to be quite unnecessary, as he never referred to or so much as looked at them. He was perfectly audible throughout the whole of the building. There was little or no applause during the lecture, but the moment the lecturer sat down, it broke out into a perfect storm. One of the local notables moved a vote of thanks, but when the chairman turned round to convey it, the lecturer was gone. The lecture, it may be remembered begins with the words: 'We have to glance over sixty years in as many minutes.' On that occasion they were perfectly true. He had just time to deliver the lecture in sixty minutes and then to drive as hard as he could to the station to catch the last train for London, and he did it.

But to return to Mr. Cooper. In 1861, he moved to London, obtained an engagement on the staff of the *Morning Star* as reporter, had various experiences in the Reporter's Gallery as its representative, and in 1862 was installed its chief and sole

sub-editor, with Mr. Samuel Lucas, the brother-in-law of Mr. Bright, for his chief. Among others he had Mr. Justin M'Carthy as a colleague. Of him, when speaking of the contributors to the *Morning Star*, he says :—

'Justin M'Carthy was by far the most scholarly and persuasive. It used to be said of Macaulay that he was a book in breeches. The same might be said of Justin M'Carthy. He had read widely, and he remembered everything he had read. I never knew a man with such a marvellous memory. Rarely have I seen him use a book of reference, yet his articles would often be studded with quotations, and they were always correctly made. He had an easy grace of style, which is not common. He always knew his subject, and thus he wrote with great effect . . . I do not think he can ever attain the highest eminence in anything. He is always pleasing, but never convincing. I mean that what he says and does leaves no lasting impression. What he wanted was a spice of the devil. If he could have got angry, he would have been a great man. Sometimes in his writing he seems to be getting nearly red hot. If he could get to white heat, he would be the foremost writer of his time. In politics it is the same. He has more knowledge of the world and more constructive ability than all the rest of the party to which he adheres. But he cannot be angry ; he cannot get into a passion ; he cannot even simulate one. Thus he has been made a figure-head and vastly inferior men are regarded as real leaders. He would have done better to have kept to literature.'

When Mr. Samuel Lucas, owing to ill-health, was contemplating withdrawing from the editorial direction of the *Morning Star*, Mr. Cooper was asked to take the acting editorship of the journal. He declined and suggested Mr. Justin M'Carthy as the fittest man for the post, and Mr. M'Carthy was appointed.

As sub-editor, Mr. Cooper came across a number of 'liners,' or as they are commonly called penny-a-liners, who in the sixties had a profitable time. Some of them were dishonest ; some of them made mistakes ; most of them were clever. Each of them had his own particular line. One took fires, another inquests, another executions, and so on. One of the fraternity named Butterfield took every hanging whether in London or in the country under his care. A good many of the lines he was paid for were inventions. One hanging he reported never came off. All the same he demanded payment for the copy that had been used. The garrotting

scare which almost created a panic in London some thirty years ago, will be remembered by many. Accounts of attempt to garrot and rob foot passengers appeared in the papers daily. Letters were written; the police were blamed, and there was no end of trouble about it. In the main Mr. Cooper tells us it was the production of liners, and principally of two.

'They furnished most of the reports of garrottings, and distributed the supposed outrages in the most impartial manner over London. No district was safe if these reports were to be trusted. The brothers reaped a rich harvest while the scare lasted. It would have continued longer if they had not overreached themselves. One night they wrote a telling story of a garrotting outrage in St. Paul's Churchyard. They killed the gentleman who was robbed; that is, they stated that he had died of the injuries he had received. The city police had never heard of the affair, and they were anxious to get particulars of it from the newspapers that had printed the story. They got all that could be given; but it was not much. There had been no murder, no robbery, no disturbance of the peace of any kind. The whole report was an invention. From that time little more was heard about garrotting in London.'

Most politicians will remember Mr. Beal's League and the great political movement he was supposed to be at the head of before the Reform Bill of 1867 passed. They will remember, too, the great number of meetings which were said to be held in favour of it, and the number of new leagues and associations that were then started. Mr. Cooper throws considerable light upon them, and reveals a few things that may help to foster a little healthy scepticism about other leagues and associations.

'All these associations,' he says, speaking of some of those of the sixties, 'held their meetings in one place. It was, I think, in Wine Office Court in Fleet Street. They met almost nightly and talked high politics. Their speeches were reported, and, in some cases, commented upon. The liner who furnished the speeches had handsome reward at the end of each week. At last a curious person connected with a newspaper made inquiries, and found that the men who made the speeches did so in conclaves of half-a-dozen in a small room. Those who were not speaking were smoking. One night they were representing this "league." The next night they were representing that "association." It was a manufacture of copy for the liner. I am not prepared to say that the reports he produced had no effect upon the politics of the time. I believe they had. It was generally believed that the associations were real, and that there was a weight of

opinion behind them. The truth was what I have told. Possibly there may have been political movements later with as little substantial basis. But I am not sure that they have been of much profit to any industrious and ingenious liner.'

One liner chose the ecclesiastical line and was known in newspaper offices as the Bishop-maker. He was well educated and could write well. 'The story,' says Mr. Cooper, 'ran thus: when a See became vacant, the liner always sent to the papers, within two or three days, a short paragraph something like this:—"It is stated that the Bishopric of so and so will be conferred upon the Very Rev. Canon —— or the Rev. Dr. ——. The name of the Rev. Mr. —— is also mentioned in connection with the appointment." The next day another paragraph would be sent, putting the matter a little stronger.' The popular belief was that Lord Palmerston, then the great dispenser of ecclesiastical patronage, was largely guided in his selections for bishoprics by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the theory arose that the latter was influenced by these paragraphs and recommended one of the clergymen named. Whether the theory was correct or not, the fact remains, Mr. Cooper tells us, that clergymen whom the liner named were on more than one occasion chosen for bishoprics. A liner who began by styling himself Count Carlo Borromeo was more ingenious still, and had a singular career.

After the *Dial*, which was founded, it would seem, for the purpose of teaching better morals to journalism, had been incorporated with the *Morning Star*, Mr. Cooper saw much of Mr. John Bright, and has many highly interesting reminiscences to relate about him. 'He used to come into my room, and sit for an hour or two, smoking all the while, and talking as few men could talk. It is true of him that to know him was a liberal education.' As to the charge which has sometimes been brought against him that he was a 'narrow man,' Mr. Cooper says 'no charge could be more unfounded. I never met a man with wider sympathies, or with a kinder toleration for those who did not agree with him. . . . I never heard him say an obviously unjust thing: I never heard him say an uncharitable thing of an opponent. I

have heard him scores of times excuse those who assailed him.' In their frequent talks together, Mr. Bright seems to have opened his mind pretty freely to Mr. Cooper respecting many of his political contemporaries. His pet aversion, Mr. Cooper tells us, seemed to be Lord Palmerston. One statement of Mr. Bright's, which Mr. Cooper records, will take not a few by surprise. When speaking of Lord Palmerston, and after calling him 'an aristocrat to the tips of his fingers,' he said, 'I believe this country owes much to its aristocracy, and may in the future owe more.' Mr. Bright has often been called 'the great demagogue.' Those who invented this title for him, probably little imagined that he held any such a belief. For Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Mr. Bright had a 'great admiration,' and 'praised him often as a sincere man of the highest ability.' Earl Russell, then Lord John, was not one of Mr. Bright's favourites; nor was, as might be expected, Mr. Disraeli—I never heard him' [Mr. Bright], Mr. Cooper writes, 'say anything against the Conservative leader that indicated personal dislike, but he has quietly laughed at him many times. He did not believe that Disraeli was in earnest about anything save his own advancement.' Very naturally Mr. Gladstone also often formed the subject of their conversation. The opinions which Mr. Bright is reported by Mr. Cooper to have expressed about him, will seem to many to contain a considerable amount of truth. On one occasion he said: 'He (Mr. Gladstone) is an honest man; he believes what he says. The worst of it is that he too readily believes what he wishes to believe.' When Mr. Cooper urged that 'Mr. Gladstone might take a course that was in the opinion of most people likely to be ruinous,' and asked, 'what then?' Mr. Bright replied, 'Oh, then, "most people" would have to fight him,' and added, 'I see your point and agree with it. Mr. Gladstone is like fire. He is a good servant and may be a bad master.' To the great speech which Mr. Bright delivered on that memorable Saturday evening, when the House of Commons met to pass a Bill suspending *habeas corpus* in Ireland, Mr. Cooper attributes the origin of many, if not most, of the remedial measures for Ireland that have since been passed.

In 1868 Mr. Cooper accepted an invitation to become assistant to Mr. Russel, the Editor of the *Scotsman*. It was not his first connection with that paper. He had already acted as its London agent or correspondent, and tells an amusing story of how, in the early days of the electric telegraph, a clerk in charge of an office in London was too soundly asleep to be awakened by any amount of battering at the door, but was at last awakened by telegraph from Edinburgh. His reminiscences in respect to the *Scotsman* are not exactly a history of it, though they occupy a good part of his volume, but they form the best contribution towards the history of it which has yet appeared. Mr. Cooper speaks with considerable pride of the *Scotsman*, and is entitled to do so. From its foundation in 1817 it has always been characterised by independence, integrity, and enterprise. In several matters of importance it has proved itself the pioneer of improvement, and has laid down lines which the newspapers, both in and out of London, have had to follow. It was the *Scotsman*, or at least its managers, who invented the 'Special Wire,' and the column of 'Private Correspondence.' In the person of Mr. Cooper, it fought the battle of the Reporters' Gallery in the House of Commons for the Provincial papers. It inaugurated the policy of establishing agents in every centre of population, and of dealing directly with them instead of through middlemen. Its manager was chiefly instrumental in breaking down the telegraphic tariff, and securing for the public an abundant supply of the 'latest news.' It was the *Scotsman*, too, that invented the special newspaper trains, an institution which is now at work all over the country, and distributes the newspaper with a speed and regularity scarcely equalled by the Post. These things have proved to be of no small service both to the Press and the public. One result may be noted; the circulation of the *Scotsman* has gone up by leaps and bounds, and while other and older papers have vanished from Edinburgh, it stands now as an example of almost unrivalled success.

As already stated the *Scotsman*—we are of course following Mr. Cooper—was founded in 1817. It originated in no 'politi-

cal oppression;’ but in a purely local discussion. Politics in fact had nothing to do with its origin. Its projectors were Mr. Charles M'Laren, Mr. William Ritchie, Mr. John Robertson, and Mr. John Ritchie. To these were subsequently added, but before the paper was issued, Mr. James Macdonald, Mr. A. Abernethy, printer, and Mr. J. M'Diarmid, then connected with the Commercial Bank, but afterwards editor of the *Dumfries Courier*. The title was invented by Mr. William Ritchie, who ‘drew up the prospectus, and by his exertions, and personal influence, contributed more than any other individual to establish the paper.’ The prospectus was issued on the 30th November, 1816, and the first number of the *Scotsman* appeared on the 25th of January, 1817. The editorship of the paper was nominally in the hands of Mr. C. M'Laren, Mr. Jno. M'Diarmid, and Mr. W. Ritchie, who were known as the ‘Ostensible Editors;’ but ‘the real practical editor was Mr. C. M'Laren.’ For a while the new venture was boycotted by the ‘authorities.’ Sympathisers with it were obliged to be reticent about it. ‘To have been known as a reader of the paper would have been fatal to the business of some of them.’ ‘It has been known, and is true,’ Mr. Cooper says, ‘that “respectable” men who were Liberal in sentiment got their clerks to subscribe to the paper that it might be smuggled into their own houses; the clerks had nothing to lose, the masters had.’ Things have since wonderfully changed. One of the main factors in the change it may safely be said has been the *Scotsman*.

During the eighty years of its existence the *Scotsman* has known, according to Mr. Cooper's *Retrospect*, but three working editors. Unless we are mistaken it has also known a fourth, Mr. R. Wallace, the sitting member for East Edinburgh. Mr. Cooper has been associated with the paper for thirty years, and for twenty has been its chief, and ‘still,’ as the *Times* testifies, ‘conducts the great organ of Scottish opinion with unabated vigour and ability.’ Mr. C. M'Laren, the first occupant of the editorial chair, ‘was a clear thinker, and, as he was to prove, a clear and vigorous writer. His humour was not demonstrative. He it was, who years later, in conversation with Mr. J.

R. Findlay, confessed that he joked with difficulty.' . . . 'Mr. M'Laren had a resolute purpose, a clear grasp of principles, and a gift of clear exposition. He laid the foundation of the paper's character; he justified its existence.' Of Mr. Alexander Russel, Mr. M'Laren's successor, Mr. Cooper speaks with affection. He has many pleasant memories to record of him, and is at great pains to define his exact position in respect to the *Scotsman*. Referring to the notion that Russel was himself the *Scotsman*, and that every article in it was from his pen, he says that in neither case is the statement correct. Russel 'was not the *Scotsman*,' and 'never regarded himself as such.' As to his contributions Mr. Cooper remarks:—

'No doubt the pages bore witness to his skill as an editor. Everybody or almost everybody thought it [the *Scotsman*.] was an everyday proof of his skill as a writer. It was nothing of the kind; for the reason that the ordinary reader could not disentangle what he wrote from what was written by others. In the early years of his editorship, when the paper was published twice a week, most of the articles that appeared might be his, all of them certainly were not. When the paper began to be published daily, he wrote a great deal. It is said that in forty or fifty consecutive publications of the paper, an article from his hand appeared. That is not a wonderful performance as such things are judged now-a-days.' . . . 'He could not write every article in the paper. Yet outside critics attributed all the articles to him; at least they attributed all the best—all that showed humour—to him. In this way some myths have been substituted for facts in regard to his work.'

Apropos of this, Mr. Cooper points out the ideas respecting the duties of a newspaper editor as entertained in London and in the Provinces, and in a measure justifies the idea held in the latter.

'It ought always to be remembered when Russel is spoken of as an Editor that the conception of the duties of that office was different in Edinburgh and in London. There is a like difference between English provincial papers and London papers. The conception of the duties of an Editor in London was, and is, that he ought not to write himself, but correct and mould the writings of others. In my opinion the Edinburgh view is the correct one, if newspapers are to be really vigorous exponents of principles or vigorous critics. If an Editor does not feel a keen interest in a question, he cannot treat it, or have it treated properly, unless he is fortunate enough to find a writer who does take a keen interest in it. Any skilled hand can produce an article of some kind on any subject; only the

man who believes with all his heart in what he writes, and takes a deep interest in it, can produce an article that will move the public. Readers are quick to see through mere phrase-making and sentence-spinning. Thus ninety-nine out of every hundred newspaper articles written to order never have, or could have, the slightest weight. This is why I think an Editor should write as well as mould what is written.'

As many will remember, Russell some years ago gave great offence to Free Churchmen in the Highlands by criticising, with infinite humour, a young Free Church minister who, in his zeal, had denounced a number of young men and women as having sinned against light by dancing at a wedding or some festivity. 'Shortly afterwards Russel was taking a holiday and found himself travelling by coach in Sutherlandshire. There was some stoppage at an hotel door, round which were standing several of the men of the place, whose day's work it commonly was to watch the coach arrive and depart. Russel noticed two or three of these industrious men looking at him and overheard their words. 'See that man sitting on the coach?' 'Yes, who is he?' 'Don't you know him?' 'No, who is he?' 'That iss the enemy of the People of God. It iss Russel, the Editor of the *Scotsman*.' Mr. Cooper has many other reminiscences to relate about his former chief both of a literary, social and political character; but we must refer the reader for them to Mr. Cooper's often amusing and always instructive pages.

When Mr. Cooper came to Scotland in 1868, it was a new country to him. He knew no one in Edinburgh outside the *Scotsman* office, and had only once before visited the city. Before coming for good, 'warnings,' he says, 'were addressed to me in London, by friends there, as to the coldness—atmospheric and otherwise—I should experience in Scotland. At that time—and there are indications that it is to some extent the same now—the London and general English idea of Scotland was, that it was cold enough in winter to rival the climate of the North Pole, that the people were scarcely more than half civilised, that the men wore kilts, and the women short petticoats, with no bonnets, and that no music was known in the country save the skirl of the bagpipes.' There can be no doubt that this was and is the case among many. The

present writer remembers that somewhat later than 1868, the period referred to by Mr. Cooper, and when communication between the two sides of the Border had become more frequent, he had considerable difficulty in persuading an elderly English lady, whom he met in one of the Midland Counties of England, that the people of Scotland were quite as civilised as Englishmen, that they did not all wear kilts, and that they did not all live entirely upon oatmeal. He remembers, too, that when he tried to explain to her that the Church of England was not the Church of Scotland, and that Episcopalians were not in exactly the same position as in England, her look was one of incredulity, and that she abruptly broke off the conversation with the remark that she was 'unable to understand it.' Mr. Cooper mentions an Englishman who was so utterly averse to Scotland that he laid it down in his will, that in the event of any of his children visiting the country, they should be disinherited. That gentleman sat in the House of Commons for one of the divisions of London.

One of the first notable Scotsmen Mr. Cooper met after taking up his residence in Edinburgh was Mr. John Hill Burton, the historian. He has been often described. Mr. Cooper's description of him is as good as any we have met with.

'He was one of the most eccentric of men I have ever met. He seemed to have a supreme contempt for all ordinary conventionalities. He dressed shabbily; he had an untidy appearance. He lived among books, and the dust upon them seemed to have become engrained in his skin and his garments. He had an excellent opinion of his own ability, and it was justified, for he had done most admirable historical work for Scotland. . . . He had great humour of a caustic kind. I do not think he was sympathetic. He prided himself upon the firmness with which he held his opinions. It always seemed as if he were afraid of showing kindly feeling. I do not mean that he was, or even appeared to be, an unkindly man. Such an impression would be altogether unjustifiable. What I mean is that he shut out kindness towards individuals in the exercise of his function of critic. When he had his pen in his hand, every man and every matter must be discussed on sound—or what he believed to be sound—principles, and the man or the opinion he objected to had a bad quarter of an hour.'

Here is a description of a dinner at the old house in which Burton lived on the slope of Craiglockhart Hill.

'Russel, myself, and Mr. Robert Cox, uncle of the present M.P. for South Edinburgh, were invited to dine with Burton. We got there, we found our way, or were piloted, up stone, spiral staircases, and through dim passages, first to the drawing-room and then to the dining-room. There were books in all directions, and after some delay there was dinner. The one feature of it that I remember was that Burton had the wine for use in bottles under the table. Did the wine *on* the table run short, he fished up another bottle from under the table. So we went on to the end of the entertainment. It was an entertainment in other than a material aspect. The talk was good. Russel's buoyancy had a capital foil in Burton's cynicism. A merrier evening was never spent.'

Dr. John Brown, the author of *Rab and his Friends*, was of an altogether different character. 'He was in love with the world, not with worldliness, but with everything animate and inanimate in creation. Evil was a pain to him; good was his desire. He thought more of others than of himself. His modesty was the feature of his character that was known to all men.' Different from both, though in one point similar to Burton, was Professor Blackie. Of him Mr. Cooper makes the somewhat caustic remark: 'No one could see him marching along the street, plaid on shoulder, staff in hand, without seeing that he had what the Kilbarchan weaver called "a guid conceit o' himsel."' Mr. Cooper is inclined to think that the world 'likes that kind of development.' We are inclined to think the same. As Mr. Cooper further remarks, 'the world is disposed to take a man at his own estimate. It wants self-assertion.' All the same Blackie had many good points and the public liked him.

To Mr. Cooper's intimacy with Mr. Bright we have already referred. Among the other politicians or leaders in politics who figure in his reminiscences are Mr. John Morley, the late Mr. Craig Sellar, Mr. Adam, now Sir W. P. Adam, whose acquaintance he made, shortly after joining the *Scotsman*, in Edinburgh, and who was then the manager of the affairs of the Liberal party in Scotland. Others were the late W. E. Forster, the late Lord Grauville, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Chamberlain, the late Mr. Childers, the late Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Bryce, and Mr. Gladstone. The last time he

saw Lord Randolph Churchill was in Edinburgh. The conversation that passed was long and interesting. Several passages in it deserve to be cited, but we restrict ourselves to the following :—

‘Then the talk went on to the question of Naval defence, and he told me many facts that had come to his knowledge about our navy and the navy of France. This led him to make a most remarkable declaration—“If I had known when I was in office what I know now, I would have cut off my hand rather than have resigned when I did.” It was obvious that he was very much in earnest. The avowal led him to say that impetuosity had been his great fault. He jumped to conclusions too readily, he said ; and he added that he was very headstrong.’

With Mr. Gladstone Mr. Cooper had no personal acquaintance till the year 1879, the year of the first Mid-Lothian campaign. Mr. Cooper saw a good deal of him both then and subsequently. In 1885 he made the acquaintance of Mr. Childers, who in the general election at the end of that year, after losing his seat for Pontefract, was returned for the Southern Division of Edinburgh. Between the two a pretty close intimacy sprang up, and Mr. Cooper gives a very remarkable account of Mr. Childer's attitude towards Home Rule. The whole passage is very curious, but too long for quotation. The following contains the gist of it:—‘Several times during the general election of 1886 Mr. Childers came to me. I was on the Unionist side ; he was on the side of Mr. Gladstone. . . . All the time in talks with me, he was expressing his regret that Mr. Gladstone had brought forward the Home Rule Bill, or that he had made it what it was. Again and again my visitor assured me that he was much more nearly in agreement with me than he was with Home Rule. All the same he defended the Bill in public and kept on Mr. Gladstone's side.’ To this Mr. Cooper adds : ‘Mr. Childers was by no means singular among the colleagues of Mr. Gladstone.’ . . . ‘After the Bill was introduced, and frequently in the years since, I have heard from their own lips condemnation of the whole policy of Home Rule, and especially of Mr. Gladstone's share in it.’ Then comes the remark : ‘They have not said these things on public platforms.’ Mr. Cooper also records how Mr. Childers while a member of the Cabinet sent to him for publication an outline

of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, which he inserted in the *Scotsman*. For doing this Mr. Cooper has been seriously taken to task. But if it was sent to him, as he alleges it was, for publication, the fault, if fault it was, can scarcely be his. It would appear that Cabinet 'secrets' are not always regarded as secrets.

Mr. Cooper was on board the *Tantallon Castle* in June, 1895, when the news was received of the defeat of the Rosebery Government, and depicts the consternation which was felt by the majority of those who, at the invitation of Sir Donald Currie, had joined Mr. Gladstone for the purpose of witnessing the opening of the Kiel Canal. 'They were at no pains to disguise their vexation. . . All the rest of the day there was uneasiness amongst the ministerial section of our party. They could not talk of anything but the defeat.' This was on a Saturday. Next day all attended church service. Mr. Cooper is afraid that many minds were wandering from the prayers to the political situation. That, however, he says, was not the case with Mr. Gladstone's mind, for 'he was engrossed in the service. Nothing could divert his attention from it.' On the Monday Mr. Cooper had an interview with Mr. Gladstone, who said to him :

'I am an old man, conscious that I stand on the verge of the grave, and that I should have liked to tell you that though political affairs have now little or no interest for me, I have been impressed by the honesty with which you have conducted your paper. I do not read many newspapers, and have not done so for some time; but particular matters in newspapers are brought under my notice, and what you have written has often been brought to me. We have differed. I could not agree with you. I think you have been wrong; but I have been impressed by your straight-forwardness and earnestness in enforcing your views. Perhaps if there had been as much straight-forwardness in other quarters it would have been better.'

This must be our last quotation. We close the volume with reluctance. It is full of good things. Nothing is set down in malice. Everything in it is kindly and straightforward. For the history of the *Scotsman* it is of exceptional value. It is of value too for the history of politics. There is not a dull page or paragraph in it, and whosoever takes it up will be unwilling to lay it down until he has read to its last page.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. I., 1897).—The first article here is on the metre of the Book of Job, ‘Die metrische Beschaffenheit des Buches Hiob.’ It is by Professor Ley, of Kreuznach, and is the second of two studies on the same subject. The first appeared in 1895. In the former part of his study he separated the prose sections of the book from the poetical, and endeavoured to show that the accents and tones were of considerable help to us in getting at the meaning of the text as the Massorettes understood it, as well as in helping the reader in its correct canticulation. Here he deals with the difficulties which the accentuation of the monosyllabic particles and pronouns offer. It is an elaborate and learned paper, but is of a kind that does not admit of being briefly summarised. It is too minute in its details and too technical for that.—The second article is by Herr Pfarrer R. Drescher, of Lampertheim, in Hesse. Its title is, ‘Der zweite Korintherbrief und die Vorgänge in Korinth seit Abfassung des Korintherbriefes.’ This second Epistle, he regards as composed of two epistles, both written by Paul, but at different periods of his ministry. J. S. Semler broached this idea so long ago as 1776, and it has found favour with several critics both since and now, though there is not unanimity altogether as to the order in which the epistles were composed. Our author here thinks that not a few of the difficulties which exegetes have found in the Epistle arise from this fact not having been observed, or having been ignored by them. The first of the component epistles embraces the first nine chapters; the second the last four. Herr Drescher endeavours to determine the circumstances that led to the earliest of the two being written, and discusses the moot question as to whether 2 Cor., ii., 5 ff., refers or not to the incident mentioned in 1 Cor., v. He does not think so, and gives his reasons for his opinion. He criticises very fully the views of Klöpffer and Krengel, shewing, as against the former, the radical difference there is between the two cases; and, as against the latter, that the matter which grieved the Apostle was of a far more serious character than a mere legal question between two members of the Church in Corinth, which had been carried by them to a civil tribunal. It was a matter clearly affecting the Apostle himself, and could hardly have been

anything other than an attempt on the part of some one to blacken the Apostle's character, and destroy his influence in the Church there. When this letter was written the burden on Paul's mind was lightened by the coming of Titus to him from Corinth with the good news that the converts there had been re-established in their confidence in him, and had dealt somewhat severely with his traducer. Paul pleads now for a more lenient course being pursued towards the offender. Meanwhile the Apostle had taken the matter so much to heart that he determined to alter his missionary plans, and had made up his mind to again visit Corinth. He therefore sent this epistle by Titus and two others, to apprise the Church at Corinth of his purpose, as well as to counsel moderation on the part of his friends there in their dealings with the offender. The second letter is then taken up. A summary is given of its contents; and various questions pertinent to it are discussed, such as the occasion or circumstances which called it forth, the differences which are so readily marked between the two letters in their tone, matter, and purpose, etc. The order of Paul's missionary journeys and those of Titus are also dealt with at some length, as also the disputed points of the chronology of these journeys, and the issue of Paul's work in Corinth. The other articles in this number are chiefly of an historic interest. The most elaborate of these is by Herr Pastor A. Becker, of Lindau, 'Des Zerbster Superintendenten Wolfgang Amling Ordinationen, 1578-1606.'—Then follow, 'Bemerkungen zum Briefwechsel der Reformatoren,' by Herr D. Knaake; 'War Luther am 24 Februar 1539 in Grimma?' by Dr. Enders; and 'Zur Frage uber Luther's Grab,' by Dr. Julius Köstlin.'—Under 'Rezensionen,' the Dogmatic System of Lipsius and Ritschl are contrasted, and a short notice is given of Karl Kohler's 'Lehrbuch des deutsch-evangelischen Kirchenrechts,' Vol. VII.

R U S S I A .

THE RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL (*Voprosi, Filosofii i Psichologii*).—Questions, Philosophical and Psychological, begins its 33rd Number, with an article from the pen of M. N. A. Tsvantzoff on the fundamental principle of Beauty. The article begins by remarking that there are matters practically known to all, on which, nevertheless, it is difficult to decide very many points from the theoretical point of view. The question of the Beautiful is one of them. It is difficult to determine the significance of this term, and to say what is to be understood by it, viz., what is Beautiful, and wherein consists what we name Beauty! The present article seeks to give some answer to this question.

The first conclusion to which the author comes is, that Beauty is not to be found in Nature. Beauty he holds to be a purely subjective feeling, which belongs to the class of emotions known as pleasurable. Exception may be taken to the utilitarian theory of the Beautiful, but at the same time, there is much that is well founded in the identity of the beautiful and the useful. Our subject is not, whence arises the Beautiful? but wherein consist the properties of the external phenomena, which produce in us the impression of the beautiful? It is known to all that the beautiful arises in manifold differing ways. That which appears beautiful in one relation may appear formless in another. Lines which are beautiful in themselves may lose this by connection with other lines in, say, an architectural *façade*. Again a music dissonance without being impressive in itself may yet give a certain beauty from being combined with other musical effects. There are similar formless expressions to be found in the physical and moral relations of personalities like Falstaff and Richard III. to cite Shakespeare, which play a similar part in the drama or literature. There exists such a thing as diabolical beauty, that is a beauty which possesses a kind of demoniac character. There is nevertheless a general principle determining the beauty of all phenomena. In order to render the matter more clear the author begins with commoner phenomena, such as lines and their relations. Lines done by rulers are more beautiful than those done by hand. Why? Because they are more correct, and more correct lines are more beautiful. Circles are more beautiful, whose radii are equal, and lines drawn evenly between two points. The author holds that when lines are not correctly drawn it is easy to explain the dissatisfaction which we experience, in looking at them. The subjective condition to satisfy the mind is not fulfilled, and therefore the mind is dissatisfied. Our author goes rather further than we can follow him in variation of lines from the proper curve, etc., and the consequent impression made upon the mind of the beholders. He refers also to the fact, that in making such lines, curves, etc., the badly constructed are less easily remembered. Thence he goes off to the Italian religious paintings of the fifteenth century. These he holds are parallel in their phenomenal character to the pictures and *ikons* of the Byzantine period with which the Russian mind is so familiar. The spirit is exalted; the body is abased. In the fourteenth century a more natural tendency prevailed, which is also reflected in the artistic productions. The *ikons* are covered with gold and silver, while at the same time, the clothing took more agreeable colours, red, yellow, green and blue. Fra Angelico, Perugino, Monaco and other Italian artists at the end of the fourteenth and

fifteenth century showed a reconciliatory spirit and a reactionary tendency. In the relation of colours and sounds we see the same tendency manifested, supplementing one flower with another, produces the same agreeable impression. The painter is often led unconsciously to supplement one colour by another, and this may be seen practically illustrated in the epoch of the Renaissance. For example, with Ghirlandajo in his *La Vergine col Bambino*, we see in the lights a rosy shade, while in the half tones, it is completely green. The same effects are met with later in Dolci. Our author follows this view also in regard to music, which he holds is nothing else than a mathematic of sounds. In the later parts of the article he applies the same doctrine to literature in the Shakespearian dramas.—The second article is a continuation of M. Serge's examination of Herder's 'Philosophy of History.' The general effect of his studies were concentrated in the endeavour to realize *aim* and *law* in History, in union with the general structure of the world, in so far as this was open to his observation. Apart from the whole positive results reached, in this way, the very position of the question presented a great result for historical science. Charmed with the limitless universality and the wide structure of world laws, Herder seemed to animate History and rescue it from being swallowed up by petty interests and affectations; he seemed to place the doctrine of progress in History on the most unassailable grounds. He identified history with humanity, and sought to reach in the identification the loftiest results. But the final result he was not able to deduce to his satisfaction, and he was compelled, as he found so much incompatible with his optimism in the fate of Humanity, to follow in the footsteps of Rousseau in the exaltation of the noble savage.—The article following upon this is a continuation of Prince Serge N. Trubetskoi on 'The Foundations of Idealism.' The present article deals with the third stage of Idealism, *Faith* as a factor of knowledge. The author takes up as the beginning of his speculation that not only have we a sensuous apprehension of phenomena we also *know* them. The world is not only a community of sensuously apprehended occurrences, these are bound together in the relations of thought. But Prince Trubetskoi's Idealism goes further—the World is not only felt and known, it also exists; in other words, the world is a world of *real* beings like ourselves, and at the same time distinguishable from ourselves, which is something more than a world of felt phenomena, ideas, and conceptions. If nothing existed except conceptions and presentations, our determinations of being as thought and as made apparent in phenomena as objective presentations and objective conceptions or ideas,

would be fully and exhaustively determined. In as far as we admit that something exists not only in our thoughts and receptivity, but in the associated real existence that is without us, we assume the existence of something that cannot be determined by us as ideas or presentations, common and every day objects of thought and feeling. Real existences without us are not merely 'things in themselves,' they are thought by us, they are manifested to us, and, at the same time, we believe that they exist for us, independently of our thoughts and feelings. Whence do we come to the knowledge of these? We may endeavour to make all possible psychological explanations of this faith in external reality; but in every case we ought to admit that the recognition of external reality, or of the externality of outward phenomena, and in special of that which is self-originated, independent of us as living beings, for whom the phenomena exist as apart from us, a recognition of such reality as has not sufficient logical grounds, neither in our feelings taken in and for themselves, nor in our abstract thoughts—this is an act of *faith*, the third factor of our knowledge. *Being* is determined, consequently, not only as an object of feeling and thought, but also as an object of *faith*.—The final article of the general portion of the journal is a discussion on M. N. N. Strachoff as a critic. This paper was read at a sitting of the Moscow Psychological Society on the 11th April last. M. Strachoff, as we learn from the article itself, is a highly cultivated and talented writer, the characteristics of whom were noted in the March-April number of the 'Questions,' in an article from the pen of M. N. A. Grot, the late editor of this journal. M. Strachoff admits himself to be a follower of A. Grigorieff, whom he rates as the first of Russian critics, indeed, the founder of criticism in this country. Further on we learn that lately M. Strachoff has been overwhelmed with admiration of Count Leo Tolstoi, so much so that he has been leaving the rôle of a critic, and has been expressing sympathy and wonderment at the performances of Count Tolsti. In fact M. Strachoff has ceased to be a critic and has become a wholesale admirer. The author of the article then goes back to M. Strachoff's judgments of Turgeneff. It was natural that the admiration should be in this case still more unmeasured, as when he says that if the brother Slavs are to ask books from Russia, they will send them, with well satisfied hearts, Turgeneff, Ostroffski, and Nekrassoff. By and bye, following up M. Strachoff in his past judgments, he finds and points out not a few contradictions and incorrect judgments, and then concludes that M. Strachoff is not right in his professed submission to national views and ideals in his critical judgments, but ought to free himself from the over-

weening national spirit and religious onesidedness!—In the special part we have a discussion of Space and Time, as to what is permanent and unchanging in them,—of course following Kant.—On this follows a translation of the ‘Book concerning the honour of Parents’ by the able Japanese writer Konissi, one of the most popular books of China including, in part, the teaching of Confucius. Here is largely contained the popular morals of China to perfect men for life or death.—On this follows a treatise on the Kabbala, the mystical philosophy of the Jews, by Baron Günzburg, with note by Vladimir Solovieff.—This is succeeded by a lengthy article on ‘Psycho-physiological Researches concerning Microbes,’ on which follows the usual Bibliography and reviews of publications.—Hereupon follows lengthened notes by M. A. A. Tokarski, Docent of the Moscow University, taken in the Psychological Laboratory.

ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (November 1).—The most attractive article in this number is one by Edmondo De Amicis, describing visits he paid to Jules Verne and Victor Sardou. Of the first, he tells us that he does not show his almost eighty years, that he is kind and grave, very modest about his own works, indefatigably industrious, going to bed at 8 in the evening, it is true, but rising at 4 a.m. and working till noon. He lives quietly at Amiens with his pleasant wife, and writes two romances a year. But he only publishes one a year, so that he has a stock on hand. He reads up geography and history for each of his romances, and means to go in regular progression through all the regions of the globe, making his imaginary voyages and travels. His scientific material lies ready to his hand in innumerable notes. His and his wife’s principal recreation is a visit to a theatre twice a week. Of Sardou, De Amicis tells us that he looks more like a high diplomatic ecclesiastic than a dramatist; he is very frank and talkative, and told his visitor all about himself without being asked. He, too, looks younger than his seventy years, and takes infinite pains with his dramas, copying the dialogue four or five times, and continually interpolating corrections between the leaves and on the margins of the MSS. He deplores the manner in which French actors gabble their parts, only at rehearsals and at the first performance do they speak with the proper slowness. And Madame Bernhardt, says Sardou, is as bad as any of them. —After this delightful paper, comes an archæological treatise by Countess Lovatelli; one on the predictions of Brunetto Latini, by F. Colagiosso; and another on Charles II., Bourbon, and the supreme regency of Parma.

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (October 1).—V. Ricci ends his many chapters on decentralization, saying that the question has now entered into the actual practical and realistic camp; the work of remaining true to national unity founded on the monarchy while striving for elevated ideals may be greatly assisted by congresses and committees.—Follows an eloquent appeal in behalf of abandoned children by Signora Marselli, in which she also gives an account of what was formerly and is now done in Italy and other countries, but all of which is insufficient.—After continuations of previous articles, comes one on the Armenian massacres from the pen of Carlo Bassi, reviewing the futile efforts of the diplomatists, and giving a terrible list of victims to Turkish cruelty.—(November 1).—Besides continuations of former papers, this number contains articles on the ‘Rural Classes’ by G. P. Assirelli; on ‘Empiric Finance,’ by F. Beroaldo; on ‘Electoral Decentralization,’ by G. Busnelli; ‘A Defence of Pestalozzi,’ by G. Allievo; and a ‘Criticism of Dupanloup’s *Learned Women*,’ by G. Grabinski.—In an article describing a visit to Orvieto during the late Eucharistic Congress, Signor R. Ricci mentions various interesting things in that mediæval city which still strongly retains the stamp of past times. He reminds his readers that in the church of San Francesco, Edward I of England and his queen, Charles of Anjou, and Pope Gregory X., were all present at the funeral of the English Henry in the year 1273. The quarter in which this church is situated has the narrow, tortuous old streets of the ancient city, when it was crowded with 30,000 inhabitants. Now it has scarcely 8000. Here, too, is the Tower of the Moor, whose bell called the citizens to arms. Not far off is the modern Savings Bank, on the facade of which is inscribed, ‘From this window, on the 26th August, 1867, Guiseppe Garibaldi, on his way to Rome, spoke to the stupified people of his bold enterprise.’ In the Eucharistic Exhibition, says Signor Ricci, were exhibited all the Vestments of a saint, not mentioned in the calendar, but highly venerated by the inhabitants of Sutri and Nepi. This saint is St. Nonnosò, and the people hold him in such high esteem that they have even preserved his stockings!—(November 16)—G. Angelino writes apropos of the eighth anniversary of the passing of the Crusades through Rome, saying that the Pope’s idea of the union of the churches is a new crusade for the salvation of Jerusalem and the East from their slavery to ignorance and schism.—Doctor Lamónico commences a detailed account of a voyage in an emigrant ship from Palermo to New Orleans. He gives an enthusiastic description, in passing, of Gibraltar.—Former papers are continued, and B. Clementi writes on the terrible pellagra

disease in the province of Vicenza. A Commission was sent to that province to report, with a view to combating the evil. Among the number of towns and villages affected, sixteen are worse off than the others.—Follow a report of the acts of the Catholic Congress at Fiesole; a paper on local finances; and two labour articles by A. Rossi.—(December 1)—G. Grabinsky writes a long and enthusiastic article on ‘The Life and Works of the Bishop of Cremona,’ who has just celebrated his episcopal jubilee, and is one of the most able and distinguished of Italian ecclesiastics. The writer calls him a precious example, a useful clerical workman, a glorious citizen, and a practical Christian, whose whole effort is devoted to advancing the spiritual well-being of mankind.—A. Astori writes on ‘Religious Teaching in Schools.’—Fiction is represented by a pleasant little tale, entitled ‘The Letters of a Betrothed,’ by G. Denti.

LA CULTURA (October-November).—Among the reviews here is one of Mahaffy’s *Empire of the Ptolemies*, in which the critic opines that it would have been desirable to dedicate some special chapters to a systematic exposition of the ‘ancientness’ of Ptolemaic Egypt, as Professor Lombroso’s book leaves much to be desired from the historic point of view, and this want might have well been supplied in Mahaffy’s work. Mahaffy might also, says the critic, have said more about the foreign possessions of the Ptolemies, for no one reading his book can gain a clear idea of the manner in which the Ptolemaic dominion on the Egeean Sea originated, or of the extent of that dominion.—Another English book reviewed is Cecil Torr’s *On the Interpretation of Greek Music*, praising the author’s clear, orderly, and logical arrangement of his subject.

GIORNALE DANTESCO (Year 4, Nos. 5-6).—Here are published G. Carducci’s verses for the inauguration of Dante’s monument at Trento.—The other papers are: ‘The Sixth Circle in the Topography of the Inferno,’ by N. Zingarelli; ‘The Defence of Petrarch,’ by G. Melodia; ‘Guido Guinozelli and his Poetic Reforms,’ by A. Bongioanno.

RIVISTA ITALIANA DI FILOSOFIA (Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec.)—contain: ‘The Value and Limits of a Psychogenesis of Morals,’ by J. Petrone.—‘Roger Bacon: Experiences and Arguments,’ by A. Valdarini.—‘Two Examples of Evolutionary Philosophy,’ by G. Marpillero.—‘The Beautiful in Art and Nature,’ by F. Ferri.—‘The Psychology of Sentiment,’ by G. Villa.—‘Herbert Spencer and Evolution,’ by A. Veladita.—‘The Method of Moral Doctrine,’ by E. Morsella.

NAPOLI NOBILISSIMA (October).—There is in this number an interesting article by Aldo Blessich on the geographer, Abbé Galiani, which shows the part Galiani had in forming maps of Naples.—De la Villi writes on the expiatory chapel of Conridine at the Mercato, which was destroyed by fire in the last century.—Fabio Colonna writes on ‘The Castle of St. Elmo,’ relating its history during the revolution of Massaniello, and the two sieges of Naples in the 18th century.—(November).—‘The Royal Palace at Portici, its Origin and Present State, and Principle Events, down to the French epoch.’—‘The Discovery of Herculæneum and the Museum of Portici,’ by N. del Pezzo.—‘The Paintings and Frescos in the Atrio of Sant Severino,’ by N. F. Faraglia.—‘Castle St. Elmo,’ by F. Collonna di Stigliano.—‘Legends of Places and Houses in Naples,’ by B. Croce.

EMPORIUM (October and November) contain: ‘Contemporary Artists: Arnold Boecklen,’ by F. Novati.—‘The Mystery of the Pyramids,’ by E. Bracco.—‘The Poets of the Caucasus,’ by M. Cermenati.—‘Among the Albums and Posters,’ by V. Pica.—‘Montenegro,’ by P. B.—‘Carl Marr,’ by f. Roux.—‘William Morris,’ by P. B.—‘The Movement of the Ice in the Valley of Cogne,’ by A. Druetti and F. Potto.—‘Thought and Brain,’ by G. Antonini.—‘Mosaic Art in Venice,’ by A. F. Fantoni.—‘Oriental Customs and the Selamlek,’ by P. Bettoli.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 5, 1896).—The first article here is the continuation of M. L. Knappert's ‘Le Christianisme et le Paganisme dans l'histoire ecclésiastique de Bède le vénérable.’ The two questions he sets himself to answer here are, What does Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* teach us as to the Christianity of his contemporaries? and, What can be gathered from him as to the influence Christianity exercised upon them? As to the first of these questions, Bede enlightens us only, or almost only, as to the outward forms of contemporary Christianity. He tells us very little as to its inner life. It is the pomp and ceremony that chiefly inspire his pen, the multiplication of convents, and the rules laid down for the regulation of every-day duty in them. He details the visions with which this or that monk was favoured, but says next to nothing as to the spiritual life of the recluses. The immorality and other gross vices, of which the monks and nuns of the period have been accused, he passes over in all but absolute silence, though elsewhere he has spoken of immorality, gluttony, and drunkenness as not altogether unknown within the walls of the

convents then. As to the influence of Christianity on the morals of the people and the legislation of the rulers, Bede's testimony is that on the whole it was beneficial. M. Knappert reminds us here that in judging of that influence, we must take into our consideration the brief period over which that influence had been exercising itself on the people, and how rude were the manners of the Anglo-Saxons before the Christian faith was introduced into the country. The second article is titled 'Symbolique des Religions anciennes et modernes—Leurs rapports avec civilisation.' It was the opening lecture of a course delivered by Professor Louis Menard at the Hotel de Ville, Paris. The lectureship is instituted for the benefit of the people by the Municipality of Paris, and embraces lectures on subjects that come under the category of Universal History. The History of Religions belonging to that order, M. Menard was charged with a course of lectures on it. This introductory lecture the Redaction of this *Revue* gives here, 'comme specimen de l'importance que l'honorable professeur attache a l'histoire religieuse générale et de la méthode adoptée par lui pour la faire apprécier d'un public non universitaire.' It is an admirable specimen of what a popular lecture should be in such circumstances and on such a theme. It is not burdened with technical phraseology, and gives a very excellent summary and appreciation of the whole subject to be dealt with in the lectures to follow. M. Menard sets out with a working definition of Religion itself, and then describes some of the most important of the manifold forms in which it presents itself to the student, those especially which have exercised important influence on the development of human thought and life, such as Egyptian Pantheism, Semitic Monotheism, and Indo-European Polytheism. The modifications which these have undergone in the course of time are also here briefly traced. Passing on to consider the history of religious change, he brings out the part which symbolism in forms, rites, and language, has played in it; the effect which the advancement of Science has had in limiting the sphere of religious opinion, and next shows how Religion has been the inspiration of Art, and has effected moral and political institutions. The closing part of the lecture is devoted to the importance of the study of the history of religions in these days, as so much depends on a thorough knowledge of that history for the peaceful relations of nations and the interchange of commerce and of thought.—A brief article follows, 'Le Pied du Buddha,' which describes some of the results of the exploration of the Valley of the Me-nan, in Siam, as detailed by M. Lucien Fournereau in his recent work, *Le Siam ancien*.—The first place among the

Book Reviews is given to a lengthy and highly appreciative notice of Professor Menzies' *History of Religions*. It is by M. Goblet d'Alviella. Two American works are also somewhat fully dealt with—Henry Charles Lea's *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Christian Church*, and H. K. Carroll's *The Religious Forces of the United States*.

REVUE SEMITIQUE D'EPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 4, 1896).—The entire contents of this number are furnished by the fertile pen of M. Halévy himself, with the single exception of some eight pages of 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiophe,' by M. J. Perruchon. The first part of M. Halévy's 'Recherches Bibliques' continues his examination of the Book of Genesis, and embraces Chaps. xxxvii.-xlv. A brief summary of the narratives there given is followed by a critical analysis of the text, and emendations are, as usual, offered where the text seems to have been corrupted through the oversight of copyists, or the alterations of would-be-wise redactors. The difficulties created by these corruptions, or alterations, have been the chief causes of the parcelling out of the text into fragments by the modern school of criticism, and the assigning of the fragments to different sources. It is to controvert this view that M. Halévy gives himself such infinite pains here. After the analysis, he takes up the sections of the story in their order, and endeavours to meet all the objections raised against the unity of authorship by the members of the school in question. Dillmann's work is taken as representative of the school. We must limit ourselves to a single specimen of M. Halévy's method of dealing with the opinions of his opponents; but the one will be enough to illustrate it, and show its value. The first in order will serve as well as any other. Genesis xxxvii. 2-36, tells the story of Joseph being sold by his brethren, and being taken away to Egypt. Dillmann's comment on it is quoted. The section is regarded by Dillmann, and his school, as an amalgam of B and C, for these, and other, reasons;—viz., first, that in one part of the story it is Reuben who protects Joseph, and in another it is Judah; second, that in one part of the story it is the Midianites who steal and sell Joseph to the Ishmaelites, and in another it is his brethren; and third, in one part of it it is Joseph's tale-bearing against his brothers that arouses their hatred, while in the very next verse it is the partiality of Jacob for Joseph and the dreams which he retailed to them that aroused their jealousy and anger. M. Halévy meets these objections in turn. As to the first of them, he sees no contradiction between the statements found fault with. Reuben desired from the first to save Joseph's life and restore

him to his father. His counsel was given in order to accomplish afterwards that purpose. Judah, when the Ishmaelite caravan appeared, saw a likely and profitable means of getting rid of Joseph without imbruing his hands in his brother's blood, or involving himself and the rest of them in the guilt of murder. Hence his counsel. But the one stands in no contradiction to the other. As to the second point, the difficulty arises from v. 28. As the text stands just now we read, 'Then there passed by Midianites, merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph from the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites, etc.' From that reading it would certainly seem that the Midianites had intervened in the proposed transaction of the brothers, had found Joseph in the pit, and took him out from it, and sold him to the Ishmaelites, stealing him, so to speak. But by a slight change in the transcription of the initial word of this verse (which is demanded by the Hebrew) M. Halévy gets out of the difficulty. The verb in this way becomes a noun, 'les voyageurs, les passants,' and so we now read, 'The travellers were Midianite merchantmen; and they (the brethren of Joseph) drew and lifted up Joseph from the pit and sold him to the Ishmaelites, etc.' The caravan passing by consisted of Midianites and Ishmaelites, and the offending clause is simply a note to that effect. As to the third point, M. Halévy suggests the transposition of the clause in v. 2, 'and he was a lad,' to the end of the verse. The Hebrew, he says demands it. If this is done, the clause gives a reason for Joseph telling tales against the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, viz., that he was young. But they were the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah only that had reason for hating Joseph on account of his tale-bearing; the others hated him because of their father's partiality for him, and because of his dreams. Here again, therefore, there is no contradiction between the two statements, but absolute harmony. Still one must read the whole of the defence to appreciate fully its force. The second part of these 'Recherches' is devoted to the Psalms. Those passed under review here are Psalm lxvi. on to Psalm lxxviii. Each is dealt with by itself; any obscure word or phrase is explained, or a correction is suggested; and a new translation of the so amended text is then given. Where possible, too, the date of each is hazarded, and the occasion of its composition. The next article is a continuation of his philological notes on the Babylonian texts given in the previous number, and other texts are here transcribed and translated, in the same way. Then follows a short paper on Jephthah's vow. In it he defends the view that the girl was not offered as a burnt-sacrifice, but was consecrated to the service of the temple, and so dedicated to perpetual vir-

ginity. The Levitical Law expressly made provision for such an incident as happened in Jephthah's case, as well as for other impossible offerings. If a person vowed to make an offering unto the Lord, but, for any reason, the animal was of a kind that could not be accepted as an offering, it was not sacrificed, but it was set apart as holy, and could only be used in connection with the temple, or with the service of the Lord. So with a human being. M. Halévy has here some very valuable remarks as to the hierodules connected with the sanctuary, in which he shows that they were not what they are so often misrepresented as, but were virgins, consecrated so for life. We have space only for the titles of M. Halévy's other papers; 'L'Inscription éthiopienne de l'obélisque près de Matara;' 'L'Inscription cappadocienne d'Arslan-Tepe;' 'Nouvelles Remarques sur les inscriptions de Nerab.' In addition to all that, the *Bibliographie*, also from his pen, occupies eleven pages.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1896).—The three articles which make up the contents of this number are all continuations of more or less lengthy Treatises that are appearing first in these pages in this sectional form. M. the Abbé A. Loisy—'Les Évangiles Synoptiques'—carries forward his examination and comparison of the texts of the first three Gospels. The earlier parts of this work appeared in another periodical, 'l'Enseignement Biblique,' and the first instalment of what remained to be published of it appeared in the last number of this *Revue*. Here M. Loisy deals with the narratives recording the Mission of the Twelve, and then the accounts the Synoptics give of the death of the Baptist. The narratives are set side by side in parallel columns, where all the three Gospels, or where any two of them, give the same details. The passages which are peculiar to any of them are given, of course, singly. But in every case the text (in translation) is fully given. In the comment which follows, all omissions and variations are duly noted, and a probable reason is sought for them. The narratives are examined throughout in a critical, as well as, it need not be said, in a reverent spirit. The learned Abbé is not afraid to express his opinions though they may be at variance with those which his Church is supposed to hold very tenaciously. He does not hesitate, when need seems to him to call upon him to do so, to impune the inerrancy of the sacred text. He regards the Gospel of Mark as the principal source from which the two others drew their information. Other, both written and oral, sources were drawn upon by both evangelists, as these seemed to them to furnish matter which they desired to use. Each of them had his own purpose to serve by

his work, and this led them to arrange, to adopt, or to omit from, any of their sources as it seemed good to them. Nay, they changed the phraseology, or slightly modified the data before them, to adapt them to the purpose they had specially in view, and this with no feeling of disloyalty to their sources. These modifications are called attention to here, and the reason which led to their being made is adventured upon. It says much for the spirited conductors of this *Revue* that they have opened their pages to admit such a liberal and enlightened work as this.—M. Peisson continues his series of papers on Confucianism. This is the ninth of the series. He describes here the ancient, or primitive, worship of the Chinese. Traces of it are to be found yet among the Miao tribes, the representatives, as they are the descendants, of the inhabitants of the country before the conquest by the western invaders. These tribes long resisted the invaders, and even up till now have retained much of their primitive independence. M. Peisson describes their religious festivals and usages, and shows that in several particulars these religious rites and customs have influenced the whole religious life of China.—M. the Abbé de Moor furnishes another instalment of his 'Essai sur l'origine du peuple égyptien et de sa civilisation d'après la légende égyptienne et la Bible.' His object, it may be remembered, is to show that the Osirian legend, if it be read in the light of the Book of Genesis, becomes not only intelligible, but discloses to us the origin and early history of the Egyptian people. Here identifying Osiris with Abel, and the Abelites or Adamites; and Set-Typhon with Cain, and his descendants, he works out from the legend what he regards as the true story of Egypt's fortunes. To M. de Moor the legend is a much corrupted form of the Genesis narratives. Here is a sample of how the true history is recovered. The murder of Abel by Cain is perverted by the legend into the revolt against Osiris which was instigated by Set-Typhon. Osiris was first disposed of by putting him alive into a coffer, or box, which was then thrown into the Nile, and by it was carried out to sea. This is the legendary way of telling us that the Abelites, who had been the dominant race in Egypt up to the time of the revolt, sought and found their safety by taking to the Nile in boats, which carried them out of the reach of Set-Typhon. And so on. It is an ingenious task the Abbé has set himself to accomplish. Whether he succeeds in convincing anybody but himself of the value of his learned labours has yet to be seen.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (No. 3, 1896).—The first article here is by M. Isaac Halévy, and is on 'The Closing of the Tal-

mud and the Saboraim'—'La Cloture du Talmud et les Saboraim.' It forms, we are told in an editorial note, a chapter in a new history of the Jews, which is being prepared in Hebrew by M. Halévy. The close of the Talmud is generally allowed to have been in, or about, the year 500 A.D. The period of the Saboraim, or 'casuists,' dates from then, and extends, according to some writers, ninety years, but according to others, of whom Graetz and Weiss may be regarded as representatives, some fifty years, while others again limit it to forty years or thereabouts. M. I. Halévy is evidently inclined to agree with the latter on that point. The Saboraim are divided into two classes, the first embracing those whose decisions were of a practical character, or had reference to distinct practical purposes, while the second were more or less content with what might be called theoretical decisions. M. Halévy here passes in review the existing data as to the closing of the Talmud, and then the period which embraces the first category or class of the casuists.—M. Mayer Lambert treats of the vocalisation of the *segoles*, 'De la vocalisation des Ségolés.' In it he attempts 'de préciser ces influences phonétiques et sémantiques dans les ségolés hebreux, en montrant que telle voyelle est favorisée par telle consonne, ou par telle idee.' But he does not dogmatise here. He lays down no positive rules. He endeavours only to show that the different vowels predominate in different classes of words.—M. Samuel Poznanski has an interesting article on 'Aboul-Faradj Haroun ben Al-Faradj, le grammairien de Jerusalem, et son Mouschtamil.' The name and fame of Aboul-Faradj Haroun have been enhanced, if not recovered, by a recent 'find' in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg made by M. Harkavy, who has done so much for other lost reputations, as well as for his, in the same way. Aboul-Faradj Haroun lived in the early part of the XIth century, and was a Karaite of note in his day. His most celebrated work was his *Mouschtamil*, in which he treated of the forms of the Hebrew language, its syntax, and lexicography. MSS. of it exist in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and in the British Museum in London. M. Harkavy's *Memoire* has led to these being examined somewhat carefully by M. Poznanski, and he gives us here the results of his study of them.—M. W. Bacher furnishes some critical notes on the *Pesikla Rabbati*, confirming M. Levi's conjecture given in last number that the 'Bari' mentioned in it is the town in South Italy of that name, though M. Bacher does not agree with all his reasons for so thinking.—M. Israel Levi invites attention to a collection of Jewish stories, legends, and edifying anecdotes contained in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, which he thinks will interest the readers of this

Revue. He gives some of them here, and is to continue his transcription of the rest in future numbers.—M. D. Kaufmann continues his ‘Contributions a l’histoire des Juifs de Corfou,’ and adds others, ‘a l’histoire des luttes d’Azaria de Rossi.’—M. L. Brunschvicg gives a lengthy article on ‘Les Juifs en Bretagne au XVIII^e siècle.’—M. Danon continues his ‘Recueil de romances judéo-espagnoles chantées en Turquie.’—M. Israel Levi returns to two subjects on which he has been in controversy in this journal, viz.: ‘The Schemoné-Esré, or the Eighteen Benedictions,’ and ‘The Dividic Origin of Hillel.’ He has a note, too, on a falsification in a letter of Maimonides.—M. Kayserling gives a few notes on the history of the Jews in Spain.—M. Moise Schwab publishes an inscription found on an amulet in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and comments on it.—H. M. M. Lambert reviews at some length Kautzch’s new edition of Gesenius’ *Hebraische Grammatik*

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (October, November, December.)

—The first of the six numbers for the quarter opens with ‘Carnet’s de Voyage,’ by the late M. Taine. They are brief notes of travel, and record his impressions during a round, performed as far back as 1866, as examiner of candidates for admission to the School of St. Cyr. Several of them have been elaborated in other works; so that the chief interest of the present article lies in the comparison which it enables the reader to make between the original jottings and the finished sketches. The South of France is here dealt with.—In October 1896 the Czar’s visit to Paris was still in perspective. In anticipation of it M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu contributes an article of considerable length, in which he sets forth his views on the Russo-French alliance. A single sentence may suffice to indicate the spirit of the whole article. Our alliance, says the writer, has brought Russia too many advantages for her not to feel the advantage of it; but let us not be fatuous enough to wish to be loved for ourselves alone; Russia will esteem our alliance only so long as she thinks us powerful and rich; and in order to believe in our wealth and our strength she must think us wise.—M. George Gorgau continues and concludes, ‘L’Allemagne Religieuse,’ a study of the evolution of contemporary Protestantism. The very careful and elaborate essay is summarized in the following sentences:—In the cycle of four centuries which the Reformation will soon have accomplished, it has tried to remain faithful, even to exhaustion, to the principle of free examination; and from the very fact of that fidelity, it has arrived, through an evolution fertile in surprises, to the antipodes of its origin. ‘You are all

priests,' that was the starting point. Luther by this magical utterance, moved more than one noble soul; with all his heart he developed it in his little treatise, on the liberty of the Christian. It seemed that it was about to inaugurate the most democratic of religious communities, one in which all, whoever they might be, should have equal and free access to the truths elaborated by all and for all. If, at the present day, we examine the Evangelical Church of Germany, we may see the point which it has reached—on the one side an esoteric truth, for the use of the learned; on the other an exoteric truth, for the use of the body of the faithful; on the one side an intellectual *élite*, which claims, in matters of faith, to say everything, to teach everything, to disturb everything; on the other, below it, and far from it, the mass, to which is inculcated, as far as possible, the contrary of what the *élite* teaches and a respect for what the *élite* disturbs. Between these two groups are the pastors; taught by the *élite*, teachers of the mass, they must have, if we may put it so, a taught conscience and a teaching conscience, partially or totally opposed to each other. In the bridge which they form between the *élite* and the mass, there are vices of construction, constant commotions, frequent dislocations. . . . Never was there seen a more terrible hiatus between the teachers of the faith and the humble crowd that has to be taught the faith . . . to fill up the hiatus, it would be necessary to have recourse to the authentic depositories of the faith. But where are they to be sought? and how would they manage to give light and to bring about unity? for theoretically, the authentic depositories of the faith are all Evangelical Christians. Certain believers dream of a divine miracle or of the intervention of the Emperor. But, since his accession, William II. has retreated but once; and that was four years ago, before 'free science,' which obliged him to withdraw a Bill for education. Forgetting this first defeat, will he, the head of his church, be willing one day to stop, by some Cæsaro-Papist *coup d'état* the perilous evolution of the reformation, and, by an arbitrary act of authority, to lengthen the life of the Church of Liberty; and if ever he should be willing, will he be able.—'Paysans et Ouvriers,' is the title of a long study, running through two numbers, in which the Viscount G. d'Avenel compares the salaries of labourers and workmen in the Middle Ages with those of the present day. The paper is full of facts and statistics; but, unfortunately for the English reader, deals with France only.—Another contribution of which, for the same reason, the interest is necessarily limited, is that which M. C. de Varigny devotes to a consideration of the condition of Algeria in 1896.—

M. Emile Michel begins in the first, and continues in subsequent numbers, a study of the masters of Symphony.—The Czar's visit to Paris has produced a second article. It is by M. Le Comte d'Haussonville, who gives an account of the visit paid to the French capital, in 1717, by Peter the Great. His object is to prove that previous writers have been wrong in supposing that this visit was a diplomatic failure; that it was on the contrary the beginning of the cordial relations which have existed between the two countries ever since—except when political blunders have interrupted them.—'Les Bases de la Croyance,' by M. Ferdinand Brunetière, is a critical examination of Mr. Balfour's book, *The Foundations of Belief*, to a French translation of which it is to be the preface.—In a psychological study which he contributes to the number for the first of November M. Fouillée analyses the French character as it used to be and as it is. His object is to show that it has undergone no essential modifications, and is as capable of great things in the future as it was in the past.—Continuing his essays in literary pathology M. Arvède Barine deals with Thomas de Quincey, and shows the influence which his habit of opium eating exercised on his genius and his literary work.—In 'Le Prince de Metternich et le Prince de Bismarck,' M. G. Valbert draws a parallel between the two statesmen. The conclusion to which he arrives is that the former committed grave mistakes because he got to believe himself infallible; and the latter because his personal antipathies exercised too much influence on his public actions.—The most notable article in the number for the 15th November is one in which M. Philippe Berger shows the Eastern origin of Greek mythology.—The most readable matter in the December part consists of an account of the Czar's coronation; of a sketch of Auguste Comte's connection with the Polytechnic's school; of a critical essay on the American writer Charles Warren Stoddart, and of a paper showing the part played by silk in the mechanism of modern life.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (November, 1896).—In his 'Théories du Monde Extérieur,' M. J. Payot examines Stuart Mill's and H. Spencer's theories as typical of the subjective idealist and substantial realist explanations. Whatever the defects of these views, they leave us with three ideas, viz., exteriority, independence of us, and permanence. M. Payot regards the first as the most important, and concludes that the intelligence is a secondary formation, and that we must seek the ultimate explanation of things in the will. This, in turn, is inexplicable. If we would go farther, there are three hypotheses to choose from—

scepticism, Spencerianism, and objective idealism, or more truly, spiritualism. This, which the author favours, can only lead to what he terms 'spiritual pantheism.' 'It is impossible to conceive the ultimate Reality as other than immanent.'—M. Henri Joly's 'La Genèse des Grands Hommes,' is a review of a work of the same title by the Roumanian professor, the late M. Odin.—M. Ch. Féré treats of 'Antithesis in the Expression of Emotions.'—'Le Socialisme, Dogme au Méthode' is a review of three recent works, Boilley's *Les trois Socialismes (anarchisme, collectivisme, réformisme)*, Garofalo's *La superstition socialiste*, and Prins' *L'organisation de la liberté et le devoir sociale*.—(December, 1896).—'La Timidité, Etude psychologique,' by M. Dugas, discusses the nature and effects of this failing. Timidity is not to be confounded with fear. It is a dread not of things but of persons, even though they be known to be inoffensive and well disposed, an affection of the will which manifests itself in awkwardness and stupidity. It may be traced back to a consciousness of defective sympathy between ourself and other human beings. It is a mere crisis at first, but may become a rooted habit of mind, making a man reserved, self-centred, fierce in his thoughts, yet after all, feeble in action. M. Dugas illustrates his contentions by many interesting extracts from Rousseau, Amiel, Marie Bashkirtseff, and B. Constant.—Dr. Gustave le Bon, in 'The Psychology of Socialism,' after pointing out the various sides from which Socialism may be regarded, elects to consider the influence which it has upon men's minds. Discontent with temporal conditions has always existed, among the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans. Socialism comes now with its promises to modern societies, in which discontent is fiercer than ever. Riches is the god of our day. The lower strata of society are full of hatred and envy; the middle classes are greedy, and corrupted by their gains; thinkers are in despair; the old religious beliefs and social standards are vanishing away. The times are ripe for the coming of a new belief. Socialism, no longer an opinion but a belief, has come with its creed; it appeals to the most felt want of our day; and is thus proof against all arguments, be they never so sound. It has already its missionaries, its martyrs, its devotees. Everything, thinks Dr le Bon, points to its triumph, but it will be short-lived. Its promises must be fulfilled in this life, and when they have been found false, but not till then, it will decline.—M. Foucault describes methods of observing the clearness of certain sensorial representations.—Reviews and Correspondence.

REVUE CELTIQUE (October, 1896).—We have received this number just as we are going to press and can only record its

contents. 'Droit Celtique et droit Romain,' by M. Paul Collinet.—'The Annals of Tigernach,' (the Fourth Fragment, A.D. 973-1088; Rawl. B. 488, Fo. 15^a1), by Dr. Whitley Stokes.—'Dialectica.'—'Mutations initiales' and 'La terminaison —ou et les noms en —adou, Gallois —adwy,' by M. J. Loth.—Melanges, Correspondence, Bibliography, with usual Tables for the concluding part of the volume.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (November).—J. Hora Adema gives a brilliant rattling sketch of barrack and field life in Arnheim.—'The State of Education in Belgian and Dutch Schools,' by Ida Heyermans. She considers that their school arrangements are too much the result of reflection, and want that practicality which characterizes the schools of other nations.—In 'George Meredith' Byvanck offers the first part of an elaborate study of this novelist.—'The Wall Paintings of Antoon Derkinderen' gives an account of this artist and his work, especially of the wall paintings in the Town hall at Hertogenbosch, and of another painting 'The Procession of the Sacrament' in a church there. Born and brought up in that old town where much of the feeling of mediæval Catholicism survives, his work is deeply imbued with qualities both æsthetical and spiritual, rare in the present day, nor is it wanting in force, simplicity, and dignity.—'Knut Hamsun' is a study by Dr. Boer of this Norwegian writer, and of his novels and plays.—Maurits Wagenvoort contributes a descriptive article 'From Greece' full of intelligent observation.—'Education in the South African Republic,' by Andriessen. This is shown to have steadily progressed in the face of great difficulties, and the recent law of August 1896 promises to bring about a great change for the better.—Prof. de Goeje has for his subject in this number the Iranian national epic 'Firdausi.'—(December).—'Mr. F. A. van Hall as Minister' is a collection of notes and reminiscences of this distinguished servant of the Dutch crown who, between 1831 and 1844, had the greatest influence with the Kings William I. and William II., and it was greatly owing to his guiding that the country was steered safely through the most threatening crisis of '43-44, and that the position of the nation was greatly improved.—The New Rhine (*Rhenus renatus*), by R. P. J. Tutein Nolthenius, is a sketch of a project for normalising the great Rhine branches so as to make the river a yet more splendid channel for navigation. The deepening and straightening of the channel through the Hoek has been a great achievement, and similar work carried up the river by means which Nolthenius describes with great minuteness would increase

the traffic, enrich Holland, and make the great river a silver band of friendship between the three great free nations on its banks from the Alps to the North Sea. In the course of his sketch Nolthenius gives an interesting historical account of the Rhine from the point of view of a waterway.—‘The Geological Map of Netherland.’ The government having in contemplation a new survey under a new Bureau of Geology this article is one of criticism, suggestion, and advice to all concerned.—(January, 1897).—This number opens with a highly interesting historical article, ‘Prince William I. in the year 1570.’ New sources of information have been discovered in a correspondence between Prince William and Jacob van Wesenbeke which lay long unnoticed, but has been brought to light by Van Someren, the Utrecht librarian, and published as a supplement to his edition of the famous book of Groen van Prinsterer. This correspondence was collected by Van Someren chiefly from the Cottonian and Bodleian Libraries. It refers to 1569-72, the years in which the Prince of Orange was more humiliated and forsaken than at any other period of his career, yet the interest of this period, especially of the year 1570, is very great, since in that year the plans were laid, and the grand aim of Dutch unity sketched out, which afterwards reached realisation. All the fresh light thrown upon the period is admirably given in this article by R. Fruin.—Dr. I. M. Ruys gives a clear and attractive account of ‘Nansen’s North Pole Expedition,’ illustrated by an admirable map.—‘A Burial,’ by H. Heyermans, jr., is a most repulsive sketch of a Jewish funeral, or rather of its preliminaries, the chief incident being the extortion of back payments to the orthodox Jew association by means of the threat of refusal of burial in the Jewish cemetery, the meanness and greed on both sides being only equalled by the grotesque hideousness of the jargon in which the dialogue between the society’s agents and the members of the family is carried on.—Another paper gives a sketch of the life and manifold industries of William Morris.—‘The Electoral Contest and the Liberal Party,’ by Molengraaff, is an attempt to sketch a programme for the liberal party, a *via media* between the conservatives and old liberals on the one hand and the social democrats on the other.—‘The Dutch Language in South Africa,’ by D. C. Hesselings, is a purely philological paper. He traces the many and curious influences that have contributed to making South African Dutch, which he recognises as a distinct language, scarcely a sister-tongue, but perhaps that of a cousin twice removed. He sees no future for it unless a literature should spring up clothed in this garb.

THEOLOGISCHE TIJDSCHRIFT.—We have somewhat neglected this periodical of late; nor is there any reason for this in the recent numbers, which are full of interesting and important matter. The most characteristic papers are those in which new dissections of pieces of the Bible are proposed; and of these there are three in the numbers not yet spoken of. In May, Dr. Völter, who writes in German, speaks of 'The Apocalypse of Zachariah in the Gospel of Luke.' The first chapter of Luke, it has long been seen, is very Jewish in its language and ideas; and Dr. Völter's view is that the main part of the chapter is a Jewish work celebrating the wonderful birth of John, and belonging to those circles of followers of John which long maintained an independent existence by the side of the Church. This Apocalypse of Zachariah has received Christian additions, which run from verses 26 to 56; the Magnificat, however, is more a Jewish than a Christian hymn, and is much more intelligible if placed in the mouth of Elizabeth than in that of Mary. Other verses are also removed from the places where we know them; and the Apocalypse of Zachariah is given complete in a German translation. As Luke makes use of the piece, and found it already worked up for Christian use in a Jewish source, the conclusion is drawn that its origin must be placed within the first century.—2. In the September number the 34th Psalm is similarly treated by M. J. van Gilse. Dr. Cheyne, in his 'Origin of the Psalter,' surmises that we do not possess this Psalm in its original condition, and our Dutch scholar declares it to contain two interpolations, certainly one. The original Psalm is to be seen in verses 2-5 and 11-13. These verses form a sweet and well connected poem, which can be placed, as Cheyne suggests, along with the Psalms of Degrees. Verses 6-10 belong to a different situation; that does not appear either in the Authorised or the Revised English Version, but M. van Gilse interprets the verses in a totally different way and gives substantial reasons for his view.—3. The November number has a long paper by Dr. Kusters on 'Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah' (the phrase is Duhm's). In the last 27 chapters of Isaiah scholars now generally recognise a plurality of works; and Dr. Kusters' proposals will take their place beside several others recently made on the subject. A novel view put forward by him is that the phrase, 'servant of Jehovah,' of these chapters, does not indicate the same persons or parties in all the passages where it occurs. In the earlier passages it means the Jewish Church in the period of its formation; in the later instances it refers to a particular prophet or a small circle of prophets.—In the May number, Mr. A. J. H. W. Brandt, author of a

somewhat destructive criticism of the closing chapters of the Gospel history, replies to a paper dealing with his book by Mr. Van Loon, formerly reported in these columns. Van Loon, it may be remembered, found fault with the book in question because it recognised any historical basis at all in the Gospel narratives. Dr. Brandt's protest against the Dutch treatment of these narratives as the fruit of misty speculative processes is a very powerful and instructive piece of writing. The laborious processes of the critic who works for years at the grammar and the antiquities to make out the solid facts that lie behind the words, is finely contrasted with the Dutch procedure, which constructs a handsome edifice out of *a priori* assumption and dwells in it at ease and free from toilsome labours.—An admirable paper in the July number is that of Edv. Lehmann, on 'Religion and Civilisation in the Avesta.' The conditions of life in which the Gathas were written are clearly described and the religion truly characterised as one closely wedded with agricultural industry and identifying itself as hardly any religion has done, more thoroughly, with the needs of moral advancement.—Dr. de Goeje has, in the same number, a plea for the necessity of the study of the dialects of Hebrew as a preliminary to effective study of the Greek Testament. When shall we see a Professor of Aramaic connected with a Scottish Divinity Hall?—The volumes which have appeared of the English International Commentary are noticed in these numbers.—Driver's Deuteronomy is more praised than the volumes on books of the New Testament; partly because Dutch theology is more like that of the rest of the world in the Old Testament than in the New; but partly also because English scholars can deal with Old Testament subjects more freely than they can yet venture to do with the Christian books.

G R E E C E.

ATHENA (Vol. VIII., pt. 3).—The k. Basês contributes critical observations on Jacoby's *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, Vol. III., books IX. and X. of the same writer, and Paton's edition of Plutarch's *de Cupiditate Divitiarum*.—S. G. Panagiôtopoulos discusses several obscure points in the history of Athens in the 17th and 18th centuries.—'Inscriptions from Constanza,' by G. J. Kouzos.—Notes on the same, by G. N. Hatzidakis.—A mathematical paper by J. N. Hatzidakis.

I C E L A N D.

TÍMARIT HINS ÍSLENZKA BÓKMENNTAFJELLAGS (The Icelandic Literary Society's Annual, 1896).—The contents of this issue

are to some extent of more general interest than has been the custom in previous years. This is especially the case with Einar Hjörleifsson's article 'On Reading,' and that on 'Coffee,' by Björn M. Olsen.—Two other articles are more after the ordinary style of the *Tímarit*. One of these, by Thorkel Bjarnason, deals with the general history of Iceland in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and gives many curious illustrations of life in the island during that period.—Of great interest, though it might have been made shorter, is Sæmund Eyjólfsson's account of wedding customs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially with regard to the drinking of toasts. These were of a remarkable kind, being directly descended from the old heathen custom of drinking healths in honour of gods and heroes. Hence we find the Icelanders drinking not only to St. Olaf, but also to the Virgin Mary, to Christ, and even to the Holy Ghost! The kind of speeches made on these occasions is illustrated by several specimens; in *Krists-minni* it is said, 'He is dearest to Christ who drinks most.'—The two remaining prose articles are entirely of Icelandic interest, though some of the letters of Tómas Sæmundsson (written 1834-41) are good reading.—Byron has always been popular in Iceland, and the translation of Mazepa by Steingrím Thorsteinsson will no doubt be very welcome to his admirers.—Hannes Hafstein also contributes a few short pieces translated from Körner, Goethe, and Heine. With these new elements the *Tímarit* bids fair to become a very readable magazine.

SKIRNIR (issued by the Icelandic Literary Society, 1896).—The usual account of events in Iceland (for 1895) is given, followed by the review of what has happened elsewhere throughout the world. *Skirnir* is so long in appearing that the Japanese War, the Venezuela Question, and Jameson's raid appear like ancient history now, but the narrative of these and other events is clearly written. A valuable section is the bibliography of works and articles relating to Iceland (1894 and 1895) compiled by Olaf Davidsson. This covers 76 pages, and is not merely a list, but a complete index to itself, and will hereafter be the most useful part of the volume.

A M E R I C A .

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (October, 1896), opens with a brightly written article by Mr. Julian Corbett, on the 'Colonel and his Command.' Mr. Corbett has been reading up a number of old military books which, on the whole, seem to have been interesting and sometimes amusing. The conclusion

he comes to is, that the Colonel was so named because he was in the habit of carrying, as the badge of his rank, a 'little column.' His command varied in numbers from a few hundreds to some four or five thousands. Mr. Corbett discourses on the derivation of the word and communicates a number of interesting particulars.—'British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies,' by Mr. James D. Butler, is packed with information respecting the numbers and varieties of convicts which were sent from England to the old colonies in America. They were not by any means all felons. Many of them were prisoners taken in war; others of them were political offenders. Many of the followers of the Stuarts were sent there both from Scotland and Ireland.—Under the title, 'The Vatican Archives,' Mr. Charles H. Haskins gives a valuable account of the contents of the documents kept in the Vatican, and recognises the service done to historical study by the privilege which historical students now enjoy of having free access to them.—Mr. B. C. Steiner gives an account of the work done by the Rev. Thomas Bray in connection with the institution of public libraries in the Southern States.—Mr. Perkins writes on the Patriotism of Poland, and Mr. Collidge puts in a plea for the Study of the History of Northern Europe.—Three documents are printed—a letter by Lord Burghley on the Spanish Inquisition (1588) from the British Museum; a letter written to Washington by Mr. M'Kean (1789), and another containing proposed amendments on the Constitution of the United States (1790).—The reviews of books are numerous.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Religious Faith : An Essay in the Philosophy of Religion. By the Rev. HENRY HUGHES, M.A. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. 1896.

Mr. Hughes has already written a couple of volumes on *Morals, Natural and Supernatural*, and another on *The Theory of Inference*, and he now adventures with another on *Religious Faith*, which looks like a sequel to the others and their completion. The main purpose of the volume, we are told, is to exhibit Scriptural Christianity as a true system of religious philosophy. An endeavour is made to provide new and approximately adequate satisfaction for the inquiring religious thought of the present day by means of a vindication of New Testament Theology, and conciliation between the free exercise of reason and loyal attachment to the Christian Church is sought on the basis of the entire truth of the moral and spiritual teaching of the Bible. Another purpose, subsidiary to this, is to clear away some of the mist which are said to envelope the teaching of the Church in respect to subject of Faith, while a still further purpose, also subsidiary to the first, is to insist on the fact that Christian knowledge and Christian practice, as commonly understood, have no sufficient foundation in unaided human reason, but must be, as the Bible represents them, the product of revelation. In order to accomplish these purposes, Mr. Hughes enters first of all upon a careful and elaborate investigation into the various meanings with which the term 'faith' is used in the New Testament ; and then having ascertained this, or at least having arrived at what he believes to be the principal senses in which the term is used, he proceeds to discuss the philosophy of faith, and to exhibit the system of religious philosophy which he believes to be warranted by Scriptural Christianity. Between these two subjects the contents of the volume are pretty equally divided. The investigation as to the meanings with which the term 'faith' is employed is, to say the least, interesting. According to our author, the principal uses to which it is put in the New Testament are to indicate faith in God, justifying faith, and a faith of attachment to the Risen Christ. In faith in God he discovers three constituents, viz., Sensitiveness to His revelation of Himself, acquiescence in what He does or forbears to do, and ready obedience to His commands. Justifying faith he describes 'as consisting in a practical assent to the chief facts, including the interpretation put upon them by the Apostles, connected with God's revelation of Himself in the life and work of Jesus Christ ; or, in other words, as consisting in acceptance of the doctrines and principles of the Christian Church.' The third kind of faith is regarded by Mr. Hughes as the peculiar 'property and possession of baptized Christians,' and 'consists in some sort of close attachment to the glorified Person of Christ's resurrection, and enables the believer to live in some real measure the Christ-like life.' These different methods of using the term faith, it is further maintained, denote three different kinds of faith. Justifying faith is said to be distinct from the faith of attachment ; so also is faith in God. 'Faith in God,' Mr. Hughes says, 'is one mode of human consciousness, the faith of attachment to the risen Christ is quite another. They are two

kinds of faith, not two aspects of one and the same kind. They appear, indeed, to be connected by the notion, common to both, of man's self-surrender to a Person who is infinitely higher than himself. But even so, it does not appear that the self-surrender springs, in the two cases, from the same source in the human consciousness. In the one case, surrender is made to the Supreme God ; in the other, it is made to Jesus Christ, not as to God, but as the human and Divine Head of the Christian Church.' In the second part of his volume, Mr. Hughes seeks to justify the three kinds of faith above enumerated, and in doing so is landed into controversy with Butler, Mansel, Dr. Martineau, Principal Caird, and others. Objections may be taken to several of Mr. Hughes's exegetical remarks, such, for instance, as that on insight, but on the whole the work is judicious, and, in its controversial passages, temperate.

Philosophy of Theism. Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1895-96. Second Series. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, LL.D., D.C.L. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1896.

This new series of Gifford Lectures merits considerably more extended notice than we can bestow here. They represent the ripe fruit of Prof. Fraser's mind, and, like a wise householder, he has been careful to give the best last. Not excepting even the charming monograph on Berkeley, this book is the most perfectly philosophical work he has yet published. Indeed, many will cordially echo the hope that, despite advancing years, he may long be spared to continue his thought on these lines, and to elaborate some arguments that are no more than suggested in the pages before us. The key to Prof. Fraser's central thought lies in the argument that the universe is unintelligible to unaided reason. This is the cause of scepticism and agnosticism, and they will ever be traceable to it. Man cannot reconcile himself with the world unless he first believe in himself. That is to say, by an act of faith he must perceive that the nature of things as organised depends upon his reading of his own ethical spirit in to them. This faith, however, is not ordinary immediate feeling or common-sense. It can, and must, be assisted by reason, in so far as rational argument is required to show that, in the last resort, this very faith is absolutely unavoidable. No doubt, the argument can be assailed from several sides. There is little apparent connection between the natural order—known as law—and the internal moral order. Indeed, in one place, Prof. Fraser seems to accept Lotze's dualism, which can but invalidate his own premises. The account of the problems of freedom and of evil is more hortatory than severely metaphysical. And the explanation of miracles, along the right lines as it certainly proceeds, does not go far enough. But, when all this is said, it remains true that the book is a remarkable one. The difficult themes are so admirably presented as to render them accessible to all. The temper of the author, when he plays critic, is worthy of universal imitation. His reverence, and ever deepening sense of the mysteriousness of man's world, continually exercise chastening effect. Undoubtedly, this personal note renders the work impressive. For it embodies the deliberate conclusions of one who has seen many 'isms' come and go, and who, despite changes numerous and enthusiasms frequent, has been unwilling to abandon either his right to believe or his right to think as boldly as problems of pressing moment seemed to require.

Evil and Evolution: An attempt to turn the light of Modern Science on the Ancient Mystery of Evil. By the Author of *The Social Horizon*. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

Critics and philosophers have had such success in banishing Satan, though not his works, into the limbo of myths, that the appearance of this book by the author of *The Social Horizon*, in which he stoutly argues for the reinstatement of the Prince of Evil in the popular belief is almost phenomenal. The Author of *The Social Horizon*, whether a believer in the doctrine of Evolution or not, has no faith in the way in which Evolutionists endeavour to account for the existence of evil. 'Maladjustments' of all kinds, as the occasions of pain, he cannot get away with. He has as little patience, too, with what may be called the disciplinary doctrine of evil. He is of opinion that a beneficent and omnipotent Creator would, if He had desired human beings to pass through a process of development with the aid of discipline, have so arranged things that the discipline or the process of development would have been painless. He believes that God is good, but not omnipotent, and that, though He intended and intends men to be happy, His design is frustrated; and the only solution he can see to the problem of evil, is in the acceptance of the co-existence of an evil power. 'It seems to me,' he says, 'that the simplest and most satisfactory solution of that riddle of the ages is just the old one—that the Supreme Ruler, in His beneficent activity in the universe, is confronted by another power; that in the absolute, literal sense of the word, God is not omnipotent; that He is engaged in a conflict which to a certain extent limits His power, and the final issue of which can be wrought out only in the course of ages. In plain terms, there is a God and there is a devil, and the two persons are in conflict.' He blames both Science and Religion for ignoring this conflict, in which, as he believes, 'The solution of the great riddle of life and destiny must be sought.' Whatever may be thought of the author's ideas, there can be no doubt as to the suggestiveness and liveliness of his way of putting them. If his pages fail to convince, they will at least entertain and instruct, though it is not quite clear that his interpretations of the first chapter of Genesis is correct, or that he is right in saying that we have been taught to call the first form of life that appeared on this planet, protoplasm. Protoplasm, we have always understood, is not a form of life, but its physical basis. As for the interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, theologians may have some fault to find with it. All the same, the book is racily written, and deserves to be read.

The Principles of Sociology. By HERBERT SPENCER. Vol. III. London, Edinburgh, and Oxford: Williams & Norgate. 1896.

Mr. Spencer is to be congratulated on the completion of the great work which he projected more than six and thirty years ago. It has been carried on in spite of ill health and amid many discouragements, though of late years signs of encouragement have been far from wanting. Again and again, too, the actual work of composition has had to be relinquished, some times for months, but all through, in good report and in evil, Mr. Spencer has clung to his purpose with a tenacity and force of conviction which even those who reject his philosophy cannot fail to sincerely admire. It is given to few who have a great purpose in hand to bring it to a successful conclusion, and to still fewer is it given to achieve a success so

magnificent as one we are here recording. It says not a little for the far-seeing sagacity of Mr. Spencer that, during the whole of the long period he has been employed upon the elaboration of his system, he has seen no reason to waver as to the principles on which it was originally conceived, and that, notwithstanding the thought and meditation involved, the growth of knowledge, and the adverse criticisms of opponents, nothing has arisen to prevent him carrying out in almost its perfect entirety the plan which was first sketched by him in the prospectus he issued in March, 1860. Some things have been omitted and some things have been added, but there were to have been ten volumes, and there are ten volumes, and these ten volumes contain almost exactly, and with the exceptions referred to, what they were intended to contain nearly seven and thirty years ago. The present volume, while the last of the *System*, is the conclusion to a series of three on the principles of Sociology. Of the three divisions into which it is divided, the first on Ecclesiastical Institutions has already appeared as a separate book, while the second on Professional Institutions has appeared in the shape of review articles. The only part, therefore, which is new is the third. The subject of this is Industrial Institutions. The division may be said to assume the form of a history of the principles underlying industrial progress. Like progress at large, industrial progress is due to the material antagonism of a variety of forces, some conducive to it, others resisting it. The rate of its development is controlled by the same laws. 'In various ways, industrial progress, in common with progress at large, originally insensible in its rate, has become appreciable only in the course of ages, and only in modern times has become rapid. While the forces conducive to it have been continually increasing, resisting forces, both external and internal, have been continually decreasing, until at length the speed has become such that the improvements which science and enterprise have achieved during this century are greater in amount than those achieved during all past centuries put together.' Some division of labour arises spontaneously whenever individuals join their actions for a common end that is not absolutely simple. Stress of needs, to the development of which peace and not war contributes, leads men to adopt occupations for which they are best adapted, and the number of special occupations increases as the increase of population affords men for each business, while the greater specialization of industries not only develops skill in each, and consequently better products, but each kind of better product serves more or less to facilitate production in general. 'Thus,' as Mr. Spencer remarks, 'increase of population, by its actions and reactions, develops a social organism which becomes more and more heterogeneous as it grows larger, while the immediate cause for the improvement in quantity and quality of productions is competition.' Specially striking is the chapter on Inter-dependence and Integration, in which he sums up the argument of the preceding six chapters, and refers to those who assert the need for the 'organisation of labour,' and suppose that at present labour is unorganised. 'Immensely more complex,' he says, 'is the inter-dependence of businesses, and far closer than we at once see has become the integration of them. An involved plexus having centres everywhere, and sending threads everywhere, so brings into relation all activities, that any considerable change in one sends reverberating changes through all the rest.' Mr. Spencer's attitude towards Trades-Unionism is well-known; his views are here repeated with a considerable variety of illustrations. The same may be said of his views on Co-operation and Socialism. As dealing with these topics, and as containing what may be regarded as the definitive views of one so competent to speak with authority upon them, the publication of the volume before us at the present juncture may be regarded as specially opportune.

The State and the Individual: An Introduction to Political Science, with special reference to Socialistic and Individualistic Theories. By WILLIAM SHARP M'KECHNIE, M.A., LL.B. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1896.

The increase of books of this sort may probably be taken as a sign that the public mind is at last awaking to a sense of the importance of the subject with which they deal. For a long time the Germans and Americans had it almost altogether their own way, and even yet the principal textbook in this country is Bluntschli's. Perhaps a better title for Mr. M'Kechnie's volume, if it had not already been appropriated, would have been 'The Theory of the State.' At anyrate, it is with the Theory of the State that he is occupied in its pages. The terms 'Political Science' and 'The Science of Politics' are good enough when the connotation with which they are used is properly understood, but the words 'Political' and 'Politics' are generally used with so intensely a national significance, and often with, in a sense, which is little more than parochial, that both of them often fail to suggest the larger and more philosophical meaning which it is now becoming the fashion to attach to them. The latter of the two—'The Science of Politics'—is, as Mr. M'Kechnie well observes, doubly unfortunate; 'for,' as he continues, 'science is generally associated with rigorous and unbending methods of investigation and experiment applied to those tangible material objects to which alone they are strictly adapted; while the word politics is associated with all that is changeable and contingent in the affairs of a nation rather than with the principles of absolute and universal truth; as the two words are ordinarily understood "science" and "politics" seem opposites and mutually irreconcilable.' Hitherto when treating of this subject writers have for the most part confined their attention to the constitution of the State and said little or nothing about the State itself. Mr. M'Kechnie has avoided the mistake. Very properly he begins with an examination into the nature, origin, and end of the State. To define what the State is is confessedly difficult. As a tentative definition Mr. M'Kechnie says 'the State is a society organised and independent.' The definition has the merit of brevity, and as a provisional definition may pass muster; but before it can be finally accepted it requires to be carefully elaborated. Every society is organised if not by positive enactments at least by the force of habit and custom and in virtue of its very existence. So again, every society as a society, and so far as independence can be predicated of men, is independent. If it is not, it is only part of a larger society. Absolute independence, however, is not predicable, either of a society or of humanity as a whole. Organic and organising law is everywhere inter-relating and controlling all things, physical, intellectual, and spiritual. Whether men are acquainted with its operation or not, they are subject to it, and must either obey it or take the consequence. Mr. M'Kechnie now and again hovers about this larger idea—an idea which was never foreign to the minds of certain ancient writers—and when he tells us that the end of the State is to work for the perfection of humanity he seems to have it distinctly before his mind; but what he usually means by the State is a civilised society or nation, the best forms of which are seen in the countries of Western Europe or in the United States of America. In passing we may remark that Mr. M'Kechnie has done good service by emphasizing the fact that the State is an organism, and by trying to eliminate from the connotation of that term some of the erroneous conceptions which in the minds of many still lurk beneath it. As for the origin of the State, Mr. M'Kechnie sets aside both the hypothesis of general consent or social contract and that of

authority or force ; the first as based upon Will, and the second as based upon the Will of a conqueror or of the predominant. Its real origin, he says, 'is the universal Will or practical reason, which is the same in all men while they are true to the principles of the rational nature that makes them men. Neither the social compact, whereby the governed hand over the whole or part of their natural rights to a sovereign, nor the successful force used by the ruler to coerce his subjects, can form a satisfactory theory of the binding force of law. Only in the universal Will acting on righteous moral principles can a sure foundation be found for it. This principle of Will affords a stable foundation of the body politic that neither force nor contact can give.' Mr. M'Kechnie's object, however, has been not only to investigate into the nature, origin, and end of the State, but also to examine into the province of law and government with the special purpose of determining the methods and limits of government interference. Consequently we have a series of highly instructive chapters on Socialism and Individualism, in which the arguments on either side are cleverly stated and appreciated, together with others on the family, education, morality, and other kindred topics. Here we can only refer to them. Mr. M'Kechnie is an acute and large-minded thinker ; he puts his ideas and arguments clearly and forcibly, and with an abundance of apt illustration ; he is unhampered by theories, and has written a work which throws much light on his subject and carries it forward. Though here and there a little polemic, he always argues with fairness. His concluding chapter on the Application of Theory to practical politics is pregnant with wisdom, and deserves the attention of readers of all shades of political opinion.

Cosmic Ethics: or the Mathematical Theory of Evolution, Showing the full Import of the Doctrine of the Mean, and Containing the Principia of the Science of Proportion. By W. CAVE THOMAS, F.S.S. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1896.

The title with which a book is sent into the world does not a little sometimes to make or mar, for a time at least, its fortunes. It may, by its happy suggestiveness, attract immediate attention, excite curiosity, and so lead to a 'rush' upon the book ; or it may, by its awkward phraseology, or ponderous incomprehensibility, perplex, and so deter people from looking into the work, or even at it. Yet the former may be a very shallow and worthless book, and the latter may be a work of sterling merit. Time, of course, here, may bring its revenges, but not infrequently, in this busy age, the opportunity of the latter is lost beyond recall. The title of the volume before us is far from being a happy one ; is far from being an attractive one ; but it were a thousand pities if it, or its sub-title, or its sub-sub-title, or its dedication 'to the Great German People,' rather than to ourselves, should frighten any one from procuring, nay, studying it carefully. It is really a delightful book to read, and in many respects a very instructive book. It is the product evidently of an observant and reflective mind, and of one that can express its opinions and judgments in clear and concise language. A sentence here and there may bear the marks of haste and oversight, as *e.g.*, the last sentence at the foot of page 48. As a whole, however, such slips are rare, and the style is, throughout pleasant and lucid. The repetitions observed in the course of the work, and for which Mr. Thomas needlessly, we think, apologises at the outset, are no detraction from the merits of it. They have arisen from the lecture, or magazine-article character in which the chapters seem to have been first cast, and first made to do duty. The volume covers a much larger

field than Ethics, at least in its ordinary and technical sense. With Mr. Thomas Ethics includes everything in the heavens above and in the earth beneath; all mechanical action and all human activity. 'There is,' he says, 'one common system of harmony underlying all Nature.' Everything is ruled or regulated according to it, and things are right or wrong, beautiful or ugly, beneficent or noxious, just as they approach or depart from the ideal standard of proportion in which its individual perfection lies, and toward which everything is reaching. Ethics, with our author, is the Science of Proportion. 'The mean is the criterion of rightness in the Kosmos.' This standard, 'the mean,' which is applicable to all things, 'is the evidence of an active' and ethical 'Intelligence working in Nature,' and is 'the goal of all Evolution.' All human knowledge is knowledge of quantity, or quantitative relations. 'Man is by his very constitution a meter of quantity, a measure of the forces by which he is impressed and actuated.' All our senses are that; as are meters of quantity;—sight, hearing, smell, touch, etc. 'Beauty is not a property of things themselves; it is merely the fortuitous coincidence of the appositeness of their proportions to the sense of sight.' 'All differences of colour are due to differentiated vibrations, to differences of proportion.' Illustrations are drawn from the other senses bearing out the same thing, in an equally happy manner. But a summary of the contents of the volume may give a better idea of its wealth and worth. After an elaborate introduction, in which he, Mr. Thomas, traverses the whole field his book is to cover, he lays down a series of 'Principia,' and then sets himself to show that the Science of Proportion rules everywhere, in the Solar System, in Aesthetics, Art, Architecture, Hygiene, Education, Politics, Ethics proper, and Religion or Theology. It is impossible with our limited space to do more here than to commend these chapters to our readers' attention. But we should like to call that attention specially to Chapter V., that on 'Proportion as the Basis of a Science of Hygiene.' In the course of much instructive and interesting reading there, a number of medical and sanitary nostrums, which are much trumpeted by not a few members of the 'Faculty' in these days, are dealt with, and a little of the dry light of common sense is let in upon them, in which light they do not look quite so efficacious as they are so often represented as being. Any way it may do good for not a few people to see them in this light. The volume as a whole may well be recommended as furnishing pleasant and profitable reading. It is hardly ever abstruse, and the mathematical formulæ appearing here and there are of the simplest kind, and illustrate well the author's points.

Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue, and Arms delivered in the University of Glasgow by Adam Smith. Reported by a Student in 1763, and Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by EDWIN CANNAN. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1896.

This volume is of much more than antiquarian value. It contains notes taken down by a student of a course of lectures on Jurisprudence delivered by Adam Smith during his tenure of office as Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University, and, as far as can be ascertained, the substance of the work on the History of Law and Government which he is known to have been engaged upon when discharging his duties at the Board of Customs after he had resigned his Professorship and returned from his somewhat lengthy stay in France, the manuscript of which is believed to have been destroyed at his own request immediately before his death. At the

same time it effectively disposes of the charge which has often been brought against him of having plagiarised the ideas set forth in the *Wealth of Nations* from Turgot. The MS. used does not contain the notes actually taken down, but a transcript of them. The transcriber was evidently not the reporter. It is doubtful even whether he was a student. At times he appears not to have understood his 'copy,' and gives other signs that he was not the author of the notes. Who he was or who the student of 1763 was there is no means of telling. The MS. was discovered by Mr. C. C. Maconochie in Meadowbank House in 1878. It has apparently been in the possession of his family for some time, but he is unable to trace it to any one of its members. His own opinion seems to be that it was acquired by purchase. From the evidence afforded by these notes the lectures were delivered between 1761 and 1764, or to use Mr. Cannan's words 'either in the portion of the academical session of 1763-4 which preceded Adam Smith's departure, or in the session 1762-3, almost certain that they were not delivered before 1761-2, and absolutely certain that they were not delivered before 1760-1.' The notes of these lectures contained in the present volume appear to have been taken down with the greatest care and accuracy. On this point Mr. Cannan, who has carefully compared them with the text of the *Wealth of Nations*, observes—'Doubts may well be felt as to whether it is right to publish a report of lectures which has been made by a University student. A lecturer generally finds that his apparently most incorruptible ideas have considerably deteriorated when they have passed through the minds and note-books of his pupils.' 'In the present case we know that the disciple was both faithful and intelligent. We have most unusual means for judging of the accuracy of his work, and we find that it stands the severest tests in a manner which might be envied by a modern reporter with the advantage of shorthand. It is unnecessary to give examples here. A reader who will take the trouble to look out a few of the hundred references to the *Wealth of Nations*, and of the four hundred other references given in the notes, may easily satisfy himself on the point.' The fact is that we have here in this volume of notes the ideas which Smith afterwards worked up into his great work, and which, as remarked above, he has often been charged with plagiarising from Turgot; but when it is remembered that Turgot's *Reflexions* was not published till 1766, and that these lectures were delivered not later than 1763 the question of plagiarism is set at rest. There are materials in the lectures for the explanation of other points in connection with Smith and his works, but for these we must refer the reader to the lectures themselves as prepared by Mr. Cannan, who, we hardly need say, has discharged his duties as Editor with skill and fulness of knowledge. Not the least excellent piece of work he has done is the list of similar and parallel passages in the *Wealth of Nations*.

The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom, being the Baird Lecture for 1895. By HENRY COWAN, D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen. London: A. & C. Black. 1896.

It was quite natural that the Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen should choose for the subject of his Baird Lecture some topic connected with the history of the Christian Church and particularly with the history of the Christian Church in Scotland. Opinions may differ as to some of the ideas which he has imported under the title he has selected for his lectures, but there can be no difference as to the ability and reading which he has brought to bear upon his subject. By

the 'Scottish Church' it is evident that Professor Cowan does not always, or even generally, mean the Church of Christ in Scotland, acting in its corporate capacity, or by means of its representatives or accredited agents. That St. Patrick was born near Dumbarton he admits, but St. Patrick's mission to Ireland, he tells us, 'cannot, strictly speaking, be credited to Scottish Christianity, for the Scottish Church, properly so called, had not then begun to exist.' That Church, he goes on to say, 'had its origin, in the latter part of the fifth century, among the Scottish colonists who emigrated from the north of Ireland to what is now Argyll, and from whom our country eventually received its name of Scotland.' 'They brought with them from their Irish home the Christianity which St. Patrick had imparted and were the earliest really Scottish Churchmen.' By 'Scottish Christianity' we have to understand, therefore, the Christianity practised by the Irish Scots, and brought over by them to the Western coasts and islands of what is now called Scotland, and by the 'Scottish Church' the Church founded there by these Irish Scots, and which first becomes 'a notable ecclesiastical organisation' with the advent of St. Columba. The 'Scottish Church' is therefore an Irish mission just as the Irish Church is a mission of the 'North British Church.' Professor Cowan may not be willing to admit this, but if the 'Scottish colonists who emigrated from the north of Ireland to what is now Argyll . . . were the earliest really Scottish Churchmen,' what were Scottish Christians whom they left behind them in Ireland, and from the midst of whom they emigrated? In short, Professor Cowan's language here seems to be either loose or paradoxical and calculated to confuse a very plain matter. There is another curious definition of 'the Scottish Church' continually cropping up in the Lectures. According to this, 'the Scottish Church' consists of all who have done any Christian work in any part of the world, whether accredited or recognised by the Church in Scotland or not as its agents, provided only that they have been natives of Scotland or are supposed to have been under the influence of Scotsmen. This conception of the 'Scottish Church' is pretty sweeping, and allows Professor Cowan to adorn his pages with the names of many whom few would ever dream of as belonging to the Church in Scotland or even to the 'Scottish Church.' Richard of St. Victor, for instance, though apparently born in Scotland, inasmuch as he received his education in France, and spent almost the whole of his life there, would be regarded by most people as belonging to the Church in France and might be set forth as an example of the influence of the French Church or of the Christian Faith rather than of the Scottish Church. So again with Duns Scotus. Admitting that he was born in Scotland, a point which, as we need hardly say, is hotly contested, yet if the old inscription be correct respecting him—*Scotia genuit : Anglia me suscepit : Gallia me docuit : Colonia me tenet*—Scotus may be claimed by the Churches in the other three countries with a much greater show of reason than Scotland as an illustration of their influence. Coming down to a later period, one might be disposed to ask, can Knox, when he appeared before the Council of the North in April 1550, be claimed as illustrating the influence of the Church in Scotland? The Church in Scotland was then Catholic, while Knox was more of a Puritan than the Puritans in England. If he can be claimed as representing 'the influence' of any Church at that date, a date selected by Professor Cowan, it was the influence of the Church in Geneva or rather the influence of Calvin. Or to go back to St. Columba. This great saint is known to have been on intimate terms with the monks in Bangor, and because he was, the mission work of St. Columban and his Irish associates is claimed by Professor Cowan as another example of 'the influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom.'

Most people, we should say, will be disposed to regard it as an example of the influence of the Church in Ireland. Apart from these things, however, Professor Cowan's lectures are praiseworthy. He brings together in them a large mass of information respecting the work and influence of the Christian Scot abroad (if we may venture to add a word to the title of Mr. Hill Burton's well known book), gives a fair account of the missions which had their centre in Iona, or originated from that seat of early missionary effort, and of those which in more recent years have had their head quarters in Edinburgh. Altogether, the lectures are informing and will doubtless be found interesting reading.

The Conversion of Armenia to the Christian Faith. By W. ST. CLAIR-TISDALL, M.A., C.M.S. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1897.

Armenia claims to be the first country which received the Christian faith, and the book before us presents the native record of the preaching and reception of the Gospel, and the fidelity with which it was retained, often amid sufferings no less than those of the present day. After introductory chapters, the author gives the well-known Abgarus legend, which he is disposed to regard as based on fact. Looking to the constant communication which existed between Armenia and Syria, it is not impossible that Abgarus should have heard of Jesus, and have sent messengers to Him. Be this as it may, the great name in the Armenian Church is St. Gregory the Illuminator, one of the surviving members of the family of Anak, who murdered King Chosroës II. in 261 A. D., when the royal family was also exterminated, with the exception of an infant, who afterwards became King Tiridatës II. Gregory, who had been brought up as a Christian, entered the royal service, and became the king's trusted attendant. His refusal to weave wreaths for the goddess Anahit, led to him being cast into a dungeon, where his death was regarded as certain, and to severe persecution of the Armenian Christians. Fifteen years later the king and his court were afflicted with an incurable madness in punishment for their murder of Rhipsimé and her companions, who had sought asylum in his territory. His sister was warned by a vision to seek for Gregory, his old servant, and to their astonishment he was found alive in the depth of his prison, where a pious widow had let down food to him. Tiridatës and Gregory thus miraculously delivered, became associates in the conversion of Armenia. For the interesting details of this event we must refer the reader to Mr. St. Clair-Tisdall's pages. Events are traced down to the translation of the Armenian Bible, a century later, by Mesrop and the Katholikos Sahak. Here, as in other countries, the translation of the Scriptures marks a stage in the national language and literature. The author is specially qualified for his work by his position in charge of an Armenian congregation in Persia, and his first-hand acquaintance with the Armenian historians, whose works in any form are far from accessible in this country. He writes with evident appreciation of the extraordinary things they have sometimes to tell, though his occasional reference to superstition and so forth are surely superfluous. The book can be recommended as an excellent account of the history of a country in which every one is interested, and about which many are seeking in vain for information.

Jewish Life in the Middle Ages. By ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

Public sentiment with respect to the Jews and to Judaism has undergone of late a very marked change. Taken as a whole, the judgments of

history regarding them are to-day being patiently re-examined in the light of actual facts, and the testimony of these latter is being allowed more and more to have its due weight. Passion and prejudice are having less influence than in former generations on the public mind, and the estimates formed of the Jewish character and the Jewish religion are in consequence now very different from what they have been for many centuries. True, in some quarters passion and prejudice still rule, and seem even to grow more intense as the general mind is seen to be freeing itself from their sway. But the old frenzy of hatred is diminishing, and a more sober and juster judgment is coming to prevail. The Jews themselves are doing their best, or the best among them (for there are of course bad Jews, just as there are bad Christians, who constantly give occasion for the enemy to blaspheme), to aid the public judgment in forming truer and more accurate ideas of themselves and of their faith. This, not only by performing their due part as public citizens in whatever country they are (only they have been forward to do this almost everywhere for centuries), but by special effort to lay before the world the real life of Jews, and the real ideals of their religion. The volume before us at present is one of these efforts, and will rank as one of the best of them. It is not however cast in a polemical form ; it is, in the truest sense of the word, historical. It invites us to look into the hearts and homes of the Jews in those very times when, and in the places where, they were most misjudged, and in consequence were most maligned and persecuted—the so-called 'Middle Ages'—and see them as they were. Mr. Abrahams does not certainly hide their many faults, though he is careful (and we think rightly careful) to show that many of the worst of these faults were not native to them, but were rather the results of the treatment they received from the ruling classes, and those who took their cue from them ; the unnatural laws passed against them, and the environment in which they were forced to live. The late M. Isidore Loeb, in an extremely interesting series of articles, which appeared in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, and which were summarized as they appeared in our Summaries of Foreign Reviews, but which have unfortunately not been as yet translated into English, as they well deserved to be—M. Loeb showed conclusively in these articles that the worst faults charged against the Jews were the fruits of the laws under which they were compelled to live, and the unnatural conditions of existence imposed upon them. Mr. Abrahams, however, only brings this out incidentally. He is more anxious to set before his readers the Jew as he was in those days—to let them see the brighter and best side of Jewish life, than to assign the blame for their faults to their most likely causes. He seems to think that he will serve his purpose best by merely disclosing to us the domestic and social virtues that actually adorned the homes within the ghetto, and exhibiting to us the innocent and simple pleasures that brightened the otherwise dim and dismal lot of those who were pent up within its walls. He takes us into the houses of rich and poor there—takes us into the Jewish home, and shows how very bright it could be, and very, very often was—how tender were the relations of husband and wife, of parents and children—how faithfully and devotedly each bore the burdens of the other, and cheered by their mutual helpfulness their otherwise bitter lot. He takes us into the schools and shows us the children at their lessons ; into the playground and shows us the boys at their games. He takes us into the ghetto market-places and shows us Jew chaffering with Jew, with merry humour and witty sally. He takes us into the dancing halls and shows us how, with keen zest and rollicking, sometimes uproarious, fun, 'they tripped the mazes of the giddy dance.' He takes us into the synagogue and shows us how, even there, the gay mingled

with the grave, how far the most sacred services were from being gloomy and puritanical, as we are so often inclined to regard them. We are shown in these pages a side of Jewish life which was necessarily hid from public gaze in those days, and of which, consequently, we were likely to hear and know nothing from the sources from which we take our information regarding the Jews. Here we see how human the Jew is in all things, how largely he has shared in the foibles and in the graces of a true humanity. 'Hath not a Jew eyes?' etc. 'If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh?' etc. It is well for us certainly to have our attention directed to this side of the Jewish character and of the Jewish life—to get behind the dull walls which hide these from us, and see the Jew when he is out of the range of hostile eyes, and has laid aside the disguise he had so constantly to wear when he ventured forth from the friendly shelter of the ghetto. Mr. Abrahams may possibly present us here with a picture, or series of pictures, where the colouring is a little too roséate; but even if it is so, these pictures give us a needful corrective to the ridiculous caricatures with which we have been so long only too familiar. In Mr. Abrahams' pages we see the Jew in all the phases of his public and private life,—see the place where he lived and the rôle he played as trader, huxter, scholar and physician, as the ornament of kingly courts and the vendor of 'old clo'. Mr. Abrahams' volume is the first of a projected series to be published under the rubric of 'The Jewish Library.' It forms an excellent beginning and augurs well for the value, and we hope for the success, of the series. It is beautifully got up, splendidly printed, and is furnished with an index of authorities, and a general index to the work itself, which leave nothing to be desired in the way of helpfulness to the reader when he wishes to verify a statement, or refer back to any passage in the book.

A History of Dumfries and Galloway. By Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., M.P. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1896.

This second issue of Messrs. Blackwood's 'Histories of the Scottish Counties' is, in some respects, a worthy successor to the first, and, but for certain drawbacks might have been regarded as one of the best Scottish local histories that have yet been written. The lines upon which it is cast are somewhat different from those adopted by Sheriff Mackay in his *History of Fife and Kinross*, but this was in a measure a necessity. Down to the middle of the last century the history of Dumfries and Galloway was made up for the most part of raids and feuds, wars and rumours of wars, and with the narrative of these, though less interesting than the narrative of a people's growth in civilisation or of the development among them of the arts of peace and industry, the historian who undertakes to write the history of the district is compelled to burden his pages, or at least with the narrative of as many of them as are sufficient to show the tendency of the times and the relation in which the counties stood to the general history of the country. Around Galloway and Dumfries Mr. Crockett has recently thrown the glamour of romance, and besides calling attention to them, has probably quickened an expectation in the minds of many which a writer who has to deal with the prose of history, however much he may be expected or desired, is not in a position to satisfy. All the same, Sir Herbert Maxwell's pages are not without the elements of romance. While adhering to plain facts, he has done much to enliven them, and one can scarcely fail to admire the skill with which he manages to sustain the interest of his narrative even in places where it threatens to

sink, and in the hands of a less experienced writer would sink, into the merest chronicle. That Sir Herbert Maxwell has thrown much new light upon his subject or that he is always absolutely correct can hardly be said. But if his volume contains little that was not already known to students, it contains much that is not generally known, and what it does contain is put in a concise and lucid and popular way. The early history of this part of the country confessedly bristles with difficulties. Sir Herbert Maxwell has followed the guidance of Mr. Skene in his *Celtic Scotland*. His explanations or theories are the best to hand, but somehow they are scarcely satisfactory. To say the least the period is obscure. Whether it will ever become clearer is doubtful. The ancient authorities who describe the country and its inhabitants are difficult to decipher, and the information they have to give meagre. The great outstanding figure is of course St. Ninian, of whom we are told almost if not all there is to tell. Something more might have been said about the monastery, or great school which subsequently grew up at Whithorn, as also about the reverence which was paid to the relics of the Saint. From Sir Herbert Maxwell's account no one would ever suppose that in the thirteenth and fourteenth century as many as ten thousand pilgrims were, according to a writer of the fourteenth century, wont to assemble at Whithorn from Ireland, Wales, England, France, and Spain every Whitsuntide. The number may be placed too high, still a good deal may be said in favour of its accuracy. The numbers who visited the shrine from other parts of Scotland alone were considerable. Certainly the festival formed for a long time a feature in the life of the district, and lights perhaps more curious are thrown upon it by the narrative of the writer referred to than by the extracts given by Sir Herbert Maxwell from the Treasurer's Accounts. The treatment of the ecclesiastical history of the counties during the period prior to the Reformation is, we venture to think, susceptible of improvement. The treatment of it subsequent to the Reformation is as full as might be expected, and is at the same time written with an impartial hand. The origin of Fergus is still an enigma, and we look in vain for any light upon it in the work before us. Probably there is none to get. He appears suddenly and makes his mark. In an interesting note upon his descendants and the hotly disputed question as to who are his direct descendants Sir Herbert Maxwell throws out the suggestion that he was of Danish extraction, which if correct would relate the Macdougals or Macdowals of Lorne with those of Galloway. Coming down to a later period we have an interesting paragraph on Scott's Effie Deans, the original for whom was Isabel Walker, who was sentenced to death at Dumfries for child murder, while the original of Jeanie Deans was her sister Helen, who actually did what is attributed to Jeanie in the novel. Sir Herbert has, of course, much to say about Burns and his life in Dumfries. The latter part of his volume indeed is often of surpassing interest. Several passages will have an attraction for folk-lorists. The smugglers with whom Mr. Crockett has made his readers familiar are not often referred to; but several noteworthy incidents are mentioned in connection with them. The social condition of the people is for the most part dealt with in appendices. This aspect of the history of the counties, however, seems to have been to a large extent crowded out. It is not quite correct that Macmillan's movement 'had no effect beyond the bounds of Galloway and Nithsdale;' his followers had, until they were some years ago incorporated into the Free Church, a number of congregations scattered here and there over the length and breadth of Scotland, and in some of the chief towns of England. Welsh, Knox's son-in-law, again, though at one time minister at Kirkcudbright, when sentenced to death for contumacy, was minister

at Ayr, and had been for about five years. It is as minister at Ayr that he is known. 'Flores' History' is a curious way of citing the *Flores Historiarum*. There are other mistakes which suggest the necessity for a careful revision.

English Historical Plays by Shakespeare, Marlowe, Peel, Heywood, Fletcher, and Ford, arranged for Acting as well as for Reading. By THOMAS DONOVAN. 2 Vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

The idea of this book, though partly new, is not altogether so. The idea of gathering together the best plays in the English language illustrative of English history so far as we know is new, and deserves to be commended. On the other hand, Sir Henry Irving has already edited the plays of Shakespeare for reading and acting, though not those of the other writers whose historical plays Mr. Donovan has placed along with his selections from Shakespeare. Sir Henry Irving, however, did not cut out the parts which might be omitted; he simply indicated them. Mr. Donovan has left out whatever he thought superfluous and has slightly altered the arrangement of some of the scenes, giving the plays in several instances a better ending. To those who wish to use the plays for acting, whether in public or in private, or for public reading, his work will be of service. They will at least be saved a considerable amount of trouble and find themselves in the hands of an experienced guide. Evidently Mr. Donovan has not thought of the private reader, or of those who wish to acquaint themselves with the plays as literature, otherwise he would have added a fair body of notes to explain the plays, to correct some of their inaccuracies, and to add such information as would increase the pleasure of reading them. Still, for the purposes he has in view, he has left little, if anything, to be desired, and has presented us with the main outlines of English history, from Edward I. to Henry VIII., as it was conceived by the great playwrights of the best period of the English drama.

St. Anselm of Canterbury: A Chapter in the History of Religion. By J. M. RIGG. London: Methven & Co. 1896.

There is no lack of Lives of St. Anselm. Some of them are works of exceptional value, though each of them has its own peculiar features. Mr. Riggs' has a reason of its own for its appearance, which may also be justified on other grounds. Though comparatively brief, it is not too brief; nor can it be said to pass over anything in the life of Anselm which is of importance. The narrative is picturesque, and never for a moment fails to sustain the attention, while the analyses which it contains of Anselm's works, though probably briefer than many would desire, are nevertheless sufficient to exhibit the leading thoughts Anselm endeavoured to set forth, and at the same time to fix his position among the thinkers of Christendom and mark the influence he had upon the development of Christian thought. A life so full of trouble and dramatic incidents as that of St. Anselm could scarcely fail to be attractive, and Mr. Rigg follows the development of the story from Aosta to the last scene in Canterbury on Palm Sunday, April 18, 1109, with a tact and skill which are highly commendable. In the opinion of many he may seem to lean too much to the side of Rome in his account of the struggle about the investiture; still his main concern in connection with it is the part which Anselm took, and whatever one may think of this, there can be no doubt as to the admirable character of Mr. Rigg's narrative from the point of

view of the Church or of the high and conscientious motives by which Anselm was actuated. The arguments in favour of Anselm being the author of the beautiful *Mariale*, of which St. Casimir's hymn is an abridgement, though almost convincing, are not conclusive. That St. Casimir was not its author seems to be certain. Proofs are needed to show that it proceeded from St. Bernard of Clairvaux. The decision seems to hover between the opponent of Abelard and the opponent of Rufus, but as yet there appears to be nothing to determine definitely to which of them it belongs. One incident in Anselm's life Mr. Rigg leaves unexplained—his interposition at Bari to avert from England the sentence of excommunication. 'Anselm's conduct on this occasion,' he says, 'is inexplicable.' . . . 'We can only conjecture that he yielded to one of those sudden impulses which sometimes overpower sensitive natures.' A much likelier reason is that he knew that the chief sufferers under the sentence would be the people, whose cup, he also knew, was already full, and that he desired to save them. Turgot, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews, and the friend and biographer of St. Margaret, appears in Mr. Rigg's pages as 'Thurgod.' The rumours that Thomas Archbishop-Elect of York entertained the extravagant idea of consecrating him to the See of St. Andrews, being himself unconsecrated, Thomas declared to be unfounded. Had Thomas been consecrated there would have been nothing 'extravagant' in the idea of his consecrating Turgot. York claimed ecclesiastic jurisdiction over Scotland. So also did Canterbury. Turgot was subsequently consecrated to St. Andrews by the Bishop of London, and his successor Eadmer, the biographer of Anselm, whom Mr. Rigg mainly follows, received consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Tragic Drama of the Greeks. By A. E. HAIGH, M.A.
With Illustrations. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.
1896.

Many books have been written on the Greek drama, but none, so far as we know, has been published in English which will at all compare with the one Mr. Haigh has now produced, either for breadth or fulness of treatment, accurate scholarship, or acuteness of criticism. Some time ago Mr. Haigh published a volume on the Attic theatre in which he dealt with the outward features and surroundings of the old Athenian performances, and with the aid of then recent discoveries threw such light upon them that his book at once became the standard English authority upon the subject, and is likely to remain so until fresh discoveries require it to be rewritten. His present volume, though scarcely so full, as was hardly possible, of new material, will, unless we are mistaken, stand side by side with his *Attic Theatre*, and occupy a similar position of authority. Most books of this kind are written for scholars only. Mr. Haigh has adopted the wise plan of writing for the general public as well. At any rate, he has written a book which, while it will satisfy the desires of students and scholars, will be perfectly intelligible to those who are neither the one nor the other, and prove intensely attractive to all who wish to know anything about the great tragic drama of the Greeks. The text is not a piebald of Greek and English. It is written in English of the clearest, crispest, and most forcible sort. Whatever Greek Mr. Haigh uses, and he uses a considerable quantity, is relegated to the notes, so that while in these the scholar or the student may find abundant material for reflection, the ordinary reader has before him an argument which he can easily follow, and in which biography, description, and criticism alternate, and, together with the historical chapters, form a really admir-

able volume. This is as it should be. There is no reason whatever of a valid sort why a treatise dealing with a subject of such importance, and a knowledge of which deserves to be so widely spread, as that of the Tragic Drama of the Greeks, should not be so written as to be intelligible to every reader. The difficulty of so writing it is of course very considerable, and Mr. Haigh deserves all the more credit for having made the attempt and for having made it with such brilliant success. His volume may be said to divide itself into four parts. In the first he deals with the origin and first developments of Greek tragedy; in the second with Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and their works; in the third with the general characteristics of the Greek Tragic Drama; and in the fourth with its later history down to its extinction. Two appendices are added, one containing a list of the tragic poets of ancient Greece and the titles of known Greek tragedies and satyric dramas. These are followed by a sufficient index, which completes the volume. In the first of the above-enumerated parts we hear, of course, of Dionysus and his worship, and then of the dithyramb. The notion that the musical character of this last was revolutionised by Arion is rejected. On the other hand, Mr. Haigh shows that there is sufficient reason for the assertion that he introduced the innovation of inserting spoken verses in the midst of the choral odes. The influence of Pindar and Simonides on the development of the dithyramb is referred to, and considerable space is devoted to Thespis, the real founder of Attic tragedy, and to other early writers. The oldest form of Greek tragedy is admirably indicated by an excellent analysis of the Supplikes of Aeschylus. The interest attaching to this section of the volume is great, but is well-nigh eclipsed by that of the two sections which immediately follow it. Anything like an examination of these, or indeed of any one of the divisions of the volume, is here impossible, but one or two points may be noted. One of the features of the volume is its method. In the second and third parts, but especially in the second, the advantage of this is noticeable. Here, as we have already mentioned, Mr. Haigh treats of the three great writers of Greek tragedy and their works, and his method of procedure is this. Taking them in their chronological order, we have first a biographical account of the writer, then a section on the improvements he introduced. These are followed by sections in which the structure, general tone, selection, and treatment of the plots of his dramas, are discussed. After these come sections treating of his characters and language, his moral and religious ideas, and in the case of Aeschylus, of the trilogy and tetralogy; in the case of Sophocles, of his irony; and in that of Euripides, of his social and political opinions. The extant plays are then analysed, and the account of each author closes with an estimate of his 'reputation among the ancients.' Criticisms are freely interspersed. The most impressive, as from a historical point of view the most valuable, are those on the moral and religious ideas of the writers. Mr. Haigh's sections on these topics recall the excellent papers by Bishop Westcott in his *Religious Thought of the West*, which though less complete, deserve to be read along with them. The passages we have marked in this connection are numerous, but we must content ourselves with the following. Speaking of Aeschylus, he says:—"The first point to be noticed in regard to his religious views is the sublime conception of Zeus as the supreme ruler of the universe. The other deities are represented as merely the ministers of his will, and though still possessing their usual characteristics, stand in subordinate rank. The language applied to Zeus is monotheistic in tone, and his praises are chanted in strains of the loftiest exaltation. He is "King of kings, most blessed of the blessed, most mighty of rulers." His power "knows no superior, nor is anyone enthroned above him; swifter

than speed is the accomplishment of his purpose." He "holds for ever the balance of the scales; nothing comes to mortal man but by the will of Zeus." "Zeus is sky, and earth, and heaven; Zeus is all things, yea, greater than all things." His power, though invisible, is omnipotent and omnipresent. "Dark and shadowy," it is said, "are the pathways of his counsels, and difficult to see. From their high-towering hopes he hurleth down to destruction the race of men. Yet setteth he no forces in array, all his works are effortless. Seated on holiest throne, from thence, unknown to us, he bringeth his will to pass." Here again is another passage which, though occurring in another connection, admirably illustrates Mr. Haigh's mode of treating his subject: 'Stated in general terms, the aim of Sophocles was to humanise tragedy, and to bring it down to a more earthly level from the supernatural region in which it had previously moved, without at the same time impairing its ideal splendour. This purpose he has accomplished with perfect skill, and its effect is everywhere visible in the changed tone which pervades his dramas. The sublime and awe-inspiring grandeur of Aeschylus is replaced by a certain indefinable grace and beauty. The great problems of religion and morals no longer overshadow the human interest of the story. Not that they are lost sight of altogether, but instead of that predominance which Aeschylus had given them, they form rather, in Sophocles, the background of the picture, against which the human figures stand out in sharp and conspicuous outline. The nature of man, and his various passions and struggles, become for the first time the main object of attention in the tragic drama. The characters are transformed in a corresponding fashion. They resemble the heroic figures of Homer rather than the rugged and Titanic beings whom Aeschylus loved to paint. While retaining the grace and strength of the old race of heroes, they come nearer to human beings in their emotions and weaknesses. Their language, too, is changed; it is no longer the grand and superhuman diction of Aeschylean tragedy, but a form of speech in which strength and beauty, simplicity and elevation, are skilfully combined.' As to the religious opinions of Euripides, Mr. Haigh declines to accept the views recently published by Dr. Verral, and while admitting the frankness of the opinions Euripides advanced in respect to the traditional ideas of his countrymen, he concludes that on the whole it seems doubtful whether he can justly be described as an enemy to the national religion, and points out that, apart from the partial and biassed attacks of Aristophanes, there is only one recorded instance in which religious scepticism was made the subject of complaint against him, and argues that if his attitude towards the established creed had been uniformly to persuade the people, as Aristophanes said it was, and as Dr. Verral seems to maintain, that 'There are no gods, it is certain that he would never have been permitted to exhibit continuously at a religious era like the Dionysia.' In what we have termed the third part of his work, Mr. Haigh proceeds to consider the form and character of Greek tragedy. After a section on the general characteristics of Greek tragedy, we have a series in which such topics as the structure, plots, formal divisions, language, and versification, and the satyric drama are treated. The last division is devoted to the later history of Greek tragedy, and brings the subject down to the time when the celebrated enactments of Honorius and Arcadius were issued.

English Prose: Selections with Critical Introductions by various Writers, and General Introduction to each Period. F
by HENRY CRAIK. Vol. V. Nineteenth Century. L
and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

With this volume is completed the work which Mr. Henry Craik has so successfully edited on the history of English prose. It covers the whole of the nineteenth century from Sir Walter Scott to Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson. The number of authors is of course considerable, and the volume is proportionately larger than any of its predecessors in the series. As in previous volumes Mr. Craik has secured the services of an able band of contributors; the separate introductions bear marks of careful study, and the passages chosen for illustrating the styles of the different authors have been selected with judgment. Mr. Craik's general introduction is itself an excellent piece of writing, and might very well be cited as an example of what can be done in the way of prose composition in almost the last year of the century. It is valuable also for its contents. At the same time it is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is written. The changes which have occurred in the prose style of the century are by no means to be compared with the changes which the century has witnessed in other spheres. What changes have occurred are few. 'In most essentials of its features English prose is the same now as it was when the eighteenth century closed; and we might read sentences, paragraphs, and even pages from many books written at the beginning and at the end of the period covered by this volume without finding any marked distinction which would help us to decide to which part of it they belong. At the same time it may safely be said there is no equal period which presents anything like the same individual variety, or which has turned and twisted the models of the past into as great a multiplicity of shapes either of fashion or of taste.' These two apparent opposite characteristics, make it difficult, even if it were desirable, to pronounce a definite judgment upon the main tendencies of English prose in the present. 'Style in our own day,' as Mr. Craik well remarks, 'is a complex matter, and he would be rash who should attempt to dogmatise either as to its character or its prospects.' In the separate introductions there is much criticism, and many judgments are pronounced, but any one who comes to consider the whole period will appreciate the extremely cautious manner in which Mr. Craik writes. His volume will serve as an admirable guide to the student for the prose style of the century now so near its conclusion, while the series it concludes is in every way and beyond question the best of its kind.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Disburdened—Disobservant; Disobstetricate—Distrustful. Vol. III. Fish—Flexuose. Vol. IV. By HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1896.

Under the new arrangement this great work is making rapid progress. A substantial addition is here made to it and the third and fourth volumes bringing the work down to the end of the letter G will soon be completed. The first two parts or sections are from the editorship of Dr. Murray, the editor in chief, and the third from his accomplished colleague Mr. Bradley. In Dr. Murray's first section we have 1396 main words, 27 combinations explained under them, and 127 subordinate entries; in all, 1550. Of these, 1450 are illustrated by 6990 quotations, or more than six times the number given in the largest of the competing dictionaries from the words 'disburden' to 'disobservant.' The words of Latin or French origin in dis—which were entered upon in the preceding section, are here continued and form an almost solid block interrupted only by the word 'dish,' with its compounds and derivatives, which is the only word

of Old English age included and is itself originally from Latin, though adopted in West Germanic probably before the English conquest of Britain. Other but later representatives of the same Latin word are 'dais,' 'desk,' 'disk,' and 'discus.' The most interesting word in the section is 'dismal.' Its history is traced back to the Anglo-French *dis mal*, Latin *dies mali*, evil or ill-omened days, the 'Egyptian days' of the Mediæval calendar. It was not till near the year 1600 that it came into general use and began to be applied to other things than days. Dr. Murray's second part continues the words in the prefix Dis—, and contains 1346 entries. The end of the words beginning with the prefix is not yet reached. Among those given here is a number of words of great importance to the language, while others among them are interesting because of their sense-history. In all the part 'distaff' is the only Old English word that occurs. Of words with a Greek derivation there occur not more than a dozen. 'Disproportionableness,' the longest word in the language, or what is supposed to be such, finds its place in this Section, and 'despatch' is shown to be historically and etymologically the correct spelling for 'despatch.' Mr. Bradley's section contains 956 main words, 314 combinations explained under them, and 170 subordinate entries, in all 1440. The number of words recorded from 'fishable' to 'flexuose' is 1812, as compared with 997 in *The Century Dictionary*, of which 1586 are illustrated by 8214 quotations. The illustrative quotations in the corresponding portion of *Richardson's Dictionary* number only 587, and those in the corresponding section of *The Century Dictionary* do not reach a higher figure than 1158. The inference from these figures is too obvious to need pointing out. Of the 1812 words in this section only 33 existed in Old English. The most striking feature in the words dealt with in this portion of the English vocabulary is their onomatopoeic character. Among them are 'fizz,' 'fizzle,' 'flab,' 'flabbergast,' 'flap,' 'flare.' On many words new light is thrown both in respect to their origin and as to the development of their meaning. In short, the superiority of the work continues to be maintained in every respect.

Scandinavian Folk-Lore: Illustrations of the Traditional Beliefs of the Northern Peoples. Selected and Translated by WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE, M.A., B.A., Oxon., F.S.A. Scot. Paisley and London: Alexander Garduer. 1896.

The aim of the writer of this book has been to present English readers with a convenient and accessible body of the Folk-lore of the North. The want of such a work has been felt for some time. The old collections are hard to get, and are now quite inadequate in view of the great amount of fresh material which has been accumulated since they were issued. Besides, the folk-lore of the North has an interest of its own. Not only is its tradition full and unbroken, it has suffered comparatively little from those adverse influences which trouble students of the folk-lore of other peoples. The vulgarising tendency which, according to Von Hahn, is one element in the transition from Sagas to Tales, is not, so far as we can judge, very apparent in it; and what a recent collector of Slavonic folk-lore bewailed as the holy horror of Paganism, displayed by Christian editors, has operated as little, either in the past or the present. The opening section, 'The Old Gods,' is in some respects the most interesting in the book. It gives an insight into the spread of Christianity and the survival of Paganism, which is unique. The old gods are not degraded into devils as elsewhere, but for the most part retain their former attributes. The other tales are no less important for the study of folk-lore. The number of mysterious

beings which surrounds the Northerner is wonderful. There are berg-folk in every mound, who are often willing to exchange favours with their human neighbours. In the forests one has to beware of the elle-folk, who may be detected by their long cow's tails. Every respectable farm has its own nisse or brownie. This useful imp ensures the prosperity of his farm by stealing hay and corn from neighbouring places. There is an amusing story of the nisses of the two big farms of a district robbing all the small steadings beside them and finally making inroads on each other's store, with the result that they had a battle-royal. This remedy for agricultural depression may be secured either by going to cross-roads and waiting till the nisse comes, or by felling a tree in the forest. All the nisses will crowd round to see how the tree is split up, and if the wedges are smartly struck out, one is almost sure to fall a victim to his curiosity and be caught by his tail. Besides these there are kelpies and monsters innumerable. Ghosts are specially abundant, in fact too abundant for the space at the author's disposal. Mr. Craigie has adopted a simple but sufficient classification of his materials according to subjects. In each section the arrangement is chronological, beginning with extracts from the sagas, and gradually coming to later versions. The book thus gives a fairly complete view of the extent and course of the various popular beliefs, and shows the 'unity of faith which underlies them.' The volume concludes with a short bibliography, notes, and an index of matters. In the notes Mr. Craigie confines himself to stating his authorities and giving other Scandinavian parallels. He does not attempt anything in the way of comparative mythology, and in this he is wise. The book tells its own story, and besides, it deals with a form of folk-lore which is very much *sui generis*. The translation is well and closely done from the various originals, and altogether the collection should be of great use to students, as well as interesting to the traveller and general reader.

The Shadow of Arvor: Legendary Romances and Folk-Tales of Brittany. Translated and Retold by EDITH WINGATE RINDER. Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes and Colleagues.

There is considerable variety in the eighteen pieces included in this volume. Some, like 'Ronan the Silent,' and the 'Revenge of Neumeonion,' are passages from the traditional history of Brittany. Others, like Sant-Ervoau, Mabick Remond, the Saint-Painter, and Santez-Anna, are in the main sketches of Breton life; while another class represents popular beliefs and superstitions. All have that tender and mystic cast which distinguishes Breton even from all other Celtic folk-lore. A Breton proverb, which Mrs. Wingate Rinder has prefixed as the motto to her book, says: 'The swallow clings to the eave: the Breton clings to his people and to his past.' It is this clinging to the past, the brooding of a folk in the afterglow of the light of other days which is the charm of the *Shadow of Arvor*, and is the secret of its mingled gentleness and terror. The old woman, the self-constituted sacristan of Santa-Annez' shrine, has grown to be the image of the saint's statue. Mabik Remond, the Saint-Painter, might have returned from the Middle Ages. Sant-Ervoan is still the union and the judge of his people, and the weird figure of Monik is tied with unutterable missions to his shrine. Some of the figures familiar—Gwennolaik is the Breton Leonore, Devil may-care is the smith who proved too much for Death and the Devil, and finally his entrance into Heaven. 'The Voyage of Iannik' is one of journeys to the other world, of which reminiscences survive in the 'gatio S. Brendani' and 'Thomas of Ercildoune.' But even these

have a charm and spirit of their own. The book is a worthy product of the Celtic Renaissance, and should be of interest to all who can see aught in Nature that is theirs, and care for something better than the sordid and vapid scribbling which now-a-days sometimes passes for fiction.

The Students' Companion to Latin Authors. By GEORGE MIDDLETON, M.A., and THOMAS R. MILLS, M.A. With Introductory Note by Prof. W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D. London and New York, 1896.

This handy and useful little volume owes its origin to a suggestion made by Professor Ramsay, and all students who have occasion to use it will be grateful to him for the suggestion, and to the two authors who have taken the trouble to carry it out. It fills what was a decided gap among the text-books used by students by bringing together into brief compass a large variety of facts ascertained and probable which were hitherto accessible only in dictionaries and a variety of volumes not readily obtainable, and sometimes not accessible in these. The object of the volume is to give briefly all the facts of importance relating to the lives and works of the principal Latin authors, with full quotation of original authorities on all the chief points. Critical appreciation of the works of these authors does not fall within the scope of the volume and the student is referred for guidance in this matter to the ordinary histories of literature. The work which Messrs. Middleton and Mills have here set themselves to produce is intended as a companion to these, and to be used along with them. As far as possible they have illustrated each of the authors from his own writings, and as the book is primarily meant for use in the upper forms of schools and by students at the Universities, special attention has been paid to the great writers. No attempt has been made to treat of Early Latin as seen in inscriptions. Messrs. Middleton and Mills begin with Livius Andronicus and come down to Tacitus and the Younger Pliny, dealing with each author by himself. A section is added on Suetonius, a sketch is given of the principal ancient authorities on Roman authors, and an appendix contains a list of the principal editions, distinguishing between those which are critical and those which are simply text. A couple of excellent indices complete the volume. The authors have evidently been at great pains to be accurate, and there can be no doubt that their volume will both supply a felt want and prove of excellent service to scholars and students and to those who are in need of a handy book of reference for the facts with which it deals.

Transcaucasia and Ararat, being Notes of a Vacation Tour in the Autumn of 1876. By JAMES BRYCE. Engraving and Map. Fourth Edition. Revised, with additional chapter. London and New York, Macmillan & Co. 1896.

This charming volume of travels, of which, though it is over twenty years since it was first published, many must still have pleasant memories, has in this, its fourth, edition received considerable additions to its value. In the first place Mr. Bryce has added a large number of foot-notes. The districts through which his journey lay, though far from the centres of civilisation and slow to move, are not altogether outside the circle of progress or movement, and in these new notes he has called attention to many of the changes which have occurred, and given much new and valuable information. In the second place we have an entirely new chapter on the recent history of the Armenian question. In this chapter Mr. Bryce goes back to the Treaty of San Stefano of 1877, and examines the h

of Armenia during the past twenty years in three aspects—the diplomatic, the administrative, and the native. Under the first of these he arraigns the conduct of Russia, England, and the other European powers in relation to Armenia; under the second the action of the Sultan; while under the third he describes the feelings and behaviour of the Armenians themselves. As might be expected the chapter contains a good deal of politics. At the same time it contains much that is history. The whole story is not, for obvious reasons told; still what is told is in many ways highly instructive. It is doubtful whether the frightful work of the Sultan has been told so succinctly and at the same time with such graphic power before. The case for the Armenians is well put, and cannot fail to enlist the unreserved sympathy of every reader. With the political part we have here nothing to do. All we need add is that the publication of this new edition at the present moment is extremely opportune and that the additions Mr. Bryce has made to the work enhance both its interest and its value.

Biblical Idyls, Genesis, The Exodus, The Judges, The Kings (Macmillan). These are five more volumes of Professor Moulton's 'Modern Reader's Bible.' As readers of this Review are aware, the aim of the author of this series is to present the various books of the Bible as pieces of literature. Theological questions and questions in Biblical criticism are passed by and the books are regarded and edited from a purely literary point of view. In the first of the five volumes we have the Song of Solomon, the books of Ruth and Esther, and the apocryphal book of Tobit. These are all included under the same cover as having more or less of the character distinctive of the idyl. The Song of Songs is presented as a lyric idyl, and the rest as narrative idyls. As for the first, it is sufficiently elaborate in its structure to exhibit dramatic epic and lyric in combination. In the opinion of Mr. Moulton it is not a drama pure and simple, but a poem which, while on the face of it dramatic, allows the freer movement required by the lyric poet, and the story of it is this: 'King Solomon, with a courtly retinue, visiting the royal vineyards upon Mount Lebanon, comes by surprise upon the Shulamite. She flies from them. Solomon visits her in the guise of a shepherd, and so wins her love. He then comes in his royal state, and calls upon her to leave Lebanon and become his queen. They are on the point of being wedded in the royal palace when the poem opens.' This, Mr. Moulton says, which is the story as a whole, is brought out for us in seven idyls. Each is independent, all are founded upon the one story, but making their reference to different parts of it as these occur to the minds of the speakers, without the limitation to order of succession that would be implied in dramatic presentation. The idea is certainly ingenious and seems to explain some of the difficulties connected with the interpretation of the poem. The Book of Ruth Mr. Moulton regards as 'the very ideal and type of the Idyl,' the Book of Esther, on the other hand, 'hovers on the boundary line between Idyl and Epic History,' while in the Book of Tobit 'the Hebrew Idyl reaches its perfection of naive simplicity.' The other four volumes contain the history of the People of Israel; not indeed according to modern criticism, but as the People of Israel presented it to themselves. In *Genesis* we have the history of the origin of things and of the origin of the Hebrew race. *The Exodus* narrates the emigration from Egypt and the Wanderings in the Wilderness, *The Judges* the Conquest of Canaan and the development of secular government down to the establishment of the monarchy and the rise of the prophetic order; and *The Kings* brings down the history to the

Captivity. In these volumes the historical narrative is given continuously except that it is here and there interrupted by the intercalation of Appendices containing genealogies, catalogues, and civil and religious ordinances. As usual, Mr. Moulton's introductions and notes are brief and luminous.

Christianity and Social Problems (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), by Lyman Abbott, is a series of lectures in which the author attempts to apply the principles of Christianity to the sociological problems of the present. Christ's mission, he maintains, was not individual but social, not merely to make men worthy to be called the children of God, but at the same time and chiefly to make a state of society on the earth worthy to be called the kingdom of God. Protestant theology has, in the opinion of Dr. Lyman Abbott, placed the chief emphasis on Christ's mission to individuals, and what he wishes to do in his present lectures, and what he does, is to call attention to Christ's mission to society. In the course of his lectures, of which there are thirteen, he deals with such topics as Christ and democracy, Christianity and Communism, Christianity and Socialism, Christ's law of the family and of service, and Christ's law in connection with controversies, private and international, as also in relation to the labour question. Dr. Abbott is a forcible writer and sets forth his views on the aspects of the great question with which he deals, with much clearness and precision. His pages are suggestive reading and pervaded by a broad and generous conception of the work of Christ.

The Romance of a King's Life (Fisher Unwin), by J. J. Jusserand, translated by M. R., revised and enlarged by the author, is the story of the life of James I. of Scotland. A more charming and fascinating life of the Poet-King, we will venture to say, has never been written. It has all the beauty of an exquisite cameo. The country, the character and conduct of the King, the difficulties he had to contend with, and the state of society, are all presented with a truth and vividness we have never seen excelled. In an appendix, M. Jusserand refers to the controversy raised by Mr. Brown, as to the authorship of 'The Kingis Quair' and briefly repeats the opinion he some time ago maintained in the *Academy* in opposition to the views advanced by Mr. Brown.

Richard Cameron, by John Herkless, and *Thomas Chalmers*, by W. Garden Blaikie, are two further instalments in Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier's 'Famous Scots Series.' As brief popular biographies they may be commended, but they add nothing to our knowledge and simply say what has been quite as well said before. Professor Herkless indeed tells us that he has 'got some pickings' from the registers of the University of St. Andrews and the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library. Still one would suppose that there are 'pickings' to be had elsewhere, in Holland, for instance, in Presbytery and Kirk Session Records or in the Record Office. A good life of Cameron and a good history of his period are still wanting.

The Riches of Chaucer (Macmillan) by Charles Cowden Clark, appears in a fourth edition. It is handsomely printed and bound, and should commend itself to readers of the present as former editions commended themselves to readers in the earlier parts of the century. It is hardly necessary to say that, while not containing the whole of Chaucer's poetical works, those which we find in the volume are his best. With great skill, Mr. Cowden Clark, an enthusiastic admirer of the poet, prepared them for the ordinary reader by modernising the spelling, accentuating the rhythm, and explaining the allusions and obsolete words. He also purged the text of passages not suited to the taste of the present.

In *The Poems of Ossian* (Geddes) we have another reprint—a centenary edition. The Editor has slightly altered the arrangement of the poems, but has left untouched most of Macpherson's notes. The text used is that issued by Mr. Hugh Campbell in 1882, whose notes have also for the most part been retained. For the introduction Mr. William Sharp is responsible. One would like to have seen an introduction from the hand of a Celtic scholar. Mr. Sharp, however, has read up most of what is to be read on the subject, and has given a very fair account of the position of the controversy. Like most volumes issued by Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, this also is handsomely printed, and tastefully 'got up.'

The Evergreen, Winter Book (Geddes) is of more than average quality. The reading is seasonable, if quaint. To a large extent the Celtic element predominates. There are several pieces of commendable verse, and some excellent specimens of folk-lore culled from Brittany, Ireland, and elsewhere. The best of them is one from the Breton by Mrs. Windgate Rinder. The head-pieces are striking, but the illustrations are scarcely what they might have been. The drawing cannot be commended; the women and girls' faces are not attractive, and the angel appearing to Simon Stylites is, to say the least, of too earthly a mould.

Among other books we have received the following:—*The Romance of Ruhere* (Elliot Stock), by Edward Hardingham; *The Origin and Nature of Man* (Elliot Stock), by S. B. G. M'Kinney; *Lays and Verses* (Longmans), by Nimmo Christie; *By your Leaves, Gentle Men* (Simpkin), by 'Bertram'; *The Pessimist* (Waddie & Co.), by Charles Waddie; *Elijah* (Longmans), by George Washington Moon; *The Victory of Defeat* (Swan Sonnenschein), by William Hall, M.A.; *Law of Nature and Nations in Scotland* (Green & Sons), by William Galbraith Miller, M.A., LL.B.; *Sophonisba* (Digby, Long & Co.), by E. Derry; *A Plea for God and Aspirations for Man* (Kegan Paul), by Zeno; *Voxometric Revelation* (Joint Interest Publishing Co.), Justus Abner and A. A. North; *A Mist from Yarrow* (Oliphant & Co.), by A. J. B. Paterson; *Furs and Fur Garments* (Roxburghe Press), by Richard Davey; *The Covenants and the Covenanters* (Hunter), by the Rev. James Kerr, D.D.

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ART. I.—PICKLE THE SPY.

Pickle the Spy, or the Incognito of Prince Charles. By ANDREW LANG. Second edition. London. 1897.

THERE are three personages in Scottish history around whom romance has thrown a halo, differing in intensity but similar in character. William Wallace, Mary, Queen of Scots, and Prince Charles Edward have long been dear to the Scottish heart, and will probably retain their popularity in spite of persistent detractors. Each had at least one Iago tempting to ruin, and each suffered betrayal from trusted counsellors. Wallace was done to death by the 'fause Menteith'; Mary was driven into exile by her unscrupulous half-brother 'the Good Regent' Moray; and the downfall of the Jacobite cause was largely due to the treachery of Murray of Broughton and the band of needy adventurers that surrounded Prince Charles Edward in his later days, despite the noble few—Nairne, Gask, and others—who remained loyal to the cause. The sad story of treason and faithlessness to the wandering Prince has been fairly well known to those who have studied his obscure history subsequent to Culloden. There were traitors of every degree around him, from Murray of Broughton, his trusted Secretary, down to James Mohr Macgregor, Rob Roy's degenerate son, who was ready

to sell himself to the highest bidder, and who died in starvation, a miserable, execrated exile. One might have thought that the army of traitors had been fully numbered, and that they had been pilloried for all time, and left to an inalienable heritage of loathing and contempt. But it has been Mr. Andrew Lang's ungracious task to add another traitor to the list, and to unmask the treachery of one who has hitherto escaped, unsuspected and uncensured. It is not a pleasant duty, but the claims of historic truth are greater than the unreasoning demands of popular sentiment. Mr. Lang asserts that he has identified the double-dyed traitor 'Pickle the Spy' with Alastair Ruadh Macdonnell, known in Jacobite annals as young Glengarry. This is a serious charge to bring against a dead man whose name has till now been honoured by the members of his clan, and should neither be lightly advanced nor nonchalantly adopted. The accused is beyond the reach of cross-examination, and cannot explain circumstances that may seem to tell against him. The documentary evidence upon which alone he can be convicted must be clear, explicit, and from a reliable source. Mr. Lang contends that his evidence, though merely circumstantial, is complete, and would be sufficient to convict the accused in a court of law. In reviewing Mr. Lang's theories regarding Pickle the Spy, it is chiefly necessary to watch that he has not become too enamoured of his own idea, and not overlooked the other side of the question. This is quite the normal attitude of the debater on special historical points; and there is a tendency in this pessimistic age to believe the worst, and rather to degrade than elevate historical characters. In this article it is the writer's hope that Mr. Lang's arguments have been calmly stated, and objections to his inferences will be suggested, so that the reader may judge whether the evidence discovered be sufficient to warrant a verdict of guilty.

To the student of general history Mr. Lang's volume will prove valuable because of the light it throws upon the adventures of the Prince in exile. From a diligent examination of the Stuart Papers at Windsor, as well as from contemporary memoirs, he has been able to piece together as in a mosaic the

principal events in the life of Prince Charles Edward while he was a fugitive, flitting between France, Prussia, Rome, and Florence, lurking as a hunted man 'in dern places of the earth,' during the mournful years that succeeded 1746. It is not an inspiring picture that Mr. Lang outlines. The romance which surrounded the Prince during 'Scotland's fule-time' faded rapidly away, and left but a sordid record of a life spent in miserable intrigues, in futile plots, and in degrading excesses. The dashing young hero who had led his devoted adherents, with the courage of a John Sobieski, to victory, is shown as a sluggish prince, whose martial spirit was evaporating. He is depicted as living penuriously upon pensions derived from foreign potentates, who used him as a worthless pawn in the great game of European politics. This is not the prince who lives in the popular imagination, and survives in countless Jacobite lyrics that even yet stir the blood of enthusiastic Scotsmen. It is the reverse of the picture of that high-souled and generous Stuart hero who re-conquered Scotland in one dashing campaign; who invaded England, marching at the head of an undisciplined army into the very heart of a hostile country; and who conducted a brilliant retreat which has no parallel in modern history. Had there been a Xenophon or a Tacitus to record the Scottish *Anabasis*, the wonderful march from Derby to Culloden would have been a theme for perennial eulogy. But that is not the period of the Prince's career which has employed the fluent pen of Mr. Lang; and his plain, unvarnished tale is alas! too true. The Prince was a broken man at the time when the volume begins; he was sinking into the habits of a confirmed debauchee when it closes. The theme is unheroic in the extreme. It is evident by passing remarks which he makes during his narrative that Mr. Lang would fain have had another kind of story to tell; but the truth is inexorable, and the most beautiful tapestry that ever was wrought must have its seamy side. In this portion of the book the most ardent Jacobite of modern times cannot say that the author has set down aught in malice. Proofs of his statements may be found in many quarters.

The Scottish reader may sorrowfully admit that Mr. Lang's

averments regarding the Prince are unassailable, but he may be unwilling to accept without question that other part of the book which deals with the identification of Pickle the Spy. If this book might be classed as fiction, it would be best described as a novel without a hero, and with a whole array of villains. Never, surely, was there a single volume issued which might tempt the reader to exclaim, 'Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!' Here they are all set out in their ebonised hues—Murray of Broughton; Samuel Cameron, 'the basest of their spies;' James Mohr Macgregor, and others of that kidney—each blacker than his neighbour, and all ready to traffic treacherously with either party. But above them all towers the 'superior fiend,' Pickle the Spy, a mysterious entity, deep in the secrets of the exiled Prince, the chosen counsellor of the Hanoverian Government, now in abject poverty, anon rolling in wealth, the confidant of kings, the associate of disreputable banished men—verily, a puzzle not easily solved. Who was this Pickle? Mr. Murray Rose asserts that he was James Mohr Macgregor. Mr. Andrew Lang flies at higher game, and alleges that he was no other than the young Glengarry who had taken an active part in the '45, and who was regarded in the present century as one of the noblest of the Jacobite chiefs. To understand Mr. Lang's accusation, it will be necessary to give an outline of young Glengarry's career.

Alastair Ruadh Macdonnell was the eldest son of Ian Macdonnell, twelfth Laird of Glengarry. His grandfather, Alastair Dubh Macdonnell, was a mighty warrior, who distinguished himself both at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir, and whose services were acknowledged by the grant of a peerage from the Chevalier de St. George (James III.). Ian Macdonnell succeeded his father in 1724, and Alastair Ruadh was sent to France, where he held a commission in the Scots' Brigade in the French service. According to Alastair's own declaration * he was appointed Captain in the Royal Scots Regiment

* Appendix, Stuart Papers, Browne's *Hist. of the Highlands*, Vol. IV.,

when it was formed in 1743, and served in France till November, 1745. From that time till July, 1747, he was a prisoner in England, and after his release he returned to France. The statement has been made, on the dubious testimony of James Mohr Macgregor, that young Glengarry accompanied Prince Charles to Scotland in *La Doutelle*, and landed with him at Moidart in July, 1745; but this is contradicted by the report of Sir John Cope to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, that old Glengarry told him, on 24th August, 1745, that Alastair was then in France. At that time Ian Macdonnell—like Lovat, the Earl of Airlie, and other cautious patriots—had not declared for the Jacobite cause, and was waiting the progress of events, having disposed his estate to Alastair in case of accidents. If the truth may be picked out of the mendacious correspondence of the time, it seems to be certain that Alastair had been at Gravelines in March, 1744, when the premature expedition was to have sailed from Dunkirk, but after it ended as a still-born invasion, he returned to his regiment. In November, 1745, he set out from France with a detachment of the Royal Scots, and a piquet of the Irish Brigade, but he was captured at sea, brought to London, and imprisoned in the Tower. While he was in durance, his younger brother, Æneas, had led the Macdonnells of Glengarry through the campaign with Prince Charles, and was present at the Battle of Falkirk. He was accidentally shot by one of the Macdonalds of Clanranald, and the Prince, to do honour to one of his faithful adherents, caused the grave of Sir John the Graham (the companion-in-arms of Sir William Wallace) to be opened, that the young Highland hero might be buried there.

For twenty-two months Alastair remained in prison. His regimental pay had been remitted to him, and he alleges that he spent it and other sums advanced to him, in relieving his fellow-prisoners, and 'in support of the poor sufferers that otherwise would have starved in prison.*' Meanwhile his father had been suspected; compromising

* Glengarry to Colonel O'Brien, Browne, IV., p. 62.

letters written to the Prince were discovered, and Ian Macdonnel was seized and incarcerated in Edinburgh Castle, where he remained till October, 1749. The Jacobite Rising had thus left the Macdonnells in a serious position, with the chief a prisoner in Edinburgh, and his eldest son a captive in London. By what means young Glengarry procured his release is not very clear, but he certainly obtained his liberty in July, 1747, and speedily made his way to France. His career there can only be discovered from the letters which he wrote to members of the Jacobite Court. He seems to have joined his regiment in July, 1747, and remained with it till March, 1748, as he claimed arrears of pay up till that time. In his letter to the Chevalier de St. George, dated from Paris, 22nd January, 1748, he complains that he had 'not mett with any suitable encouragement,' but he professes his 'sincere and constant duty to your sacred person, which no vicissitudes of fortune, I hope in God, shall be able to shake.' On 24th September, 1748, he was at Amiens, on his way to Boulogne-sur-Mer, his impoverished circumstances having compelled him to leave Paris. He then announces the necessity of his visiting Britain, 'where the present situation of my own affairs makes my presence very necessary.' Whether Glengarry visited Scotland at this time or not is a debatable point. It seems likely that he did not, for an opportunity of employment presented itself unexpectedly. Lochiel died on 26th October, and his brother, Dr. Archibald Cameron, on the following day applied to the Prince asking that the command of Lochiel's Regiment of Albany should be given to the chief's son, a lad of sixteen, and offering to take the command himself temporarily—the Dr. held the rank of Captain in the Spanish army—until the youth should be of age. But on 1st December Glengarry wrote to the Chevalier requesting that *he* might be recommended to the French Court for the same post. Dr. Archibald Cameron, however, did not wait for the Chevalier's reply. He had persuaded Prince Charles Edward to make a personal recommendation of young Cameron, and the matter was settled before the Chevalier's mind could be known. The reply from Edgar, the Chevalier's Secretary, to

Glengarry is important. Mr. Lang prints only one passage from the letter. The complete epistle is as follows:—

‘SIR,

‘ROME, 24th Xber, 1748.

‘I received last week the letter you were pleased to write to me of the 1st of this month, and have had the honour to lay it before the King, in return to which His Majesty commands me to let you know, with many kind compliments in his name, that, having some posts ago recommended young Lochiel to the Court of France for his father's regiment, he cannot now recommend any other body for it. H.M. is sorry to find you so low in your circumstances, and reduced to such straits at present as you mention, and he is the more sorry that his own situation, as to money matters, never being so bad as it is now, he is not in a condition to relieve you as he would incline. But His Majesty being at the same time desirous to do what depends on him for your satisfaction, he, upon your request, sends you here inclosed a duplicate of your grandfather's warrant to be a Peer. You will see that it is signed by H.M., and I can assure you it is an exact duplicate copie out of the book of entries of such like papers.

‘I am much obliged to Lochgary and your Brother for the notice they take of me.

‘P.S.—The Duke commands me to return you his kind compliments, and H.M. and H.R.H. assure Lochgary and your Brothers of theirs, in return to their duty towards them which you mention.’

From this reply, it will be seen that Glengarry had mentioned in his application his straitened circumstances as a reason for being recommended to the command, and had also asked to have a duplicate of the patent of nobility, which would really have had the effect of a confirmation. Both requests were perfectly reasonable and legitimate; there was nothing dishonourable in the application. The method in which Mr. Lang treats this incident betrays the animus of a special pleader against Glengarry.

‘It is easy to conceive the feelings, and to imagine the florid eloquence of young Glengarry, when he expected a cheque, and got a duplicate copy of a warrant (though he had asked for it) to be a Peer—over the water! As he was not without a sense of humour, the absurdity of the Stuart cause must now have become vividly present to his fancy. He must starve or “conform,” that is, take tests and swallow oaths. But it was not necessary that he should sell himself. Many loyal gentlemen were in his position of poverty, but perhaps only James Mohr Macgregor and Samuel Cameron vended themselves as Glengarry presently did.’

The reader would imagine, from Mr. Lang's mildly humorous remarks, that Glengarry, indignant that his request for the confirming patent had been complied with, and that the impossibility of helping him either to money or colonelcy had been politely explained, at once rushed into the arms of the Hanoverian Government, and became a paid spy. And yet all Mr. Lang's ingenuity, applied to certain expressions in Pickle's letters, can only suggest the autumn of 1750—almost two years later—as the earliest date for Glengarry's alleged treachery. Many events took place in the interim, and quite a host of other traitors came to the surface.

No definite account has been found as to the life of Glengarry between the end of December, 1748—the date of Edgar's letter—and the beginning of June, 1749. On the 8th of June he was in Paris, and wrote thence a letter to the Cardinal Duke of York asking him to use his influence with the French War Office in the matter of the money Glengarry had expended in relieving the starving prisoners at London. It appears that Glengarry had obtained unlimited credit to spend this money, and had paid £460 for this benevolent purpose, but the War Office had charged the sum against him personally, and had stopped four years' pay to discharge the debt. On the same day (8th June, 1749) Glengarry wrote to Colonel O'Brien (Lord Lismore) relating the same story, and begging the Colonel to interfere that Glengarry might have this alleged debt cancelled; 'for without that, I may safely tell your Lordship I shall be obliged to abandon this country, having no means at this juncture, as my father still continues prisoner, to support myself, if I can't obtain this relief.' Without waiting for a reply, Glengarry set out for London, and was there during July and August. On 23rd September, he wrote from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Lismore a letter (in very passable French) informing him that while in London he had sent one of his men to Scotland that the feelings of the clans towards a new rising might be ascertained. The report was wholly favourable, and Glengarry urges Lismore to take the command of a new invasion. Then he reminds Lismore of the money problem, and asserts that if it be not settled at once, he shall

have to return to London. Despite his banishment, he did return to London, along with his cousin, Lochgarry, and while in Scotland at that time he discovered (or alleged) that Dr. Archibald Cameron had laid violent hands upon the Prince's buried treasure in Arkaig. No sooner had Glengarry returned to Boulogne than he wrote (16th January, 1750) to Edgar informing him of Cameron's treachery.* About the middle of April he visited the Chevalier at Rome in company with Lochgarry and Sir Hector Maclean, and gave a full report as to the state of Scotland with reference to a fresh expedition. Mr. Lang refers to a letter (not published by Browne) from Glengarry to Edgar, dated 23rd May, 1750, in which the writer asks to have an interview with the Chevalier; but from the Chevalier's letter to Prince Charles, dated 5th May,† it is perfectly plain that Glengarry had delivered a written report to the Chevalier, and had had a conversation with him. The unpublished letter should certainly have been printed in full by Mr. Lang, since he founds some argumentation upon it.

Glengarry was still at Rome on 4th September, 1750, and on that day wrote to the Cardinal Duke of York asserting his 'constant and unalterable attachment' to the Stuart family, but stating that he found himself obliged 'out of private necessity and my Father's continued illness since he was enlarged out of prison, to endeavour to return home, tho' by an act of the Usurper's Privy Council, I am banished.' He also begs for 'a relick of the precious wood of the Holy Cross, in obtaining which I shall think myself most happy.' He left Rome about the 20th of September, and on 5th October the Chevalier sent copies of Glengarry's report to Prince Charles. His next letter has neither date nor place of residence, but was probably received by Prince Charles in March, 1751. Glengarry announces in this letter his intention to 'set out for Britain in a few days,' and he strongly urges what 'is now the general say in the Highlands, that we must have one bold

* Glengarry did not mention that he took part of the Arkaig money himself, though that accusation has been brought against him and seems quite credible.

† Browne, IV., p. 69.

stroke for it, and that now is the time or never.' On 15th July, 1751, Glengarry wrote to the Chevalier from London, suggesting that there should be an accredited Jacobite agent there, and repeating his proposal that 'some bold attempt be soon made.' This is the last authentic letter by Glengarry preserved among the Stuart Papers and published by Browne. Mr. Lang refers to another letter written at the same time to Edgar, but though he quotes phrases from it, and founds an elaborate argument upon the orthography, he, very unwisely, omits to print it.

We next encounter Glengarry living in lodgings at Edinburgh in April, 1752, when he met Robert Forbes, the compiler of 'The Lyon in Mourning.' Mr. Lang had not access to this MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and the third volume, which contains the record of the interview, was not published by the Scottish History Society until after 'Pickle the Spy' had been issued. Nevertheless the incident is important as showing that Glengarry was then regarded as a staunch Jacobite at the very time when Mr. Lang believes him to have been an infamous traitor. Forbes relates that Glengarry dined with him at Leith on 9th April, 1752, and that he heard and approved of all that Forbes had written as to the Prince's hiding in Glenmoriston. At this interview Glengarry told Forbes that in May, 1745, he had sailed from Port-Glasgow for France, bearing a letter to the Prince subscribed by several of the Highland chiefs, desiring him not to make a descent upon Scotland without foreign assistance. Glengarry arrived in Paris, but was prevented from gaining access to the Prince by Sheridan and others, and could not discover the whereabouts of the Prince until he had set sail. Glengarry also made a statement which clears up, to some extent, the supposed slight he had received through young Lochiel obtaining the colonelcy for which Glengarry had applied. On 14th April, 1752, Forbes obtained a confirmation from Glengarry of his written account of the matter.*

The mysterious incident known as 'the Elibank Plot' was the next adventure in which Glengarry was implicated. It

* *Lyon in Mourning*, Vol. III., p. 119.

was contrived by Alexander Murray, younger brother of Lord Elibank, and was a daring enterprise. Glengarry, with 400 Highlanders, assisted by Murray and certain French officers, was to attack St. James's Palace and capture the king, while Prince Charles was to be in London, ready at once to assume the Regency. The date arranged for this *coup d'état* was 10th November, 1752, but at the last moment the affair was postponed, and then finally abandoned. Glengarry's own account of this plot is an important contribution to history, and is published by Mr. Lang for the first time. It is valuable as being the last unquestionable letter written by Glengarry to Edgar, and is especially of use in examining Mr. Lang's theory as to the identity of 'Pickle the Spy.' Unfortunately when Browne transcribed the Stuart Papers for his *History of the Highlands* he largely modernized and 'restored' the spelling, thus preventing minute comparison between disputed letters. This vandalism has been avoided by Mr. Lang, and for special reasons the letter may here be given unabridged:—

' Arras, April 5, 1753.

SIR,—I frequently Intended since my coming to this Country to renew our former correspondence. But as I had nothing to say worth your notice, that I could with prudence comitt to writing, I choise rather to be silent than to trouble you with my Letters ; yet I cant perswad myself to leave this Country without returning you many thanks for your former friendship and good offices, and at same time assuring you of the great Value and Esteime I allways had, and still have for you.

I would gladly communicate to his Majesty the leate Schemes, and those still persuid, upon the same fondation. But as I am hopfull that his Majesty is fully Informed of all that is past, and what is now a Transacting, I will not trouble his Majesty with a repetition of facts, which I am hopfull he has been Informed off from the fountaine head. All I will say is that for my owne parte I will allways make very great difference t'wixt English promasis and Action, and am more fully confirmed in this opinion since the tenth of Nov. last, when the Day was fixt ; But when matters come to the puish, some frivolous excuses retarded this great and Glorious blow ; Thank God the Prince did not venture himself then at London, tho he was upon the Coast ready at a call to put himself at their head. I wish he may not be brought to venture sow far, upon the stress laid upon a suden blow, to be done by the English ; we will see if the Month of May or June will produce something more effective than Novr., and I am sorry to aquent you that the sow great stress laid upon those projects is lick to

prove fatal to some, for Lochgary, and Doctor Archibald Cameron, were sent to the Highlands to prepare the Clans to be in readiness : thire beeing sent was much against my opinion, as I allways ensisted, and will allways persist, that no stirr should be done there untill the English would be so farr engaged that they could not draw back. I hope his Majesty will approve of my Conduct in this. Doctor Cameron was taken by a party of soldiers in Boruder [!] and is now actually secured in the Castel of Edinr. Loch still remains, but what his fate will be is very precarious. The concert in Novr. was that I was to remain in London, as I had above four hundred Brave Highlanders ready at my call, and after matters had broke out there to set off directly for Scotland as no raising would be made amongst the Clans without my presence. Now I beg in laying this before the King, you'l at same time assure his Majesty of my constant resolution to venture my owne person, let the consequence be what it will and dow everything that can convince his Majesty of my Dutifull attachmt. to his sacred person and Royal Cause, for which I am ready to venture my all, and nothing but the hand I had in those leate and present Schemes and the frequent jants I was oblinded to take in Consequence, Has hindered me from beeing settled in a very advantagious and honorable way, being affraid that Matrimony might Incline me to a less active life than my Prince's affairs now requires. I believe in a few days that I will take a private start to London, tho I am still so weake after my leate Illness at Paris that I am scarce yet able to undergo much fatigue. I have left directions with Mr. Gordon, principal of the Scots Colledge, to forward any letters for me to a friend at Boulogne, how [who] has a secure way of forwarding by trading ships any Letters for me.

I will be very glad to hear from you particularly as I Expect to return in a few weeks back to France. I have one favour to ask of you, and I hope it wont displeace his Majesty ; Its, that whatever I write upon this topick, be neither shown or comunicated to any other person, as there are reports that people with you communicate their Intelligence too freely to the Court of france, which you know may go farther, and prove of dangerous consequence. I hope the freedom with which I express myself will be wholly attributed to the warmth of my zeall for the good of the cause, and I beg you'll forgive the hurry I am in writing this, and I rely upon your friendship to Excuse the same towards his Majesty in case you think Proper to lay this hurried scrawle before him, for what with the fatigue of posting and Other Affairs, I am so Tumbled. I wish with all my heart you may conceve the sincer true and reale sentiments which Induced me to write so freely, and as the Gentilman with whom I send this to Paris is just ready to set off, I beg you'll allow me to conclude, and I hope you'll not faile to lay me at his Majesty's and Royal Emmency's feet, and at same time to Believe me, Sir,

' Your most obedient and most humble Servt.,

' MACKDONNELL.'

In August, 1753, Glengarry went to France for the purpose of having an interview with the Prince, but no letters regarding this incident are published. No further unimpeachable evidence of Glengarry's career is available until September, 1754, when his father died, and he came to Scotland to take possession of his estates. There is proof that he was at Knoydart in October and at Invergarry in December, 1754, and a letter from Colonel Trapaud, Governor of Fort-William, to Lord-Advocate Dundas of Arniston, refers to Glengarry as carrying matters with a high hand, obliging the wadsetters on the estate to resign their claims on payment of 'common interest,' and generally conducting himself like a despotic Highland chief. Trapaud evidently suspected him of pronounced Jacobitism, for he writes thus:—

'His [Glengarry's] whole behaviour has greatly alienated the affections of his once dearly beloved followers. I shall take all opportunities of improving this happy spirit of rebellion against so great a chieftain, which may in time be productive of some public good.'

It is very doubtful if Trapaud, an English officer only slightly acquainted with Highland customs, could properly estimate the relationship between a chief and his clansmen, for that might appear rank tyranny to him which was merely the normal conduct of a leader in Glengarry's position. But it is perfectly plain from Trapaud's letter that *he* had not the slightest suspicion that Glengarry was in the pay of the Hanoverian Government. From some of Pickle's letters, it appears that Glengarry in 1755 made 'a great tour round several parts of the Highlands, and had concourse of people from several Clans to wait of him,' the purpose being to ascertain the feeling of the Highland chiefs as to another rising. Beyond that date nothing is recorded of Glengarry's life (save in some of Pickle's letters), and he seems to have remained quietly at home. His death took place on 23rd December, 1761. In one of his letters to the Prince he states that he hopes 'soon to be allay'd to a very Honourable and loyall familie in England,' but the wedding here adumbrated never took place. Glengarry died unmarried, leaving strict injunctions to his sister to destroy all his letters and papers. In the preface to

his second edition of *Pickle the Spy*, Mr. Lang quotes a passage referring to Glengarry from *A Family Memoir of the Macdonalds of Keppoch*, written by Dr. Angus Macdonald of Taunton for his niece, Mrs. Stanley, between 1800 and 1822, and edited by Clements R. Markham, C.B., in 1885. It runs thus:—

‘You know that your cousin Duncan, the late Glengarry, succeeded his uncle Alexander, one of the best men in the Highlands in his day, possessing eminently all the virtues of a Cean Cuine, whose hospitable mansion was ever open, as his assistance to distress was ever ready. But alas! like too many of our clan, he was cut off in the prime of life, to the great grief of his family, and while he was busy in promoting the happiness of his people, as his worthy ancestor, Lord Macdonald of Aros, had done before him.’

It is this valiant young soldier, this devoted Jacobite, this hospitable Highland laird, this kindly and benevolent chief, that Mr. Lang strives to identify with a contemptible poltroon, a treacherous Hanoverian, an avaricious and insatiably greedy parasite, and a back-biting and slanderous ambi-dexter called Pickle the Spy, who was ready to sell his knowledge of the plots on both sides to either party that would pay highest. Surely the evidence that could overturn a family tradition so long and so securely established, must be clear and irrefragable.

Amongst the documents preserved in the British Museum Additional MSS., there are many of the State Papers that belonged to the Right Hon. Henry Pelham, Secretary of State, and to his brother and successor in that office, the Duke of Newcastle. These papers are of great value for the light they throw upon the secret history of the Rising in 1745, and the subsequent history of the Chevalier de St. George and Prince Charles Edward. One bundle of letters, endorsed by the Duke of Newcastle ‘my brother’s papers,’ and docquetted ‘Pickle,’ contains the secret correspondence of one who was well acquainted with the movements of the Jacobites on the Continent, and who supplied information on the subject to both Henry Pelham and the Duke. From internal evidence, it appears that this correspondence began in 1750, but the earliest letter now extant bears the date, ‘Boulogne, November 2, 1752.’ This letter and two others written about the

same time are signed 'Jeanson.' It was not until his letter of 17th March, 1753, was written that the writer adopted the pseudonym of 'Alex. Pickle,' varied in a letter of 15th March into 'Alex. Jackson,' and afterwards abbreviated into 'Pickle.' The names Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle are from Smollett's novels, the latter of which was published in 1751. The contents of these letters show a familiar knowledge of much that was occurring at the court of the Chevalier in Rome, and among the trusted attendants of Prince Charles Edward during his incognito. It must be admitted that if Glengarry had chosen to become a traitor to the Jacobite cause, several of Pickle's letters contain precisely the information that Glengarry would have supplied. For instance, Pickle's version of the Elibank Plot corresponds in a remarkable way with the account of the same incident given by Glengarry in his letter to Edgar quoted above. Of course, if Glengarry had 400 Highlanders at his command in London for the accomplishment of this daring *coup*, every one of them would be aware that the plot had been abandoned, and any one of the band might have written mysteriously on the subject, adding a few bombastic flourishes to curry favour with Pelham. Without condescending upon minute particulars, it may be said generally that the Pickle letters contain information that was in Glengarry's possession, though not exclusively confined to him. If one were to start with the notion that Glengarry was the veritable Pickle, there are many curious passages in the letters that seem to confirm that notion.

But how did it occur to Mr. Lang to connect a renowned Jacobite like Glengarry with this treason 'most foul and most unnatural?' It is interesting to trace the origin of what must be characterised either as a startling truth or an unfounded slander. It seems that Mr. Lang recently found an oral tradition current in the West Highlands which declared that Glengarry was a traitor to the Jacobite cause. Those acquainted with Highland customs will understand that very much of the credibility of this tradition depends upon the clanship of Mr. Lang's informant. If he were a Cameron, a Macdonald of Clanranald, or a Macpherson of Cluny, he might

readily circulate a story against the fair fame of one who was at feud with all the contemporary representatives of those clans. But if Mr. Lang had this tradition from a Macdonnell of Glengarry, it is really worthy of examination. At least it was sufficient to put Mr. Lang on the outlook for evidence against Glengarry, and he has been remarkably successful in collecting material that is only circumstantial, yet strongly presumptive, of that chief's treachery. Some of that evidence was not included in Mr. Lang's volume, as he thought his case was strong enough without it. His conclusions have been called in question, however, and it is through Mr. Lang's courtesy that we are able to lay before the reader some of the unpublished letters which, he thinks, are confirmatory of his theory.

When Glengarry was confined in the Tower of London, several of his well-wishers advised him to 'conform' and throw in his lot with the Hanoverians. The following letter from William Baillie to Major Macdonald—probably Major James Macdonald, one of the Duke of Newcastle's correspondents—is important as shewing the attitude of Glengarry towards this proposal :—

' ROTTERDAM, 17. Oct. 1747.

' SIR ;—

' I take this opportunity of my worthy friend, an officer of the Royals, of informing you how I have had severall letters on the following subject from Mr. Macdonell junior of Glengarry, who desires me to charge you with this letter. He has frequently and seriously reflected on the many good advices given him by you and Maj. White when he was Prisoner at the Tower, to abandon that Party and the service of France. I am convinced that he is determined so to do, if it is agreeable to the Ministry, and that he will give the Duke of Argyll and them all the assurance that a man of honour can give of his behaving as a peaceable subject if they will allow him to wait upon them in London. Let me beg of you, for God's sake, to persuade these great men to accept of this young Gentleman's offer, by which at once you'll detach him from that Party. . . . As I shall be some months here before my affair is negotiated, you'll have time to send me answer, which I pray God may be favourable.

' (Compliments)

' WILL. BAILLIE.

' To Major Macdonald, at London.' *

* Record Office. S. P. Dom. Scot., Bundle 35 (1747), No. 6.

The result of this letter does not appear, but it seems probable that the Ministry did not accept of Glengarry's proposal. At least it is certain from Edgar's letter, already quoted, that in December, 1748, Glengarry was in extreme poverty, and from the Rev. James Leslie's letter in his own defence,* it is plain that in July, or August, 1749, Glengarry was so reduced in circumstances that he had to sell his sword and shoe-buckles, and applied to Leslie for the loan of money. But in December, 1749, according to Æneas Macdonald—a prejudiced witness, by the way—Glengarry 'had plenty of cash.' Where did the money come from? Had the French Government paid up his arrears? Or had he got a portion of the sum of 1800 livres set down for *Glengary l' Ainé* in the list of *Gratifications proposées pour les Ecossais* drawn up two years before? Mr. Lang's theory is that Glengarry, having failed with the Duke of Argyll and the Ministry, had offered his services to the Duke of Cumberland; for in August, 1749, the Butcher Duke wrote to the Duke of Bedford commending 'the goodness of the intelligence' which had been offered by Barrisdale to the Government, and proposing that it should be well paid for. There is not an atom of direct evidence in support of the theory that Glengarry had followed the same course, but it is a shrewd conjecture, though it might not have occurred to any one who was not looking for incriminating proof against Glengarry.

The next evidence which Mr. Lang adduces in support of his charge is not from a very good source. It has already been shown that Glengarry denounced Dr. Archibald Cameron to the Chevalier as having tampered with the Prince's concealed treasure at Loch Arkaig. Cameron was subsequently arrested, tried, and executed by the Hanoverian Government, and Mrs. Cameron blamed Glengarry for betraying her husband. She took her revenge in a very feminine fashion. On 25th January, 1754, she wrote thus to Edgar from Paris:—

'I saw your good friend Balhaldie some days ago. I was telling him what character I heard of young Glengarry in England, and particularly

* Browne, IV., p. 101.

that Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell told me, and others whom he could trust, that in the year 1748 or 49, I don't remember which, as he, Sir Duncan, was going out of the House of Commons, Mr. Henry Pelham, brother to the Duke of Newcastle, and Secretary of State, called on him, and asked him if he knew Glengarry. Sir Duncan answered that he knew the old man but not the young. Pelham replied that it was young Glengarry he spoke of; for that he came to him offering his most faithful and zealous service to the Government in any shape they thought proper, as he came from feeling the folly of any further concern with the ungrateful family of Stuart, to whom he and his family had been too long attached, to the absolute ruin of themselves and country. Balhaldie asked me if I had informed his Majesty of this by you. I told him I was afraid it would be thought malice in me to do it; he said that gratitude, had I no sense of duty, required a better return than to leave his Majesty ignorant of what concerned him and family so near, and that we ought to leave it to his Majesty to judge and make use of the information as he thought proper; but that it was our duty to leave him ignorant of nothing concerned him, for which reason I have now given you the trouble of what is above.'

Here is a pretty piece of scandal, treasured up secretly by this woman for five or six years, and brought out at a time when Glengarry (if Pickle be Glengarry) was in close communication with Prince Charles Edward! Well might she be 'afraid it would be thought malice,' for it bears a strong family likeness to that deadly sin. Besides, it reduces Henry Pelham, a statesman of conspicuous ability, to the level of a drivelling imbecile, who confides State secrets to a garrulous old man; and it makes Sir Duncan Campbell, M.P. for Argyllshire in 1747-54, an idiotic babbler, who repeats this charge of proposed treachery to the wife of Glengarry's enemy, 'and others whom he could trust.' Mrs. Cameron could not remember the date, but she could apparently recall Sir Duncan's exact words! Clearly, this evidence must be rejected as inadmissible against Glengarry. It might be urged that if the incident took place after Glengarry's repeated offers of his services, and before Pelham had come to terms with him, the action of the Secretary of State was not inexcusable; but it will never do to allow evidence to be manufactured by supplying the missing dates. At the same time it is curious that she should have singled out Pelham, the employer of Pickle, as the statesman who was enquiring about Glengarry.

About two years before Mrs. Cameron wrote her curious letter, an anonymous writer had informed Edgar that Glengarry was in close communication with the traitor Murray of Broughton; and in February, 1752, another nameless accuser stated that Glengarry was in London, nominally 'on the King's affairs.' Mr. Lang identifies these writers as Blair and Holker, on the authority of a letter from young Edgar to old Edgar. Even the best authenticated anonymous letter must be regarded with suspicion, and taken *quantum valeat*. The sum, therefore, of Mr. Lang's extraneous evidence does not amount to much. A third party (Baillie) states that Glengarry was willing to 'conform,' but no proof is offered that he ever did so, and his later letters to the Chevalier and the Prince are full of protestations of unswerving fidelity. Of course, Baillie had no apparent motive for telling a lie about Glengarry, while Glengarry had every reason to keep friendly with the Jacobites. Mrs. Cameron's letter is a prejudiced document, retailing hearsay evidence at third hand, and is also liable to grave suspicion; and the alleged Blair and Holker letters would never be allowed in a legal process. Mr. Lang must, therefore, rest his case upon the internal evidence of the Pickle letters.

The same objection holds good against pseudonymous as against anonymous evidence. This objection is increased when the pseudonym is not maintained throughout. These letters are signed 'Jeanson,' 'Jackson,' 'Roderick Random,' 'Alex. Pickle,' and 'Pickle.' Many of them are written in the third person, 'Pickle' being the name assumed by the writer to designate himself. In the first and second editions of his book Mr. Lang made much of the fact that he found 'who' spelled 'how' both by Pickle and Glengarry; but it has been shown that this was not a solitary instance in those days of free-and-easy orthography. A careful examination of letters of Glengarry and Pickle discloses that the exceptional words which they agreed to mis-spell were aquent = acquaint; leate = late; puish = push; estime = esteem; tow = two; dow = do; sow = so; scarce = scarcely; jant or chant = jaunt; and prepair = prepare. This is the positive side of the argument, and

though Mr. Lang has only referred to how = who, the examples now given are very striking. But he has not yet touched on the negative evidence. For instance, there was hardly any French port more familiar to Glengarry than Boulogne-sur-Mer, and many of his letters were dated thence, the name (as quoted by Browne) being always correctly spelled. Yet Pickle in one of his letters (p. 210) gives two variants of this name, 'Simer near Bulloighn' and 'Bulloign.' If Mr. Lang has always transcribed correctly from the original MS., then Pickle sometimes spelled Boulogne aright; but it is hard to believe that Glengarry could have twice erred in this letter and nowhere else. The evidence from the orthography of the letters might be useful as confirming more direct proof, but would not be sufficient to convict the accused.

Comparison of handwriting for the purpose of discovering identity is always an important, though sometimes a delusive test. When Mr. Lang began his researches it did not occur to him that the Pickle letters ought to be examined by an expert to see that all the epistles bearing different signatures were by the same writer. He has now had them scrutinised, and the British Museum authorities report that all the letters in the bundle are in the same handwriting. The utility of this scrutiny is shown thus. It has been alleged that some of the Pickle letters were written by James Mohr Macgregor; but as he died in 1754 and the Pickle correspondence was continued till 1760 the matter is thus conclusively settled. What Mr. Lang has now to do is to have veritable Glengarry letters compared with the Pickle letters, and he will then have secure evidence of the identity of these writers. Unfortunately Mr. Lang has not much faith in caligraphic experts, though evidence given by such experts has often decided very important legal cases. Even though Pickle had begun by counterfeiting Glengarry's handwriting, it is not likely that he could have kept up the fraud for eight years—the period covered by the Pickle letters.

That the reader may compare the epistolary style of Pickle with that already given of Glengarry, the last of the Pickle letters may here be printed, especially as Mr. Lang finds an

important argument upon it. The correspondence with Newcastle had been dropped for a year, and Pickle wished to revive it.

‘MY LORD ;—As I am confident your Grace will be at a lose to find out your present Corespondent, it will, I believe, suffice to recall to mind *Pickle*, how [who] some time ago had a conference with the young Gentilman whom honest old Vaughan brought once to Clermont to waite of your Grace. I find he still retains the same ardent inclination to serve his King and Country, yet, at same time, he bitterly complains that he has been neglected, and nothing done for him of what was promis’d him in the strongest terms, and which he believes had been strictly perform’d, had your most worthy Brother, his great friend and Patron, surviv’d till now. He desires me aqent your Grace that upon a late criticall juncture [the defeat of Admiral Conflans at Quiberon Bay, Nov. 1759] he was preparing to take post for London to lay affaires of the greatest moment before his Majesty, but the suden blow given the enemy by Admiral Hack [Hawke] kept him back for that time. But now that he finds that they are still projecting to execute their first frustrated schem, there present plan of operation differing in nothing from the first, but in what regards North Britain. He has certain information of this by verbal Expresses, writting beeing absolutely discharged for fear of discovery. He desires me aqent your Grace of this, that you may lay the whole before His Majesty.

If His Majesty’s Enemys should once more faile in their favourite scheme of Envasion, this young Gentilman [Glengarry] intends to make offer of raising a Regiment of as good men as ever was levied in North Britain, if he gets the Rank of full Colonell, the nomenation of his Officers, and suitable levie Mony. He can be of infinite service in either capacity mentioned in this letter, that his Majesty is graciously pleased to employ him. He begs that this may not be delay’d to be laid before the King, as things may soon turn out very serious. He makes a point with your Grace that this be communicated to no mortall but His Majesty, and he is willing to forfite all pretensions to the Royall favour if his services at this criticall juncture does not meritt his Majesty’s aprobation. If your Grace calls upon him at this time, as he was out of pocket upon further Chants, it will be necessary to remit him a bill payable at sight for whatever little sum is judg’d proper for the present, untill he gives proof of his attachment to the best of *Sovereigns*, and of his reale zeale for the service of his King and Country, against a most treacherous and perfidious Enemy. I have now done my duty, my Lord, referring the whole manadgement to your Grace, and I beg you’ll pardon the freedom I have taken as I have the honour to remain at all times

‘My Lord, your Grace’s Most obedient and most
‘oblidged humble Ser^{mt}.

‘PICKLE.

‘February 19, 1760.

'Mack [make] mention of *Pickle*. His Majesty will remember Mr. Pelham did, upon former affairs of great consequence.

'Direction—*To Alexander Mackdonell of Glengarry by Foraugustus.*'

There is no trace of any reply to this letter. If such were sent, and reached the hands of Glengarry, it would probably be consumed in the post-mortem holocaust which he directed his sister to make of all his correspondence. No further political letters by Pickle are in the Pelham collection.* Mr. Lang regards the fact that the reply was to be addressed to Glengarry as conclusive proof that Pickle and Glengarry were the same person. It does seem strange, however, that a spy should give his assumed name and his real name on the same sheet. In this, as in some previous letters, Pickle refers to Glengarry in the third person. That may be a feint, but it may also be real. But if Pickle were a traitor in Glengarry's family, he must have been in a position to intercept the reply to this letter, or the whole plot would have been exposed.

* In his newly published volume of *Antiquarian Notes*, Mr. C. Fraser Macintosh thus refers to the Will of Alastair MacDonnell :—'He made his Will on the 29th of April, 1761, leaving his sister, Isabella Macdonell, a lady ignored in histories of the family, as his sole executrix. Alexander left to his brother, Captain James Macdonell of Glenmeddle, his French rifle gun; to Alexander Macdonell of Wester Aberchaldar, his own Fusee; to Duncan Macdonell, his nephew and apparent heir, the arms belonging to him at Edinburgh, in the custody of Alexander Orme, Writer to the Signet, being family arms; requests the said sister to call for and recover his trunk at Mrs. Foster's in Beaufort Buildings, London, and deliver the sword therein and his picture to the heir-male of the family, and to deal with the rest of the contents in the manner he had verbally directed her. The most significant direction is in these words,—"I further recommend to my said sister, immediately on my decease, to seal up my cabinet and take care that the same shall not be opened until the friends of the family meet, and then I direct Angus Macdonell of Greenfield, John Macdonell of Leek, and Allan Macdonell of Cullachie, or the survivor of them then present, to see all the political and useless letters among my papers burnt and destroyed, as the preservation of them can answer no purpose." Why Glengarry, who lived for several months after the execution of his Will, did not himself destroy the papers above alluded to can be conjectured by people for themselves—all that need be said here is that their destruction was a pity, and the reason given unsatisfactory.'—*Antiquarian Notes*, p. 120.

In the preface to his second edition, Mr. Lang has arranged the evidence against Glengarry under 14 heads. These may now be briefly examined in conclusion—

1. Pickle and Glengarry have both been officers in the French service.

That description might apply to many other Scotsmen.

2. Both, and no other Highland chief, are to take an active part in the Elibank Plot in London (1752). Both are intimate with the Earl Marischal in Paris.

As no trace of the Elibank Plot is found in the Stuart Papers, and the allusions in Glengarry's letter to Edgar are so vague, it is possible that it was a *canard* devised by the hare-brained Murray. It is certainly curious that only Glengarry and Pickle refer explicitly to it.

3. Both declare that no rising in the Highlands can take place without them.

This was a mere commonplace with the spies of the time. Even James Mohr Macgregor, a penniless outlaw, wrote as if the raising of his finger would be the signal for a revolution.

4. Both are sons and heirs of the chief of the greatest Jacobite clan. Pickle says that whatever the Macdonnells do *must* be known, first, to him.

Whoever Pickle was, it was clearly his intention to personate Glengarry. Whether he could impose upon the Hanoverians—Pelham, Newcastle, Bland, Vaughan, and others—whom he met personally, is very doubtful. It is hardly possible to imagine that an imposter could have deceived the Edinburgh folks, to whom Glengarry must have been well known.

5. Both lose their fathers when old Glengarry dies (Sept. 1, 1754.)

The theory of personation required that it should be so.

6. Both then go to their Highland estates.

Personation again, though the danger of discovery is greatly increased.

7. Both are then specially observed by the Governor of Fort Augustus, near Glengarry's house.

This statement is not correct. The Governor saw and reported upon *Glengarry*, not upon *Pickle*, and he believed *Glengarry* to be a staunch Jacobite, not a traitor.

8. Both are very ill in February—March, 1753.

This might easily occur. It did occur to James Mohr Macgregor. Was it another effort at personation?

9. Both use the unique misspelling 'how' for 'who.'

The spelling is *not* unique, but that argument has already been dealt with.

10. *Pickle* foolishly signs 'Alexander Jeanson' and 'Alexander Jackson,' young *Glengarry* being Alexander, son of John.

The name could afford no clue to his identity. Probably there were 10,000 men in the Highlands at the time who were sons of John.

11. *Glengarry's* character, according to Holker, Blair, young Edgar, Mrs. Cameron, Archy Cameron, Æneas Macdonald, and Colonel Trapaud, is that of a thief, forger, traitor, swindler, swaggerer, and oppressor.

These were all unfavourable to *Glengarry*, and made these charges for specific reasons. His own clansmen regarded him as an honourable, upright, hospitable, kindly laird and chief.

12. Prince Charles demands an interview with 'G——,' and *Pickle* travels from England to meet him (Sept., 1752).

Pickle states that he met the Prince. But by Mr. Løng's own showing, *Pickle* was a champion among the liars and boasters of that mendacious and blatant time.

13. *Pickle*, in his last extant letter, asks the answer to be sent, *To Alexander Mackdonell of Glengarry, Fortaugustus.*

It might be possible for a treasonable correspondence

to be carried on under an honest man's name without his connivance. Evidently Trapaud never suspected that Glengarry was a Hanoverian spy.

14. Glengarry dies, and the Pickle letters cease.

How can Mr. Lang know this until he has ransacked every possible repository of such letters? As a matter of fact, the Pickle letters cease fourteen months before Glengarry dies. The argument might therefore be turned against Mr. Lang, for Pickle should have died with the letters.

After a careful examination of the evidence adduced by Mr. Lang against Glengarry, it will be found that there are suspicious circumstances that seem to defy explanation on any other ground than that of Glengarry's treachery. The theory of remarkable coincidences may explain away several of the proofs brought forward by Mr. Lang, but it cannot account for all. It might have been possible for some clansman, an 'inward' of Glengarry, familiar with all his movements and having access to his letters, to have personated the chief and kept up a correspondence with the Hanoverian Government unknown to his master. But it is hardly credible that this method could have been continued for ten years without detection. The story of *Pickle the Spy* reads like a modern 'Comedy of Errors.' Antipholus Glengarry leaves London for Paris, and lo! Antipholus Pickle appears in Paris on his arrival. Dromio Glengarry falls sick in France, and Dromio Pickle writes to complain of his simultaneous sickness. The Ephesian Glengarry bears so strong a resemblance to his Syracusan anti-type that it is almost impossible to separate them into two distinct entities. Mr. Lang himself has become so puzzled that throughout his book he repeatedly refers to Glengarry by the name of Pickle, and this method so thoroughly confuses the reader that he is non-plussed unless he has a clear grasp of the subject. It has also the appearance—unintentional, no doubt—of begging the question; for Mr. Lang sets out to prove that Pickle is Glengarry, and he does not wait for the conclusion from his own evidence. Even when shorn of all the minor and weaker arguments, Mr. Lang's chain of circum-

stantial evidence is very strong against Glengarry. Mary, Queen of Scots, has been condemned on less secure evidence than that by which Mr. Lang proves the identity of the esteemed Glengarry with the detested Pickle the Spy.

A. H. MILLAR.

ART. II.—PRIMITIVE RELIGION AND PRIMITIVE
MAGIC.

IN former articles in *The Scottish Review*, I have attempted to show how the belief in witchcraft, so fatally prevalent during the days of the Stuarts, can be traced back to the Manichæan and Gnostic heresies against which the early Church had to struggle. In others, I have tried to point out that these heresies were themselves the result of Jewish attempts to mix with their national faith some of the mystical ideas of the Greeks and the dualistic magic of the East let loose by Alexander's conquest upon Europe. And in yet others, I have given grounds for the belief that the same magic was a legacy from those ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia from whom the civilisation of Europe seems to have been ultimately derived. But in the following paper, I propose to take the enquiry a step further back, and to show how the ideas of the primitive folk whom we somewhat arrogantly call savages, first gave birth to the opposing theories of Religion and Magic, and how these twin conceptions came to be the principal factors in the transformation of the savage horde into the civilised nation. The facts which I shall quote in support of this theory are for the most part new and unfamiliar to the general public, but I will ask the reader to believe that I have made use of none which have not either been noted by trained observers or else recognised as authentic by writers of authority.

Now one of the earliest forms—I think a Comtist would say the very earliest form—of religious belief is the theory of the

universe which is generally called *Fetichism*. To the Fetichist every natural object and phenomenon has a personality, a volition, and passions like his own. It is therefore, if capable of doing him injury, an object to be propitiated and hence to be worshipped. In the words of M. Girard de Rialle,* '*Tout vit et tout est Dieu*:' and these gods or *fetiches* are as likely to be the most trivial as the most remarkable objects. Römer † tells a story of an old negro caboceer who one day hurt himself by treading on a pebble as he was stepping over his own threshold. 'Ah ha!' he said, 'Art thou there?' And he took the stone forthwith into his collection of fetiches, where he declared that it helped him in his undertakings for days. The Fetichist theory has been compared to that of the child who talks to her doll as if it were alive, and seems to take its rise from the same defect of reasoning power. For, as the child will cover her face to avoid being looked at by persons of whom she feels distrust, so the savage will use similar means to conceal himself from the observation of his fetich. Mr. im Thurn ‡ tells us of certain falls on the Essequibo so fatal to the native canoes that the Indians when about to pass them rub red pepper into their eyes in the hope that they will thus escape the falls' notice.

Fetichism, however, by no means exhausts the religious ideas of savages. Nearly everywhere there is found by its side a belief which is perhaps its necessary complement, and which is called by the learned, *Animism*. The savage dreams, and, owing to his habit of alternately fasting and gorging himself, his dreams are more vivid than the European's. In his dreams, he visits distant places, he feasts, fights, hunts, and makes love, although, as he learns on waking, his body has not stirred from its couch. He therefore concludes that his personality is separable from the body within which it generally dwells. And as in his dreams he sometimes talks with members of the tribe who are lately dead, he thinks that this personality survives the body. He thus arrives at the con-

* *La Mythologie Comparée*. Paris : 1878.

† See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*. London : 1891.

‡ *Among the Indians of Guiana*. London : 1883.

ception of what we call the soul or spirit. And since he recognises no essential difference between his own being and that of the objects around him, he considers that every object of animate and inanimate Nature—trees and rivers, rocks and stones, just as much as his fellow-animals, all contain spirits having an existence independent of the bodies to which they are nevertheless generally attached. But the spirits he sees in his dreams are the exact counterparts of the objects on which he looks with his waking eyes, a phenomenon which is perhaps due to the fact that the shadow, another impalpable adjunct to the body, exactly resembles it. And as some of these objects, or vehicles of the spirits—rivers, for instance, and the larger carnivora—are certainly greater and stronger than himself, he thinks that their spirits are in like manner mightier than his own spirit. From this to the propitiation of the superior spirit is a natural consequence, and from this germ, if we may believe Professor Tylor, Mr. im Thurn, M. Albert Réville,* M. Lefèvre, † and M. Girard de Rialle, man has developed the worship of gods under animal and human forms, then of spiritual beings detached from and only occasionally visiting the earth, and finally the religions which concern themselves with morality as well as with worship.

With these views, which I think would be accepted by most scientific minds at the present day, ‡ I cannot venture to disagree. And we need not trouble ourselves here to try to define

* *Les Religions des Peuples Non-civilisés.* Paris : 1883.

† *La Religion.* Paris : 1892.

‡ Mr. Herbert Spencer, as if to prove that Homer sometimes nods, derives all religion from the worship of the dead. This new euhemerism, as it has been aptly called, has been signally refuted by M. Réville in the work above quoted and in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (t. IV). For the rest, in countries like France, Belgium, and Holland, where the science of religions forms part of the ordinary *curriculum*, the word *Naturism* is used to describe the attribution of life to material objects which I have here called Fetichism, the latter word being there reserved for the worship of material objects which are believed to be inhabited by spirits. Although such fine distinctions may be useful in teaching, they are not likely to have much interest for the general reader, and I have preferred to keep to the older definition of Fetichism, which is that given by Comte and the earlier writers.

the exact period at which Fetichism develops into Animism, or whether the two are from the beginning co-existent, because it is plain that in the evolution of religions as of everything else, the lower forms often persist for a long time by the side of the higher, and that even in the religions which teach the purest and most exalted morality, traces of Fetichism constantly reappear. Pierre de l'Hôpital, for instance, the judge who veiled the face of the crucifix when the recital of Gilles de Retz' crimes became too shocking for Divine ears, proved himself thereby as arrant a Fetichist as the London thief who carries in his pocket a piece of coal in the belief that it will help him to escape detection. But I would point out that this scientific history of savage ideas takes very little note of a belief which is at the least as widely spread among primitive folk as Animism, and which has exercised in the long run as great an influence over mankind. This is the belief in what is generally called Magic.

Nor let it be thought that magic is in anyway a slight or intermittent factor in savage life. On the contrary, it plays so predominant a part therein that it might almost be said that the adult savage, when unengaged in war, the chase, or courtship, thinks of nothing else. 'Nearly every action of a Papuan's life,' says Mr. Romilly,* 'is regulated to some extent by superstition. He believes in ghosts, he believes in witchcraft, and he believes until events occur to shake his belief, in the sorcerers who profess to be able to raise the one and control the other.' 'You can hardly realise,' writes Mr. Hesketh Bell † of the West Indian negroes, 'the depth and extent of their superstition, or their unreasoning belief and dread of anything coming under the head of what they call "Obeah."' In South Africa, says Mr. Macdonald, ‡ 'the magician is in constant de-

* Sorcery and Superstition in New Guinea (*Murray's Magazine* for 1888). Mr. Romilly, whose other works on the Western Pacific and New Guinea are quoted from later, has had as Special Commissioner in these parts, unusual facilities for becoming acquainted with the ideas of the natives on such subjects.

† *Obeah*. London : 1889.

‡ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for 1890.

mand, and only through his prompt attendance can the predicted evils be avoided. In this way the whole domestic life of the African comes to be lived in a constant state of anxiety and fear.' While Sir John Lubbock* sums up the evidence of earlier writers in the remark that the dread of sorcery 'hangs like a veil over savage life and embitters every pleasure.' Had civilisation done nothing else for man, it would have earned his gratitude by freeing him from the vain terrors which, according to trained observers, render the life of the savage well nigh too hard to be borne.

The connection of the belief in magic with even the very primitive religious ideas set out above is not immediately apparent; for magic is, as Sir Alfred Lyall† was perhaps the first to point out, in its essence the very negation of all religion whatever. The worshipper, though he may be the merest Fetichist, acknowledges in the object of his worship a power greater than himself. He prays to his fetich, that is, he flatters; he makes to it sacrifices and offerings, that is, he attempts to bribe it with presents; and in so doing he merely uses the arts that the inferior has in all ages employed to conciliate the superior. But the magician proceeds on a diametrically opposite principle. From the first he endeavours to bend fetiches and spirits to his will, to compel instead of cajoling them, and to force them to do his bidding by the terror that he inspires rather than by the goodwill that he excites. Sometimes he is content to use threats and abuse for that purpose, like the Papuan sorcerer described by Mr. Romilly as cursing the waves on a fishing expedition to prevent them from wetting his shipmates. Sometimes he prefers violence, like the Afars whom Sir William Harris depicts as pursuing the whirlwind with drawn swords to drive away the spirit supposed to animate it, or the Bantus whom Mr. Macdonald saw collected by the village magicians to pelt an invisible devil with stones. Sometimes the sorcerer, like the Peaimen of Guiana whose doings are recorded by Mr. im Thurn, is supposed to disengage his own spirit from his body

* *Prehistoric Times*. London: 1890. † *Asiatic Studies*. London, 1890.

in order to combat with more freedom the spirits he conjures. Sometimes—although this is rather rare among savages—he takes captive the spirit that he wishes by the aid of a stronger one, as do the Esquimaux *angakout*, or wizards, who summon their familiar spirits or *torngaks* through their chief Torngarnsuk.* In all cases it is force and not persuasion that is used, and herein lies the fundamental distinction between religion and magic.

How the primitive mind first came to conceive the possibility of coercing the powers of Nature at all is a problem of which no entirely satisfactory solution has yet been given. According to Sir John Lubbock,† magic—though he calls it by another name—forms in the evolution of religion the intermediate stage between *Atheism*, which he defines as the absence of any definite ideas on the existence of a deity, and *Totemism*, or the deification of classes and species rather than of individual objects. It is, therefore, according to him, prior in time to the belief in the protection of beings higher than man. But M. Réville has shown, following therein Professor Roskoff, that atheism, even in the limited sense used above, is unknown among primitive folk, and it is certain that worship, in the sense of imploring the protection of a higher power, is in common use among many peoples not yet sufficiently advanced to be capable of such abstract ideas as those of class or species.‡ Moreover, no race has yet been discovered who have adopted magic to the exclusion of all ideas of worship, although such a people must once have existed if Sir John Lubbock's position be correct. On the other hand, the theory advanced by M. Girard de Rialle and M. Réville that magic is never entirely absent among peoples professing any form of religion is amply borne out by the facts. And perhaps the simplest way of accounting both for its existence and its universality is to suppose that just as an overbearing man will try to take by force what a more conciliatory one will prefer

* *Elisée Reclus, Les Primitifs.* English Edition. London: n.d.

† *Origin of Civilisation.* London: 1889.

‡ Such as the Tasmanians. Cf. *Ling. Roth. The Aborigines of Tasmania.* London: 1890.

to ask for, so magic and religion correspond to two fundamentally opposed types of human character.

The actual processes of savage sorcery need not detain us very long, for they all depend from one fallacious idea. With the confusion between imagination and reality—or to speak more precisely, between subject and object—proper to his imperfect mental development, the savage thinks that any thing which calls up in his own mind the image of another, has a real as well as an imaginary connection with the object of his thoughts. Hence he considers that anything done to the thing which evokes the mental image will affect the original of that image. Does he wish to bewitch his enemy? He obtains the parings of his nails, the clippings of his hair, or the undigested remains of his food, and burns these *dejecta* in the belief that as they are destroyed, so will be the person of whom they once formed part. This practice is common among savages all over the world, and to it must be attributed their almost universal dislike to allow strangers either to sketch their faces or to know their names. But it is plainly capable of almost indefinite extension. It is wanted to raise the wind (in the native and not in the English sense of the phrase)? The wind makes a whistling noise among the trees, and a piece of wood made into a ‘bull-roarer’ and whirled round at the end of a piece of string will bring on a gale, say the Torres Straits Islanders.* Or to increase one’s personal advantages? A mutton-bone, an iron ring, a lion’s claw, and a kite’s talon strung on a collar and worn round the neck will give its wearer, say the Kaffirs,† the hardness of bone, the firmness of iron, the strength of the lion, and the speed of the kite. Is it desired to know if a proposed undertaking will be successful? The Bongo of Central Africa ‡ place a smooth wooden stool on a block with a few drops of water and move it backwards and forwards. If it glides to and fro easily, the undertaking will succeed, but if it sticks, there will be friction in the business as well as in the wood. Faint traces of the same idea sur-

* *Jour. Anth. Inst.* for 1889.

† *Réville*, op. cit.

‡ Macdonald, *Religion and Myth*. London: 1893.

vived among ourselves up to fairly recent times. For any ill-disposed nephew in the reign of Queen Elizabeth who might have wanted, in the words of Mr. Gilbert, 'to melt a rich uncle in wax,' would have found plenty of professional wizards both able and willing to help him: and Professor Rhys* tells a charming story of a Highland Kirk-session who, happening to differ on theological details from their minister, buried a clay figure of him in the bed of a running stream in the belief that, as the clay dissolved in the water, so would the life of their obnoxious pastor waste away.

Such practices seem far enough removed from acts of worship. Yet there can be little doubt that at a very early stage on the road to civilisation magic is found in a close though temporary partnership with its natural enemy religion, this unholy alliance being marked by the rise of an institution which still flourishes among ourselves, *i.e.*, the priesthood. Among certain peoples, it would seem that the king or chief of the tribe, doubtless as being either physically or by position the most powerful man in it, is looked upon as the one best fitted to compel the spirits. So, among the tribes of the Upper Nile, the king alone is thought to have the power of bringing rain—always a great test of magic power—by whistling; the chiefs of some of the Congo tribes are said to cause calamities at will by merely lifting their head-gear; and the king of Loango is supposed to be able to make the sun to shine and, if he were so minded, to destroy the whole universe.† This notion seems especially to take root among proud and warlike races, such as the Maories of New Zealand, whose *ariki*s or hereditary heads of tribes were supposed to have a far greater magic power than the *tohungas* or priests of the common people.‡ But, in most cases, the practice of sorcery, prior to the formation of a regular priesthood, is confined to a special class of individuals who seem to be marked out by Nature for its exercise. The inconvenience to which the unsuccessful sorcerer has in all ages been exposed,—in Senegambia the

* *Folk-lore* for 1892.

† *Girard de Rialle*, *op. cit.*

‡ *Jour. Anth. Inst.* for 1889.

king used to be publicly thumped by the whole nation when his incantations failed to take effect—has doubtless much to do with the readiness of savage royalty to thus abandon one of its most ancient prerogatives.

I have said that the first regular professors of sorcery seem to be appointed by Nature herself, for indeed the unofficial sorcerer of primitive folk is in nearly every case an abnormal being. Hysteria and other nervous diseases which, according to Dr. Max Nordau and others are the special privilege of the end of the century, are, as has been lately noticed, at least as common among savages as among ourselves; but they receive with them a singular explanation. All involuntary actions, such as yawning, sneezing, and the like, are attributed by primitive folk to the direct action of the spirits, and the unwilling laughter and tears of hysteria are *à fortiori* supposed to be due to the same cause. And if this is the case with the milder nerve-storms of ordinary hysteria, how much more natural does this explanation appear in the case of those horrible seizures which are so often the *sequelae* of epilepsy? The unearthly screams, the distorted features, the arched back, and convulsed limbs which distinguish them have generally been explained even by peoples advanced far beyond the primitive stage of civilisation as the result of the sudden entry of an alien spirit into the patient's body. Hence it is not surprising that a person subject to such seizures should be looked upon by savages all over the world as pointed out by the spirits themselves to be the accredited means of communication between his fellows and the spirit-world. Moreover, these epileptiform attacks (even with civilised people) are generally accompanied by hallucinations and delirium of the most violent character, during which the patient imagines himself to converse with devils and all kinds of superhuman beings.* And by the insight into the nature and disposition of the spirits which he is thus supposed to gain, the sorcerer is doubly qualified to point out the best means of coercing them. Hence it is that among the Patagonians,† persons seized with the 'falling sick-

* Briere de Boismont, *Des Hallucinations*. Paris, 1862.

† Falkner, *Patagonia*. London.

ness,' or with chorea, were at once chosen as magicians, and that the peaimen of British Guiana,* like the *jossakeed* of North America, are recruited from those of the tribe who are afflicted with the epilepsy, without which, say the Tartars of Siberia,† there can be no true sorcerer.

The way in which these scattered sufferers from nervous disease became the first priests is simple enough. As the primitive community increases in numbers and in ease of circumstances, it becomes necessary that the cult of the spirits should be in some sort organized, that some one should be appointed to see that prayers and sacrifices are regularly offered to them, and that the other rites which the credulity of their worshippers thinks necessary for their propitiation, are duly performed. But who is so well fitted for these duties as the sorcerer, who is already a *persona grata* to the deities, and even, as the temporary dwelling-place of one or more of them, a sort of fetish himself? It is for this reason that the priests among primitive folk are so constantly called upon to perform magical as well as propitiatory functions; as in pre-missionary Samoa,‡ where a stone was in some villages kept in the priest's house, was dipped by him in the river when rain was required, and heated before the fire to produce fine weather. So in Kashmír the persons who first discovered the art of charming poisonous snakes were originally looked upon, as the President of the Ethnographical Survey tells us,§ 'as the wisest of mankind, then as wizards, and finally as priests;' the snake, which was once considered merely the guardian of the temple, being in like manner transformed into its god. But in India, according to the same authority, the whole process by which the sorcerer becomes a priest can be studied in detail among aboriginal races like the Kols and Gonds, whose village *oghas* or sorcerers are often succeeded in their office by low-class

* Im Thurn, op. cit.

† Réville, op. cit. Cf. Maudsley, *Natural Causes and Supernatural Seemings*. London, 1887.

‡ G. Turner, *Samoa*. London, 1884.

§ W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*. Allahabad, 1894.

Brahmans. He describes, too, a ceremony as taking place in certain districts of the North-West Provinces on the founding of a new settlement, which is very typical of the union between religion and magic. 'The sorcerer,' he tells us, 'is called in to identify and mark down the deities of the place,' whom he finally imprisons in a hole made in a block cut from the wood of the sacred fig-tree. The hole is then plastered up, and the wood buried on the spot chosen as the site of the local shrine. 'By this process the deities are supposed to be fastened up in the sacred wood, and to be unable to do any mischief, provided that the usual periodical offerings are made in their honour.' Here we have the sorcerer, first armed with the acquaintance with the spirit-world which enables him to distinguish spirits invisible to ordinary eyes; then, in his capacity as magician, coercing the same spirits to obedience, and forcing them against their will to remain for the greater convenience of mankind in a 'house made with hands;' and, finally, transformed into a regular priest, the guardian of the temple which he has directed to be built, and the recognised intermediary between his fellow-villagers and the gods whom he has bound there for their service. The like process of evolution can be proved by well-authenticated instances taken from the Zulus, the ancient inhabitants of the Antilles, the Caribs, the Abipones, the Polynesians, the Maories, and other tribes, the existence of a shrine or temple being, apparently, the sign that the transformation of the sorcerer into a priest has become complete.

And yet sorcery, by thus giving birth to the priesthood, does but prepare for itself the fate of those Greek gods who are mythically said to be mutilated and imprisoned by their own sons. Thereafter, it is to the priest and not to the sorcerer that the heads of the tribe turn for advice and assistance, and although the sorcerer may still be consulted by the poorer and more ignorant, his prestige is always more individual than professional, and depends more upon strong personal characteristics than upon the dignity of his office. At length it comes to be understood that although he may sometimes be able to coerce the spirits, he can only do so for evil and not

for good, and that his arts can never bring any permanent benefit to those who seek his aid. Hence he is shunned and avoided by all except the desperate and malignant: his art is proscribed by the chiefs and cursed by the priests who were once his allies and even his creatures: and at last when he is delivered up to the vengeance of his rivals and is put to death with horrible tortures, even those who have believed most firmly in his power rejoice that the community is rid of a monster who may have been feared, but can never have been loved or trusted.

The arts by which this change of feeling towards sorcery is brought about are those which would be denounced by most civilised people as immoral, but which those who know what it is to have the control of a savage mob will, perhaps, be more slow to condemn. In the first place, it must be noticed that the first priests must needs have many reasons for seeking to exalt the dignity of the deities whom they serve which are absent in the case of the first sorcerers. The servant of the altar naturally lives upon the sacrifices offered upon it, the spirit or sometimes the savour of them being supposed to content the divinity to whom they are ostensibly made. It is therefore to his interest that the same sacrifices should be as numerous as possible, and this leads him to exaggerate the power and activity of the spirits. On the other hand, the sorcerer, in order that he may be thought to compel them, must represent these beings as in some respect inferior to himself: hence the views of priest and sorcerer as to the nature of the divinities are diametrically opposed, and as those of the former, thanks principally to the opportunities he has of enforcing them, come to prevail, it is natural that those of the latter should be looked upon as a sort of blasphemy. And, again, as two in a tale are better than one, a combination takes place between the priests of different shrines, who quickly realise the truth of the proverb that union is strength. This comes out very clearly in the case of the Fantis and other tribes on the Gold Coast, where the priests are said by Sir Alfred Ellis* to have so

* *The Tshi-speaking Peoples.* London, 1887.

perfected the system of intercommunication that it is impossible for any private person to consult them without their knowing all about him and his family, their genealogical information, we are assured, going back for centuries. Perhaps an even stronger instance of this professional freemasonry, so to speak, is found in the Ashanti priests who have recognised as their brethren Christian missionaries, and have been known to relieve and succour them even when—as in the case of Ramseyer and Kühne—they were the prisoners of the king of the country.* But the fellow-feeling which members of the same profession have for each other generally shows itself in a very hearty hatred of any unauthorised person who may appear to derogate from its functions, and in this way, again, the sorcerer gets the ill word of the priest.

Another and perhaps more efficient cause of the supplanting of the sorcerer by the priest is the simulation and improvement by the priest of the sorcerer's methods. The latter is, as we have seen, generally a sorcerer in spite of himself, the hysterical seizures from which he suffers not being within his control, and coming upon him only at sufficiently long intervals. But the priest who aspires to power must be ready to give proof of his possession by the spirits whenever called upon, and must therefore have some means of producing the hysterical state at will. He is often anxious, too, to admit to the priesthood persons who, from their relationship to himself, or from their position in the tribe, seem likely to strengthen it, but who have not been afflicted by nature with the epileptic tendency of the born sorcerer. And here, again, it is necessary that he should be able to induce in these novices the visions and hallucinations by which they enter, as they suppose, into communication with the spirit-world. The means by which he attains both these objects are so much alike all over the world as to justify us in assuming that they are forced upon him by circumstances rather than adopted by him of his own free will.

* Réville, *op. cit.*

The oldest, most widespread, and probably the most certain way of thus producing the hysteric state, is abstinence from food. 'The continually stuffed body,' say the Zulus, 'sees no hidden things'—a fact which is so thoroughly appreciated by the primitive priesthods which I am describing, that a prolonged fast always forms a marked feature in the initiation of novices. Those who sought admission into what their chronicler calls 'the close corporation' of Piaches or fetich-priests among the Caribs, were made 'to fast and live in solitude.' The same test is required, according to Sir Alfred Ellis,* by the priests of the Dahomans, and their kindred tribes of the Slave Coast. In British Guiana, says Mr. im Thurn, 'he who would become a peaman has to undergo long fasts, to wander alone in the forest, houseless and unarmed, and with only such food as he can gather.' The same austerities are undergone by the aspirant to the office of Shaman or professional wizard among the Siberians and other Mongoloid races of the Russian Empire, according to Prof. Mikhailovskii.† While the Eskimo,‡ with the thoroughness which distinguishes that hardy and strenuous people, not only impose the same discipline upon the novice himself, but insist that the father and mother of the boy who is destined to become an angekok, shall fast at certain specified intervals before his birth. So universal, indeed, among savages is the use of fasting in order to gain supposed intercourse with the spirits, that Prof. Tylor thinks its involuntary practice, through accidents in hunting and the like, may have played a great part in first convincing primitive man of their existence.

But, however suited the method of abstinence may be for those whom the priest wishes to initiate into the mysteries of his own profession, it is too cumbrous for his own daily use. He needs to be able to put himself beside himself, or, as he would express it, to send his soul forth from his body at, at the most, a few hours' notice, and to do this he invokes the aid of drugs. Thus the Omaguas of the Amazon, and the

* *The Eve-speaking Peoples.* London, 1890.

† *Shamanstvo*, translated by Mr. Wardrop, *Jour. Anth. Inst.* for 1895.

‡ Réclus, *op. cit.*

Boutios of the Antilles, were accustomed to intoxicate themselves, before entering upon the evocation of spirits, with a sort of snuff made from the powdered bark of the acacia, and the ancient Peruvians with a decoction of 'huacacacha' or fetich-weed.* The Darien Indians use the seeds of the *Datura* for the same purpose; the Indians of Guiana an infusion of tobacco-leaves; the priests of the Dahomans and of the Bongo, certain roots, the knowledge of which is kept as a professional secret, the sorcerer-priests of the Bushmen a species of hemp, while the Siberian Shamans trust to the smoking for some hours of an extremely strong tobacco. Nor are even drugs properly so called absolutely necessary. The ingestion of human flesh, torn by preference either from a living body or from a putrefying corpse, is used by the Voodoo priests of Hayti,† by certain tribes of North American Indians,‡ and by the Torres Straits Islanders§ to bring on the epileptiform fit, the horror which it produces doubtless playing a great part in its action. Milder means of attaining the same effect are the prolonged use of the sweating bath which used to be practised by the Jossakeed of North America, and a rude hypnotism produced either by fixing the gaze upon some small object, as among the Fijians, or by the monotonous tapping of a drum. This last practice seems to be peculiarly in favour throughout Asia and Africa, the drum being replaced in America by a rattle.||

So far, we have seen nothing done but in good faith. All observers are agreed that the primitive sorcerer is singularly free from all trace of conscious imposture. He believes, indeed, in his own inspiration quite as firmly as his flock; and with much greater reason. For while their knowledge of the spirit-world is at best derived from hearsay, his is the result of actual experience. Both in his dreams and in his hysterical visions, he is accustomed to see and converse with beings whom he considers to be spirits because he is always thinking

* Tylor, *op. cit.*

† Kennedy, *Sport, Travel, and Adventure*. Edinburgh: 1885. St. John, *Hayti*. London: 1889.

‡ Réville, *op. cit.* § *Jour. Anth. Inst.* for 1889. || Réville, *op. cit.*

about the spirits, and this gives to his faith in their reality a firmness to which his more normal-minded brethren can hardly aspire. Even in the use of drugs to produce hysteria, there is no reason to suppose that he adopts the same explanation of the phenomenon that would satisfy ourselves. In India, where the time-honoured method of writing a verse of the Kuran on a sheet of paper, washing it off, and swallowing the water, is often employed for the cure of disease, the native practitioner may often be seen, says Sir Alfred Lyall, openly mixing croton oil with the ink without in the least shaking his own or his patients' faith in the religious character of the remedy. The primitive mind prefers, as Grote remarked, a miraculous explanation to a rational one, and the sorcerer, no doubt, thinks that the drugs which he takes in some way cause the spirits to enter into his body instead of being in themselves the source of the mental disturbance which follows. But when the sorcerer becomes a priest, he begins to add to the simple processes of savage sorcery others which can hardly be attributed to anything but deliberate imposture. There is no occasion to follow M. Réville in his remark that *dans les religions les plus élevées, on a pu constater plus d'une fois une complaisance excessive pour les recettes, les ruses, les moyens détournés, qui viennent en aide aux défaillances et aux insuccès de la foi*. But it is easy to see that among savages, the power and even the life of the priest must often depend upon the impression that he succeeds in making upon the fears of his flock, and it is therefore not surprising to find him grasping at every means by which he can impart an awful and preternatural character to his proceedings. Thus he seeks to add to and increase the horror naturally felt by the spectator at his hysterical convulsions by tricks of juggling, of ventriloquism, and sometimes of mesmerism. The Shamans learn to stab themselves without injury, the Fanti priests are taught sleight of hand as part of their regular novitiate, and the sorcerer-priests of the Papuans, Australians, Red Indians, and Bantus have all been observed to make passes like those used by the professors of the so-called animal magnetism. As for ventriloquism, it is universal, and may very possibly have been actually discovered by the compulsion under which the

sorcerer finds himself of speaking in a faint or squeaking voice when rendering the supposed replies of the possessing spirit to his enquiries. All these arts were employed with such skill in a sort of *séance* given by an Indian peaiman for the benefit of Mr. im Thurn that the scene forms a typical instance of savage priestcraft, and I may therefore, perhaps, hope to be excused if I describe it in some detail.

Now, when Mr. im Thurn was living with Macusi Indians on the Savannahs, he had a slight attack of fever. This was supposed by his companions to be the work of a *kenaima* or evil spirit, and the local peaiman undertook its expulsion. After dark, the patient went to the peaiman's house, the entrance was closed, all light excluded, and a promise extracted from Mr. im Thurn that he would not stir from the hammock on which he lay. A handful of tobacco-leaves was steeped in water, the infusion placed on the floor, and the incantation began. This took the form of a series of yells and shouts loud enough, as the narrator asserts, to shake both walls and roof, and continuing for six mortal hours. It was explained to Mr. im Thurn that the peaiman was thus summoning the *kenaimas*, who attended in the shapes of tigers, deer, monkeys, birds, turtles, snakes, and the like, each answering in the voice proper to the form he had assumed, and promising, in obedience to the peaiman's commands, not to injure the sufferer. As each one came, Mr. im Thurn heard the whirring of its wings gradually drawing nearer to the house, the thud with which it alighted on the floor, the lapping of the tobacco-water that was offered to it, and the disturbance of the air as it flew away. The effect of this upon Mr. im Thurn was to produce at length a sort of trance which he conceives to be mesmeric, from which he only awoke at intervals when the peaiman's voice seemed to retire to a great distance, it being explained that his spirit had left his body, and had passed through the roof the better to grapple with the recalcitrant spirits. Yet the whole of these 'effects' were produced by the peaiman himself, his powers as a ventriloquist enabling him to imitate the voices of the *kenaimas*, while the whirring of their wings was produced by the shaking of leafy boughs, and the

thud of their feet by the dashing of the same boughs against the floor. The end of the story is very characteristic. The peaiman produced the kenaima who had caused the disease in the shape of a caterpillar which he declared he had extracted from the patient's body—and asked for payment. 'I gave him a looking-glass which had cost fourpence,' says Mr. im Thurn, 'and he was satisfied.' At a *séance* in London or Paris he would have been lucky to escape so easily.

After such a scene of mystification, the statement that it is to impostures like these that all the sciences and perhaps all the arts of civilisation owe their birth, may seem to be dictated merely by a love of paradox: yet that the assertion is well-founded can hardly be doubted. Pure sorcery seems to be incapable of improvement or development; and few things are so startling at first sight to him who is acquainted with the subject as the closeness with which the so-called 'occult' sciences of mediæval and modern times correspond to the doings of the savage sorcerers who act in good faith. The Cabala of the Jews, upon which all the systems of mediæval magic (such as that of Cornelius Agrippa, for instance,) are founded, rests upon a supposed sympathy between certain numbers, colours, stars, metals, herbs and plants which would seem perfectly natural to the Eskimo *angekok*, but which we know to be either purely imaginary or the result of some fancied or accidental resemblance. Judicial astrology, too, so powerful at the Court of France in the reigns of the last Valois, depends, like the divinatory arts of savages, upon the rude symbolism which connects the 'ascendant' or point of the heavens rising in the east at the moment of birth with the fate of the child then being born, and which teaches that those born when the sign Scorpio is rising, will be 'active and deceitful as the Scorpion!' And modern spiritualism, with its spirits that infest tables and chairs, is, when stripped of the pseudo-scientific dress in which its votaries love to clothe it, nothing else than a revival of the ideas of savages on the spirit-world. In fact, as Prof. Tylor has pointed out, if the assertions of ancient and modern occultists were in any degree capable of proof, it would be necessary for us to cast away all the

processes of modern science, and sit instead at the feet of the sorcerers of primitive folk. Some inkling of the cogency of this reasoning seems, indeed, to have penetrated the brains of the superstitious among civilised people, for they always attribute a double dose of magical power to the races of lower civilisation with which they are brought in contact; and, as the Brahman woman will consult a Koregar sorceress as to the best means of preserving her child from the attacks of evil spirits, so the English sailor will look upon the 'Russian Finn' as too much of a wizard to be a desirable shipmate, and the Finn in turn will think that there are no such magicians to be found anywhere as among the yet more savage Lapps.

But while magic thus remains so stationary that its sporadic appearance among civilised folk argues a reversion to primitive ideas, the savage priest no sooner tries to supplement its deficiencies by a recourse to imposture than he is driven, perhaps against his will, to become a serious student of Nature. The cause of disease is, among all savages, considered to be the possession of the patient's body by an evil spirit; hence the most primitive method of cure is exorcism. But the priest soon finds out—and it must be remembered that the loss of his own life may be the penalty of the failure of his treatment—that the exorcism is more generally effective if accompanied by the exhibition of simples, the knowledge of which he has either acquired as a trade secret, or has gained by personal experience when in search of drugs to produce hysteria. Thus begins the study of herbs and roots to which he no doubt at first attributes a magical power, and from this in time the whole science of healing developes. Or he is called upon to produce rain or sunshine, an art which, as Mr. Romilly found, he does not distinguish from the power of predicting a change of weather. Hence he is led to study the succession of the seasons and the motions of the heavenly bodies. And if these beginnings of astronomy and navigation seem poor and rude to us, let us not forget that they yet bring about the measurement of time and the invention of the calendar, without which even primitive agriculture would be foredoomed to failure. But these last discoveries, which in

themselves argue a long series of observations impossible to be made by any but a privileged and leisured class, must be recorded in order that they may be at the disposal of the whole body of the priesthood; and thus are born the arts of drawing and painting from which comes later, as we now know, the use of written characters. And work like this, although begun wholly or in part for purposes of imposture, soon comes to be loved for its own sake. Among the priests of primitive folk are often to be found men not perhaps of sufficient bodily strength to become warriors, but with that mental vigour so often seen in weak and sickly bodies: and such men, when once started on the right road, begin to question Nature in earnest. They discover the elementary laws of hygiene and the rules of breeding whose observance ensures the procreation of a hardy and vigorous race: and their regulations are obeyed none the less readily because they have a religious or even a magical sanction. Then come some of the simpler principles of mechanics, which are applied by them in the construction of temples for the gods and, it may be, dwellings for themselves. But such matters as these cannot remain for ever in the exclusive possession of a priestly caste. The jealousy or public spirit of the chiefs will insist that they are placed at the disposal of the heads of the tribe, and before long they will fall into the hands of trained workmen who in their turn become a caste. Then the simple architecture and engineering which was once confined to the raising of temples and palaces are applied to the housing of the nation and to the mapping out of towns. Roads are made, canals dug, and labour is organised. Henceforth the nation can no longer be called savage. It has become civilised, and its struggles for the conquest of Nature are no longer unconscious, but are directed by exact knowledge rather than by religion or magic. And yet the most potent factor in the change has been the desire of the priest to exalt himself above his rival and predecessor the sorcerer.

To sum up, then:—The religion of savages seems to spring from their habit of attributing life to all objects whether animate or inanimate, coupled with the belief in the reality of

persons and things seen in dreams and visions. The desire to subjugate Nature leads primitive man to invent magic or the coercion of the spirits as well as worship or their propitiation. This magic, in itself incapable of useful development, yet forms a temporary union with worship and thus leads to the institution of the priesthood. And to the desire of the priests of primitive folk to outshine the magicians, all material civilisation owes its origin.

That it was in this way that the civilisation of Mesopotamia developed from a state of savagery is probable but by no means certain. The very recent excavations of the American Expedition at Nippur shew that that important Babylonian town was inhabited by a civilised race as far back as 8000 B.C.; and it may therefore be that the Sumerians did not work out their civilisation for themselves, but took it over from a yet earlier race. Further study of the cuneiform tablets now accumulating in the Museums a great deal faster than they can be deciphered, will probably throw some light upon this. But it may be years before we can definitely say what nation it was that first raised itself from the savage state.

Yet even with this important link missing, the general result of our enquiry seems to be favourable to those who would see in the theory of Evolution not only a rational explanation of man's past, but a well founded hope for his future. From the time when the dawning ideas of religion and magic first broke upon the savage mind, there has been—as I hope these hasty and imperfect sketches have served to show—a steady but not always continuous progress from the bad to the better. Gradually the magic (and the religious ideas hardly to be distinguished from magic) based on self-interest, has given way to the nobler ideas of self-sacrifice and of duty to be performed for its own sake. And that man should thus of his own accord turn from doing evil and seek to do good, points to the existence within him of a principle making for righteousness which we may hope has not yet attained its fullest development.

F. LEGGE.

ART. III.—LORD ROBERTS IN INDIA.

Forty-one Years in India from Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief.
 By FIELD-MARSHALL LORD ROBERTS, of Kandahar, V.C.,
 G.C.B., etc., etc. 2 vols. Portraits and Maps. London:
 1897.

LORD ROBERTS has written a book which will attract, and indeed has already attracted, a very considerable amount of attention. He and his father spent nearly ninety years in India. Of these almost fifty belong to his father, while the remaining forty-one have been spent there by himself, and cover the periods of the Mutiny and the Second Campaign in Afghanistan, during which he made his own celebrated march from Kabul to Kandahar. The book is essentially a soldier's book, and ought to be read by every young and ambitious soldier who wishes to understand the secret of success in the profession of arms. It is also a statesman's book. It contains the mature opinions of one of the most successful commanders and statesmen India has seen, and deserves to be read by all who desire to understand the principles on which that great dependency of the Crown can be successfully governed. Though written by a soldier, the volumes are not without their literary merits. If clear and forcible writing and brilliant descriptions go for anything, they will take a place among the best military narratives we have. Among their characteristics are frankness and generosity. Lord Roberts states his opinions with the utmost candour, whether on men or affairs. Those on the latter are, of course, open to criticism; but those upon the former are what Lord Roberts' enviable reputation in India would lead one to expect. When reading his pages there is no difficulty in understanding how that reputation has been gained, or in accounting for the enthusiasm and affection with which both he and Lady Roberts are spoken of by all ranks in the army, 'to which,' in the dedication of the volumes, he says, 'I am so deeply indebted.'

Lord Roberts was born at Cawnpore, and educated in England. He arrived at Calcutta on the 1st April, 1852, along with a number of other cadets. As with Hastings, Clive and others, his first impressions of Calcutta were not cheerful. On landing, he received a letter from his father, then a veteran in the Indian Service and in command of the Lahore Division, informing him that he had better put up at Spence's Hotel, until he had reported himself at the Head-Quarters of the Bengal Artillery at Dum-Dum.

'This was chilling news, for I was the only one of our party who had to go to a hotel on landing. . . . I was still more depressed later on by finding myself at dinner *tête-à-tête* with a first class specimen of the results of an Indian climate. He belonged to my own regiment, and was going home on medical certificate, but did not look as if he could ever reach England. He gave me the not too pleasing news that by staying in that dreary hotel, instead of proceeding direct to Dum-Dum, I had lost a day's service and pay, so I took care to join early the following morning.'

At Dum-Dum he was at once appointed to a Native Field Battery, and spent the first four months of his forty-one years in India between that place and Fort-William. Life at either of them was excessively dull. The latter place, now one of the healthiest stations in India, was then extremely insanitary.

'The men were crowded into small badly ventilated buildings, and the sanitary arrangements were as deplorable as the state of the water supply. The only efficient scavengers were the huge birds of prey called adjutants, and so great was the dependence placed upon these unclean creatures, that the young cadets were warned that any injury done to them would be treated as gross misconduct. The inevitable result of this state of affairs was endemic sickness, and a death-rate of over ten per cent. per annum.'

Left pretty much to himself, for in his case 'the vaunted hospitality of the Anglo-Indian was conspicuous by its absence,' and having little to do, he became thoroughly home-sick, and wrote to his father begging him to try and get him sent to Burma. The reply he received was 'that he hoped soon to get command of the Peshawar Division, and that he would then like me to join him;' and buoyed up by the hope that a definite limit had now been placed to his stay at Dum-Dum—'that, to me, uninteresting part of India,'—his 'restlessness and discontent disappeared as if by magic.'

Four months in India had seemed to him like four years, and when at last his marching orders arrived his joy was unbounded. 'Indeed, the idea that I was about to proceed to that grand field of soldierly activity, the North-West Frontier, and there join my father, almost reconciled me to the disappointment of losing my chance of field service in Burma.' His arrangements were quickly made, and early in August 'I bade a glad goodbye to Dum-Dum.'

The journey from Calcutta to Peshawar may now be done in three days, young Roberts was three months on the way. As far as Benares he travelled in a barge towed by a steamer. From Benares to Allahabad he went on wheels. After staying at Cawnpore a few days he went on to Meerut. There he 'came across, for the first time, the far-famed Bengal Horse Artillery, and made the acquaintance of a set of officers who more than realized my expectations regarding the wearers of the much coveted jacket, association with whom created in me a fixed resolve to leave no stone unturned in the endeavour to become a horse gunner.' The six hundred miles from Meerut to Peshawar were done in a palankin. Accidents of travel laid the foundations of a life-long friendship with General Crawford Chamberlain and with Sir Donald and Lady Stewart; and Peshawar was reached in the beginning of November.

General Roberts was then in his sixty-ninth year. Young Roberts had seen very little of him, so that when they met at Peshawar it was 'almost as strangers.' 'We did not, however, long remain so; his affectionate greeting soon put an end to any feeling of shyness on my part, and the genial and kindly spirit which enabled him to enter into and sympathise with the feelings and aspirations of men younger than himself rendered the year I spent with him at Peshawar one of the brightest and happiest of my early life.' In one respect he particularly benefitted from the intercourse he had with his father. General Roberts had been through the first Afghan war, in which he had commanded first a brigade and afterwards Shah Shuja's contingent. After leaving Afghanistan he had kept up a correspondence with some of its leading

men, and on assuming the command of the Peshawar division, then the largest and most important in India, he found himself associated with a number of them, who had settled there. Of his experiences in Afghanistan and of its inhabitants and their ways he communicated freely to his son, who says: 'The information I in this way gathered regarding the characteristics of that peculiar country, and the best means of dealing with its still more peculiar people, was invaluable to me when I, in my turn, twenty-five years later, found myself in command of an army in Afghanistan.' One thing which General Roberts was particularly anxious to see brought about, and the desirability of which he endeavoured to impress upon the central authorities, was the establishment of kindlier relations with the border tribes, and before he left India he had the satisfaction of learning that the policy he advocated had been approved by Lord Dalhousie, then the Governor-General, and was bearing fruit.

On his arrival at Peshawar young Roberts was appointed Aide-de-camp, and attached to the 2nd Company of the 2nd Battalion of the Artillery Corps, the commandant of which took good care that his duties as A.D.C. to the general in command did not interfere with the strict and punctual discharge of his regimental duty.

Peshawar was not a pleasant place to be stationed at. The cantonment was greatly overcrowded, the water supply was bad, and for years 'Peshawar was a name of terror to the English soldier from its proverbial unhealthiness.' Owing to the activity and daring of the Afridis and other robber tribes the country around was exceedingly dangerous. No one was allowed to venture beyond the line of sentries after sunset, and even in broad daylight it was not safe to go any distance from the station. In addition to the cordon of sentries round the cantonment, strong piquets had to be posted on all the main roads leading to the hills, and every house had to be guarded by a *chokidar*, or watchman, belonging to one of the robber tribes. Alarms were incessant; and often dangerous. Young Roberts, however, was happy. He enjoyed the society of his father, there was plenty of excitement and adventure, and the

mess was good. 'I remember,' he says, 'a curious circumstance in connexion with that mess which, unless the exception proves the rule, is strong evidence against the superstition that thirteen is an unlucky number to sit down at dinner. On the 1st January, 1853, thirteen of us dined together; eleven years after we were all alive, nearly the whole party having taken part in the suppression of the Mutiny, and five or six having been wounded.' The Commissioner at Peshawar was Colonel Mackeson, an officer who had distinguished himself during the first Afghan war by his work among the Afridis and border tribes, by whom he was liked and respected as much as he was feared. On the 10th September, 1853, the whole camp was horrified with the news that he had been murdered by a religious fanatic.

'He was sitting in the verandah of his house listening to appeals from the decisions of his subordinates, when, towards evening, a man—who had been remarked by many during the day earnestly engaged in his devotions, his prayer-carpet being spread within sight of the house—came up and, making a low salaam to Mackeson, presented him with a paper. The Commissioner, supposing it to be a petition, stretched out his hand to take it, when the man instantly plunged a dagger into his breast. The noise consequent on the struggle attracted the attention of some of the domestic servants and one of the native officials. The latter threw himself between Mackeson and the fanatic, and was himself slightly wounded in his efforts to rescue his chief. Mackeson lingered until the 14th September.'

The culprit was hanged and his body burned. This mode of punishment was deliberately determined upon, and when carried out, caused considerable excitement. It was adopted, however, in the hope that it would have a deterrent effect upon other fanatical Mahomedans, who loathe the idea of being burned, as it is supposed to deprive the dead man of every chance of paradise, and effectually prevents him from being raised to the dignity of a martyr and revered as a saint.

Shortly after this General Roberts was compelled, in consequence of ill health, to leave India. But before he left a curious incident occurred which Lord Roberts relates for its psychological interest, and in the hope that some student of the subject may be able to explain it.

‘My father had some time before issued invitations for a dance which was to take place in two days time—on Monday, the 17th October, 1853. On the Saturday morning he appeared disturbed and unhappy, and during breakfast he was silent and despondent—very different from his usual bright and cheery self. On my questioning him as to the cause, he told me he had had an unpleasant dream—one which he had dreamt several times before, and which had always been followed by the death of a near relation. As the day advanced, in spite of my efforts to cheer him, he became more and more depressed, and even said he should like to put off the dance. I dissuaded him from taking this step for the time being ; but that night he had the same dream again, and the next morning he insisted on the dance being postponed. It seemed to me rather absurd to have to disappoint our friends because of a dream ; there was, however, nothing for it but to carry out my father’s wishes, and intimation was accordingly sent to the invited guests. The following morning the post brought news of the sudden death of the half-sister at Lahore with whom I had stayed on my way to Peshawar.’

It was soon after his father’s departure for England that young Roberts received the ‘much coveted jacket.’ His pleasure at receiving it was, at first, greatly damped by the fact that the troop to which he was posted was stationed at Umballa. He had no desire to leave Peshawar or the frontier.

‘Life on the frontier in these days had a great charm for most young men ; there was always something of interest going on ; military expeditions were constantly taking place or being speculated upon, and one lived in hope of being amongst those chosen for service. Peshawar, too, notwithstanding its unhealthiness, was a favourite station with officers. To me it was particularly pleasant, for it had the largest force of Artillery of any station in India, except Meerut ; the mess was a good one, and was composed of as nice a set of fellows as were to be found in the army. In addition to the officers of the regiments, there was a certain number of honorary members ; all the staff and civilians belonged to the Artillery mess, and on guest nights we sat down as many as sixty to dinner. Another attraction was the “coffee shop,” an institution which has now almost ceased to exist, at which we all congregated after morning parade and freely discussed the home and local news.’

Fortunately he had not to leave Peshawar. A vacancy opportunely occurred in one of the troops of Horse Artillery there and it was given to him. The troop to which he was appointed

‘Was composed of a magnificent body of men, nearly all Irishmen, most of whom could have lifted me up with one hand. They were fine riders,

and needed to be so, for the stud horses used for Artillery purposes at that time were not the quiet, well-broken animals of the present day. I used to try my hand at riding them all in turns, and thus learnt to understand and appreciate the amount of nerve, patience, and skill necessary to the making of a good Horse Artillery "driver," with the additional advantage that I was brought into constant contact with the men. It also qualified me to ride in the officers' team for the regimental brake. The brake, it must be understood, was drawn by six horses, each ridden postilion fashion by an officer.'

In the spring of 1855 fever drove him to Kashmir to recruit, and in August of the same year he set out across the Himalayas with a couple of brother officers for Simla, then by no means the important place it is now. He stayed there a month and records the fact that he lunched with Colonel Arthur Becher, the Quartermaster-General, and remarks:—

'I think I hear my reader say, "Not a very remarkable event to chronicle." But that lunch was a memorable one to me; indeed, it was the turning-point in my career, for my host was good enough to say he should like to have me in his department some day, and this meant a great deal to me. Joining a department at that time generally resulted in remaining in it for the greater part of one's service. There was then no limit to the tenure of staff appointments, and the object of every ambitious young officer was to get into one department or another—political, civil or the army staff. My father had always impressed upon me that the political department was *the* one to aspire to, and failing that the Quartermaster-General's, as in the latter there was the best chance of seeing service. I had cherished a sort of vague hope that I might some day be lucky enough to become a Deputy Assistant-Quartermaster-General, for although I fully recognised the advantages of a political career, I preferred being more closely associated with the army, and I had seen enough of staff work to satisfy myself that it would suit me; so the few words spoken to me by Colonel Becher made me supremely happy.

'It never entered into my head that I should get an early appointment; the fact of the Quartermaster-General thinking of me as a possible recruit was quite enough for me. I was in no hurry to leave the Horse Artillery, to which I was proud of belonging, and in which I hoped to see service while still on the frontier. I left Simla very pleased with the result of my visit, and very grateful to Colonel Becher, who proved a good friend to me ever after, and I made my way to Mian Mir, where I went through the riding-school course, and then returned to Peshawar.'

His first appointment to the Quartermaster-General's department—to which, contrary to his expectation, he was nomin-

ated the following year—the Governor-General refused to sign, on the ground that he had not passed the requisite examination. With characteristic energy, he shut himself up with the best *munshi* he could secure in Peshawar, and ‘studied Indian literature from morning till night,’ and when the post, to which he had originally been appointed, again fell vacant, having in the meantime passed the examination, he was appointed to it, and entered the department, in which he remained continuously, with the exception of one or two short intervals, till 1878, when he quitted it as Quarter-master-General.

Roberts was present at the meeting between Sir John Lawrence and Dost Mahomed on 1st January, 1857, and dwells at some length on the treaty which was then made as an outcome of the policy advocated by his father, and because of the important results it had.

‘Not only,’ he says, ‘did it heal the wounds left open from the first Afghan war, but it relieved England of great anxiety at a time when, throughout the length and breadth of India, there was distress, revolt, bloodshed, and bitter distrust of our Native troops. Dost Mahomed loyally held to his engagements during the troublous days of the Mutiny, which so quickly followed this alliance, when, had he turned against us, we should assuredly have lost the Punjab; Delhi could never have been taken; in fact, I do not see how any part of the country north of Bengal could have been saved. Dost Mahomed’s own people could not understand his attitude. They frequently came to him during the Mutiny, throwing their turbans at his feet, and praying him as a Mahomedan to seize that opportunity for destroying “the infidels.” “Hear the news from Delhi,” they urged; “see the difficulties the Feringhis are in. Why don’t you lead us on to take advantage of their weakness, and win back Peshawar?”’

At Rawal Pindi, when attending the General on a tour of inspection, Sir John Lawrence offered Roberts an appointment in the Public Works Department. He was too fond of soldiering, however, and contrary to the advice of his friends, respectfully declined it. A surveying expedition at Cherat brought him for the first time into personal relations with John Nicholson, of whom he writes:—

‘John Nicholson was a name to conjure with in the Punjab. I had heard it mentioned with an amount of respect—indeed, awe—which no

other name could excite, and I was all curiosity to see the man whose influence on the frontier was so great that his word was law to the refractory tribes amongst whom he lived. He had only lately arrived in Peshawar, having been transferred from Bannu, a difficult and troublesome district, ruled by him as it had never been ruled before, and where he made such a reputation for himself that, while he was styled "a pillar of strength frontier" by Lord Dalhousie, he was looked up to as a god by the Natives, who loved as much as they feared him. By some of them he was actually worshipped as a saint; they formed themselves into a sect, and called themselves "Nicholseyns." Nicholson impressed me more profoundly than any man I had ever met before, or have ever met since. I have never seen anyone like him. He was the beau-ideal of a soldier and a gentleman. His appearance was distinguished and commanding, with a sense of power about him, which to my mind was the result of his having passed so much of his life amongst the wild and lawless tribesmen, with whom his authority was supreme. Intercourse with this man amongst men made me more eager than ever to remain on the frontier, and I was seized with ambition to follow in his footsteps. Had I never seen Nicholson again, I might have thought that the feelings with which he inspired me were to some extent the result of my imagination, excited by the astonishing stories of his power and influence; my admiration, however, for him was immeasurably strengthened when, a few weeks later, I served as his staff-officer, and had opportunities of observing more closely his splendid soldierly qualities, and the workings of his grand, simple mind.'

When the Mutiny broke out, Roberts was still at Peshawar. The principal officers there at the time were General Reed, the Commander of the district; Sydney Cotton, the Brigadier; Herbert Edwardes, the Commissioner; John Nicholson, Deputy-Commissioner; and Brigadier Neville Chamberlain. They were all men of ability, and by the prompt and wise measures they took, prevented the native troops under their control from working mischief, and kept the Punjab in hand. It was agreed that General Reed should join the Chief Commissioner at Rawal Pindi, leaving Brigadier Cotton in command at Peshawar, and that a movable column, composed of reliable troops, should be organised at some convenient place in the Punjab, prepared to move wherever its services might be required. Edwardes and Nicholson undertook to raise levies and fresh troops along the border. Roberts was attached to the movable column, the command of which was entrusted to Neville Chamberlain. It was organised at Wazi-

rabad, and began to move about from place to place as rapidly as possible, disarming native regiments, and rendering assistance wherever it could, especially at Multan, which 'would certainly have gone,' but for a timely act of heroism on the part of Chamberlain. When Chamberlain left for Delhi to take up the Adjutant-Generalship of the Army, in succession to Colonel Chester, who had been killed at Badli-ki-Serai, he was succeeded by Nicholson, who joined it at Jullundur, to which place the column had moved from Umritsar. At Jullundur everything was in confusion. Nicholson soon put things in order:—

'On taking over command, his first care was to establish an effective system of intelligence, by means of which he was kept informed of what was going on in the neighbouring districts; and, fully recognising the necessity for rapid movement in the event of any sudden emergency, he organised a part of his force into a small flying column, the Infantry portion of which was to be carried in *ekkas* [light carts]. I was greatly impressed by Nicholson's knowledge of military affairs. He seemed always to know exactly what to do and the best way to do it. This was the more remarkable because, though a soldier by profession, his training had been chiefly that of a civilian—a civilian of the frontier, however, where his soldierly instincts had been fostered in his dealings with a lawless and unruly people, and where he had received a training which was now to stand him in good stead. Nicholson was a born commander, and this was felt by every officer and man with the column before he had been amongst them many days.'

While the column was at Jullundur, an amusing incident occurred, illustrative alike of Nicholson and of native character. The town was full of Kapurthala people, the friendly Raja's offer to garrison the place with his own troops having been accepted by Major Edward Lake, the Commissioner. Believing that the British troops had gone to return no more, the demeanour of the Raja's men was not altogether the best or the least offensive, but in order to keep on good terms with them, and to pay a compliment to their officers and principal men, Lake asked Nicholson to meet the latter at his house. Nicholson consented, and a *darbar* was arranged for.

'At the close of the ceremony, General Mehtab Sing, a near relative of the Raja's, took his leave, and, as the senior in rank at the *darbar*, was walking out of the room first, when I observed Nicholson stalk to the door,

put himself in front of Mehtab Sing, and, waving him back with an authoritative air, prevent him from leaving the room. The rest of the company then passed out, and when they had gone, Nicholson said to Lake, "Do you see that General Mehtab Sing has his shoes on?" Lake replied that he had noticed the fact, but tried to excuse it. Nicholson, however, speaking in Hindustani, said: "There is no possible excuse for such an act of gross impertinence. Mehtab Sing knows perfectly well that he would not venture to step on his own father's carpet save barefooted, and he has only committed this breach of etiquette to-day because he thinks we are not in a position to resent the insult, and that he can treat us as he would not have dared to do a month ago." Mehtab Sing looked extremely foolish, and stammered some kind of apology, but Nicholson was not to be appeased, and continued, "If I were the last Englishman left in Jullundur, you" (addressing Mehtab Sing) "should not come into my room with your shoes on;" then, politely turning to Lake, he added, "I hope the Commissioner will allow me to order you to take your shoes off and carry them out in your own hands, so that your followers may witness your discomfiture." Mehtab Sing, completely cowed, meekly did as he was told.'

Some five or six years after, Roberts was pig-sticking at Kapurthala, and on telling the Raja that he had known Nicholson, and was present at the durbar in Lake Sahib's house, the Raja laughed heartily, and said: 'Oh! then you saw Mehtab Sing made to walk out of the room with his shoes in his hand? We often chaff him about that little affair, and tell him that he richly deserved the treatment he received from the great Nicholson Sahib.'

Meantime the Government, fully alive to the tremendous nature of the catastrophe which had befallen the country, was straining every nerve to remedy the mistakes which had been made, and was anxious above all things to effect the recapture of Delhi at the earliest possible moment. The Commander-in-Chief, General Anson, then at Umballa, was urged to march upon it at once, but was unable, and when at last he had gathered together such forces as were available and was on the point of starting, he was struck down by cholera, and died at Kurnal on the 26th of May. Anson has been blamed for his dilatoriness, but Lord Roberts on reviewing all the circumstances observes:—

'It is grievous to feel that, in estimating his work and the difficulties he had to encounter, full justice has not been done him. Anson has been

undeservedly blamed for vacillation and want of promptitude. He was told to "make short work of Delhi," but before Delhi could be taken more men had perished than his whole force at the time amounted to. The advice to march upon Delhi was sound, but had it been rashly followed disaster would have been the inevitable result. Had the Commander-in-Chief been goaded into advancing without spare ammunition and siege artillery, or with an insufficient force, he must have been annihilated by the overwhelming masses of the mutineers—those mutineers, who, we shall see later, stoutly opposed Barnard's greatly augmented force at Badli-ki-Serai, would almost certainly have repulsed, if not destroyed, a smaller body of troops.'

The column with which Roberts was serving was continually in expectation of being called to take part in the siege of Delhi, and while at Philour fort on the same day that orders had been received directing the column to return to Umritsar, a telegraph-signaller handed a copy of a message from Sir Henry Barnard, the commander of the force before Delhi, to the authorities in the Punjab, begging that all artillery officers not doing regimental duty might be sent to Delhi where their services were urgently required. Roberts at once felt that the message applied to him, and was not sorry that it did. 'I had a longing to find myself at Delhi, and lived in perpetual dread lest it should be taken before I could get there.' He had some scruples about leaving Nicholson; but Nicholson, whose splendid soldierly qualities he admired the more he saw of him, agreed that his duty was with his regiment, and having found an officer to take his place on Nicholson's staff, he was off at dawn the next morning for Delhi, and managed to reach it after a narrow escape from falling into the hands of the enemy, on the 28th of June.

It was dark when he arrived, and he spent the night in the tent of his father's old staff-officer, Henry Norman. The following morning the first person he called upon was Edwin Johnson, Assistant-Adjutant-General of the Bengal Artillery, in order to find out with which troop or battery he was to serve. Johnson told him that the Quartermaster-General wished to keep him in his department. He next went to General Chamberlain to acquaint him with the doings of the movable column, and then to Colonel Becher, whom he found

on the sick list in consequence of a severe wound. From Becher he learned that the question had been raised of appointing an officer to help the Assistant-Adjutant-General of the Delhi Field Force, and that Chamberlain had thought of him for the post.

‘I was waiting outside Sir Henry Barnard’s tent, anxious to hear what decision had been come to, when two men rode up, both looking greatly fatigued and half starved ; one of them being Stewart. He told me they had had a most adventurous ride,* but before waiting to hear his story, I asked Norman to suggest Stewart for the new appointment—a case of one word for Stewart and two for myself, I am afraid, for I had set my heart on returning to the Quartermaster-General’s department. And so it was settled, to our mutual satisfaction, Stewart becoming the D.A.A.G. of the Delhi Field Force, and I the D.A.Q.M.G. with the Artillery.’

The next day Roberts found himself under fire for the first time, and in the sharp encounter on the 14th of July, while helping the drivers to keep the horses quiet as they were retiring two guns under a heavy fire, he received

‘A tremendous blow on my back which made me faint and sick, and I was afraid I should not be able to remain on my horse. The powerless feeling, however, passed off, and I managed to stick on until I got back to camp. I had been hit close to the spine by a bullet, and the wound would probably have been fatal but for the fact that a leather pouch for caps, which I usually wore in front near my pistol, had somehow slipped round to the back ; the bullet passed through this before entering my body, and was thus prevented from penetrating very deep.’

Comparatively slight as the wound was, it kept him on the sick-list for a fortnight, and for more than a month he was unable to mount a horse or to put on a sword-belt. By the 11th September, however, he was sufficiently recovered to serve in the left half of No. 2 battery, which had been erected in front of Ludlow Castle, about 500 yards from the Kashmir Gate. Here he had a narrow escape. ‘The enemy had got our range with wonderful accuracy, and immediately on the screen in front of the right gun being removed, a round shot came through the embrasure, knocking two or three of us over.’ On the morning of the assault, he was ordered to resume

* An account of this hazardous ride, one of the most gallant feats performed during the Mutiny, is given in an Appendix, and should be read.

his staff duties, and joined the General at Ludlow Castle, where he watched the assault upon the Kashmir Gate from the top of the house. He then rode with the General through the Gate to the Church. Discouraging reports coming in as to the progress of the assault, he was sent out to ascertain their truth, when

‘Just after starting on my errand, while riding through the Kashmir Gate, I observed by the side of the road a doolie, without bearers, and with evidently a wounded man inside. I dismounted to see if I could be of any use to the occupant, when I found, to my grief and consternation, that it was John Nicholson, with death written on his face. He told me that the bearers had put the doolie down and gone off to plunder; that he was in great pain, and wished to be taken to the hospital. He was lying on his back, no wound was visible, and but for the pallor of his face, always colourless, there was no sign of the agony he must have been enduring. On my expressing a hope that he was not seriously wounded, he said, “I am dying; there is no chance for me.” The sight of that great man lying helpless, and on the point of death, was almost more than I could bear. Other men had daily died around me, friends and comrades had been killed beside me, but I never felt as I felt then—to lose Nicholson seemed to me at that moment to lose everything.

‘I searched about for the doolie bearers, who with other camp followers were busy ransacking the houses and shops in the neighbourhood, and carrying off everything of the slightest value they could lay their hands on. Having with difficulty collected four men, I put them in charge of a sergeant of the 61st Foot. Taking down his name, I told him who the wounded officer was, and ordered him to go direct to the field hospital.

‘That was the last I saw of Nicholson. I found time to ride several times to the hospital to inquire after him, but I was never allowed to see him again.’

Lord Roberts’ narrative covers the whole of the siege of Delhi, and, though comparatively brief, is, as it is almost unnecessary to remark, exceedingly graphic. In the course of it he relates many deeds of bravery and heroism. The scene at the Kashmir Gate is, of course, described. Here is one of a quieter, but not less daring a character, which occurred on the night before the assault:—

‘Taylor had to make certain that the breaches were practicable, and for this purpose he detached four subaltern officers of Engineers to go to the walls as soon as it was dark, and report upon the condition they were in. Greathed and Horne were told off for the Water bastion breach, and Medley and Lang for that of the Kashmir bastion. Lang asked to be allowed

to go while it was yet daylight ; Taylor agreed, and with an escort of four men of the 60th Rifles, he crept to the edge of the cover in the Kudsiaabagh, and then, running up the glacis, sat on the top of the counterscarp for a few seconds studying the ditch and the two breaches. On his return, Lang reported the breaches to be practicable ; as it was desirable to ascertain whether ladders would be necessary, he was sent again after dark, in company with Medley. They took a ladder and a measuring-rod with them, and were escorted by an officer and twenty-four riflemen, of whom all but six were left under cover in the Kudsiaabagh. Lang slipped into the ditch, which he found to be sixteen feet deep. Medley handed him the ladder and rod, and followed him with two riflemen, the other four remaining on the crest of the glacis to cover their retreat. With the help of the ladder they ascended the berm, and measured the height of the wall. Two minutes more, and they would have reached the top of the breach, but quiet as they had been, their movements had attracted attention, and several of the enemy were heard running towards the breach. The whole re-ascended as rapidly as possible, and, throwing themselves on the grass, waited in breathless silence, hoping the sepoy would go away, and that they might be able to make another attempt to reach the top of the breach. The rebels, however, gave no sign of retiring, and as all needful information had been obtained, they determined to run for it. A volley was fired at the party as they dashed across the open, but no one had been hit.'

Hodson's conduct in shooting the three Mogul princes at Humayun's tomb outside Delhi has been variously commented upon. After narrating the circumstances, respecting which he made special inquiries on the spot immediately after the tragedy had occurred, Lord Roberts entirely acquits Hodson of the charge which was in some quarters brought against him and observes :—

'My own feeling on the subject is one of sorrow that such a brilliant soldier should have laid himself open to so much adverse criticism. Moreover, I do not think that, under any circumstances, he should have done the deed himself, or ordered it to be done in that summary manner, unless there had been evident signs of an attempt at rescue.

'But it must be understood that there was no breach of faith on Hodson's part, for he steadily refused to give any promise to the princes that their lives should be spared : he did, however, undoubtedly by this act give colour to the accusations of blood-thirstiness which his detractors were not slow to make.'

Of the conduct of the native servants during the siege Lord Roberts speaks in the highest terms. His own attendants, he tells us, served him admirably. 'The *khidmatgar* (table attendant)

never failed to bring me my food under the hottest fire, and the *saices* (grooms) were always present with the horses whenever they were required, apparently quite indifferent to the risks they often ran.' Other officers had the same experience. The followers of the European regiments were animated by a similar spirit. As a rule they 'behaved in the most praiseworthy manner,' and were 'faithful and brave to a degree.' Their conduct won the admiration of all ranks. So much was this the case that afterwards, when the 9th Lancers were called upon to name the man who, in their opinion, was most worthy of the Victoria Cross, which Sir Colin Campbell purposed to confer upon the regiment, to mark his appreciation of the gallantry which all ranks had displayed, they unanimously chose the head water-carrier.

As to the behaviour of the troops engaged in the siege, Lord Roberts says, it was 'beyond all praise, their constancy was unwearied, their gallantry most conspicuous; in thirty-two different fights they were victorious over long odds, being often exposed to an enemy ten times their number, who, moreover, had the advantage of ground and Artillery; they fought and worked as if each one felt that on his individual exertions alone depended the issues of the day; they willingly, nay, cheerfully endured such trials as few armies have ever been exposed to for so long a time.'

'They beheld their enemies reinforced while their own numbers rapidly decreased. Yet they never lost heart, and at last, when it became evident that no hope of further reinforcements could be entertained, and that if Delhi were to be taken at all it must be taken at once; they advanced to the assault with as high a courage and as complete a confidence in the result, as if they were attacking in the first flush and exultation of troops at the commencement of a campaign, instead of being the remnant of a force worn out by twelve long weeks of privation and suffering, by hope deferred (which truly "maketh the heart sick,") and by weary waiting for the help which never came. Batteries were thrown up within easy range of the walls, than which a more heroic piece of work was never performed; and finally, these gallant few, of whom England should in very truth be everlastingly proud, stormed in the face of day a strong fortress defended by 30,000 desperate men, provided with every necessary to defy assault.'

Immediately after the fall of Delhi Roberts joined the column formed for the relief of Cawnpore, under the command of

Greathed. As the column marched out of the city at day-break on the morning of the 24th September the funeral of Nicholson was taking place, but to his regret Roberts was unable to join it. After a sharp engagement at Bulanshahr, and after losing Home, the hero of the Kashmir gate, who was killed while superintending the blowing up of the Malagash Fort, the column reached Agra early on the morning of the 10th October.

Here, according to all the rules of the game of war, it ought to have met with a very serious reverse. Trusting to the information of the civil and military heads at Agra, and neglecting to reconoitre the surrounding country, it was thought unnecessary to post the usual piquets until evening. The camp was marked out, and as the tents could not arrive for some hours, Roberts received permission along with Norman, Watson and a few others to breakfast in the fort. They had scarcely sat down when they were startled by the report of a gun, then another and another, and were immediately informed by their host who had gone to a point from which he could get a view of the surrounding country, that an action was taking place. Hurrying down stairs they jumped upon their horses and galloped in the direction of the firing. Before they had got half-way to the camp they were met by an enormous crowd, consisting of men, women, and children, animals and baggage all mixed up in inextricable confusion, and rushing back to the fort and city, struggling and yelling as if pursued by demons. By dint of blows, threats, and shouts Roberts and his companions managed to force their way through, and on reaching the scene of action they came upon a strange sight. 'Independent fights were going on all over the parade ground. Here, a couple of cavalry soldiers were charging each other. There, the game of bayonet *versus* sword was being carried on in real earnest.' Further on, a party of the enemy's cavalry was attacking one of Blount's guns. Just in front the 75th Foot, many of the men in their shirt sleeves, were forming squares, and to the left of them Remington's troop of Horse Artillery and Bouchier's battery had opened fire without waiting to put on their accoutrements,

and while the horses were being hastily harnessed by the native drivers and grooms. Watson galloped off to take command of the Punjab Cavalry. Roberts and Norman rode in different directions in search of the Brigadier. While thus employed the former was stopped by a *sirdar*,

‘Who danced about in front of me, waving his *pagri* before the eyes of my horse with one hand, and brandishing his sword with the other. I could not get the frightened animal near enough to use my sword, and my pistol (a Deane and Adams revolver), with which I tried to shoot my opponent, refused to go off, so I felt myself pretty well at his mercy, when, to my relief, I saw him fall, having been run through the body by a man of the 9th Lancers who had come to my rescue.’

After a fierce struggle the rebels were beaten off, our men formed themselves up and were soon off in hot pursuit. For three days the column rested at Agra, and reached Mainpuri on the 15th October. While on its way there it was overtaken by Hope Grant, who superseded Greathed. Cawnpore was reached on the 26th, when for the first time Roberts heard the story of the terrible tragedy that had been enacted there.

Just before the Delhi column reached Cawnpore four companies of the 93rd Highlanders had arrived. ‘It was the first time I had seen a Highland regiment, and I was duly impressed with their fine physique, and not a little also by their fine dress. They certainly looked splendid in their bonnets and kilts—a striking contrast to my war-worn, travel-stained comrades of the movable column.’ An *avant courier* of the naval brigade had also come in. Other troops were being rapidly pushed up, and officers on leave to England were daily arriving. Some men had also come in who had fought their way from Allahabad with Havelock’s force, from whom they learned the difficulties they had encountered on their way, and the hardships the gallant little force had subsequently to endure in its attempts to reach Lucknow. The day after the movable column reached Cawnpore they heard that Sir Colin Campbell was to leave Calcutta that evening to take command of the force with which he hoped to effect the relief of Lucknow, and with the news came an order to Hope Grant to open up communication with the Alambagh, a small garden-house outside Lucknow, which had been turned into a hospital and

depot and left in charge of a small detachment, when Outram and Havelock advanced towards the Residency on the 25th September. Accordingly the Delhi column left Cawnpore on the 30th October, and crossed the Ganges into Oudh. On the following day, when more than half way to the Alambagh, a telegram was received from Sir Colin ordering the column to halt until he should arrive, and on the 9th November he arrived, accompanied by the Chief of the Staff, Brigadier-General Mansfield. Next morning came Kavanagh, the brave Irishman, who, disguised as a native, had passed the enemy's lines and brought a dispatch from Outram, suggesting the best line for the advance to be made. That day and the following were spent in making preparations, and on the evening of the latter orders were issued for a march to the Alambagh next morning. On the 13th Roberts got his first command. He was accompanying the Commander-in-Chief in a reconnaissance towards Charbagh bridge and the left front of the Alambagh.

'When riding along he told me, to my infinite pride and delight, that I was to have the honour of conducting the force to the Dilkusha. The first thing I did on returning to camp was to find a good guide. We had only about five miles to go; but it was necessary to make sure that the direction taken avoided obstacles which might impede the passage of Artillery. I was fortunate in finding a fairly intelligent native, who, after a great deal of persuasion, agreed, for a reward, to take me by a track over which guns could travel. I never let this man out of my sight, and made him show me enough of the road to convince me he knew the way and meant fair dealing.'

By noon on the 14th, Roberts, after a sharp fight, had got possession of the Dilkusha. The Martinière, a neighbouring house, was also occupied. Here a curious incident occurred. A blind shell from the enemy's howitzer came into Watson's squadron, which was drawn up under a bank, struck a trooper's saddle in front, and actually appears to have lifted the man partly out of it, for it passed between his thighs and the horse, tearing the saddle, a native one made of felt without a tree, to shreds, and sending one piece high in the air. The horse was knocked down, but not hurt; the man's thigh was only badly bruised, and he was able to ride again in a few days. 'One of Watson's officers, Captain Cosserat, having

examined the man and horse, came up and reported their condition to Watson, who, of course, was expecting to be told they were both dead, and added : " I think we had better not tell this story in England, for no one would believe it." I myself,' adds Lord Roberts, ' was close to the squadron, and distinctly saw what happened.'

On the evening of the 15th Roberts was unexpectedly sent for by the Commander-in-Chief. Sir Colin was not satisfied that the reserve of small-arm ammunition with the force was sufficient and was anxious that an additional supply should be procured during the night from the Alambagh. When asked whether he could find his way back to the Alambagh in the dark, Roberts at once replied ' I am sure I can.' The duty was difficult and dangerous but Roberts at once set off with an escort, and after a night of adventure returned with the required ammunition just after dawn.

' As I rode up to the Martinière I could see old Sir Colin, only partially dressed, standing on the steps in evident anxiety at my non-arrival. He was delighted when at last I appeared, expressed himself very pleased to see me, and having made many kind and complimentary remarks as to the success of the little expedition, he told me to go off and get something to eat as quickly as possible, for we were to start directly the men had breakfasted. That was a very happy moment for me, feeling that I had earned my Chief's approbation and justified his selection of me. I went off to the Artillery camp, and refreshed the inner man with a steak cut off a gun bullock which had been killed by a round shot on the 14th.'

The advance began at 8 a.m. Roberts was ordered to join the advance guard, behind which rode Sir Colin accompanied by Kavanagh, whose knowledge of the locality proved of great service. For a time our troops were allowed to proceed unmolested, but after passing through the narrow street of a small village, they were suddenly met with a fierce fire poured directly upon them from the Sikandarbagh. Confusion followed and for a time there was a complete block. At length the way was cleared; Hope's brigade came up to the assistance of the advance guard; in half an hour an opening, three feet square and three feet from the ground, was made in the wall of the Sikandarbagh, and the order was then given for the assault:—

‘ It was a magnificent sight, a sight never to be forgotten—that glorious struggle to be the first to enter the deadly breach, the prize to the winner of the race being certain death! Highlanders and Sikhs, Punjabi Mahomedans, Dogras and Pathans, all vied with each other in the generous competition. A Highlander was the first to reach the goal, and was shot dead as he jumped into the enclosure ; a man of the 4th Punjab Infantry came next, and met the same fate. Then followed Lieutenant Cooper, of the 93rd, and immediately behind him his Colonel (Ewart), Captain Lumsden, of the 30th Bengal Infantry, and a number of Sikhs and Highlanders as fast as they could scramble through the opening. A drummer-boy of the 93rd must have been one of the first to pass that grim boundary line between life and death, for when I got in I found him just inside the breach, lying on his back quite dead—a pretty, innocent-looking, fair-haired lad, not more than fourteen years of age.’

As the heavy doors of the gateway behind the earthwork were in the act of being closed, a Mahomedan, Mukarrab Khan by name, thrust his left arm in between them, thus preventing them from being shut.

‘ On his hand being badly wounded by a sword cut, he drew it out, instantly thrusting in the other arm, when the right hand was all but severed from the wrist. But he gained his object—the doors could not be closed, and were soon forced open altogether, upon which the 4th Punjab Infantry, the 53rd, 93rd, and some of the Detachments swarmed in.’

Roberts entered immediately after the storming party, and remarks that the scene that followed ‘requires the pen of a Zola to depict it.’ The Sikandarbagh taken, the fighting proceeded. Every wall, and square, and building, and inch of ground, was fiercely contested, but point after point was taken, until darkness set in, and the men had to rest where they were. Next morning the fighting was resumed. Outram and Have-lock cautiously worked their way out from the Residency till they met Sir Colin, and by sunset on the 19th, all the women and children, the sick and the wounded who still survived, had been brought away and collected in the Sikandarbagh. ‘It was a sad little assemblage ; all were more or less broken down and out of health, while many were widows or orphans, having left their nearest and dearest in the Residency burial-ground. Officers and men accorded them a respectful welcome, and by their efforts to help them showed how deeply they felt for their forlorn condition, while our old Chief had a comfort-

able tea prepared for them.' The troops were not withdrawn from the Residency until midnight on the 22nd, and Roberts had several opportunities of going over the position and renewing his acquaintance with those of the garrison he had known before.

During the operations which immediately followed, Roberts accompanied the headquarters staff. On the return march to Cawnpore, great anxiety was felt as to what had happened there, and he was sent forward to ascertain the exact state of affairs. His orders were to return at once if he found the bridge broken, but if not, to push on, try and see the General, and bring back all the information he could obtain. Taking a couple of *sowars* with him, he found the bridge still intact, and crossing over, got into the entrenchments. He was about to start back, when a cheer announced the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief himself, who, having grown impatient, had pushed on immediately after him, accompanied by General Mansfield and some other staff-officers. The fight at Cawnpore was watched by Roberts as one of the Commander-in-Chief's staff.

The Gwalior troops disposed of, the army marched towards Fatehgarh, and on the way Roberts won the Victoria Cross. The rebels were found occupying the village of Khudaganj in strong force. As our troops neared the village, they hastily limbered up their guns and retired. Such an opportunity for mounted troops does not often occur, and it was instantly seized. Hope Grant rode up to the cavalry, drawn up behind some sandhills, gave the word of command, and they were off at once.

'The chase continued for nearly five miles, until daylight began to fail, and we appeared to have got to the end of the fugitives, when the order was given to wheel to the right and form up on the road. Before, however, this movement could be carried out, we overtook a batch of mutineers, who faced about and fired into the squadron at close quarters. I saw Youngusband fall, but I could not go to his assistance, as at that moment one of his *sowars* was in dire peril from a sepoy, who was attacking him with his fixed bayonet, and had I not helped the man and disposed of his opponent, he must have been killed. The next moment I descried in the distance two sepoy making off with a standard, which I

determined must be captured, so I rode after the rebels and overtook them, and while wrenching the staff out of the hands of one of them, whom I cut down, the other put his musket close to my body and fired; fortunately for me it missed fire, and I carried off the standard.'

When it was at last decided to reduce Lucknow, Roberts returned thither with Hope Grant, as his D.A.Q.M.G. On the march Watson and he had a curious experience. They were out some miles from camp in pursuit of a *nilghai*, when all at once they beheld moving towards them from their right front a body of the enemy's cavalry. They pulled up and trotted back, at first very quietly, that their horses, which were already dead beat, might recover their wind. Every now and then they looked back to see whether their pursuers were gaining upon them, and at last distinctly saw them open out and make as if to charge down upon them. They gave themselves up for lost, and bade each other good-bye, agreeing that neither must wait for the other, when lo! the horsemen suddenly vanished, as if the ground had opened and swallowed them; there was nothing to be seen but the open plain, where a second before there had been a crowd of mounted men. Their phantom enemy taught them a salutary lesson, and they resolved not to allow themselves to be tempted so far from the camp without an escort again.

Lucknow was reached on the 2nd March, and within little more than three weeks it was in complete possession of the British troops. Its reduction had been effected with remarkably slight loss on our side. This result Lord Roberts attributes chiefly to the scientific manner in which the siege operations had been carried out under the direction of Robert Napier, the Chief Engineer, and also to the good use made by Sir Colin Campbell of his powerful force of artillery. He finds fault, however, with the latter for refusing to allow Outram to cross the iron bridge on the 13th, a movement, in his opinion, would have cut off the enemy's retreat, and made Frank's victory more complete.

With the fall of Lucknow, Lord Roberts' object of the suppression of the Mutiny ceased. The day after he set out on his taking a trip to England, and the two

follow in his autobiography are taken up with a discussion of the causes which led to the Mutiny, and the question, Is there any chance of a similar rising occurring again? The two points are discussed in great detail; but for the opinions held by Lord Roberts, we must refer the reader to the chapters themselves.

At the end of July, 1859, Lord Roberts was back in India, and was appointed to organise and take charge of the large camp to be formed for Lord Canning's triumphal progress through Oudh, the North-West Province, and the Punjab. His wish to be sent to China was disappointed. His wife—for while at home he had married—shared his disappointment.

Roberts took part in the Umbeyla Expedition, and served as Assistant-Quartermaster-General of the Bengal Brigade with the Abyssinian Force. All through the latter he remained at Zula as Senior Staff Officer, but when the war was ended he was sent home with the General's dispatches. He returned to India to take up the appointment of First Assistant-Quartermaster-General, and in 1871 accompanied the Lushai Expedition as Senior Staff Officer, when he gained his C.B., 'although at the time,' he says, 'a brevet would have been a more useful reward, as want of rank was the reason Lord Napier had given for not allowing me to act as Quartermaster-General, on Lumsden being temporarily appointed Resident at Hyderabad.' The post came to him, however, in 1874, when Johnson, was made Adjutant-General. Want of rank was still in the way, but it was easily got over.

In April 1876 Roberts was at Bombay seeing Lord Napier off, and while there the *Orontes* steamed into the harbour with Lord Lytton on board.

'Little did I imagine when making Lord Lytton's acquaintance how much he would have to say to my future career. His Excellency received me very kindly, telling me he felt that I was not altogether a stranger, as he had been reading during the voyage a paper I had written for Lord Napier, a year or two before, on our military position in India, and the arrangements that would be necessary in the event of Russia attempting to continue her advance south of the Oxus. Lord Napier had sent a copy of this memorandum to Lord Beaconsfield, by whom it had been given to Lord Lytton.'

Like many others, Lord Roberts approves of the policy adopted by Lord Lytton towards Afghanistan, though it was adversely criticised at the time, and, in order to justify it, narrates with considerable detail the progress made by Russia in Asia from the time of the Crimean war, as well as the history of our own relations with Afghanistan. When the second Afghan war was decided upon, he was given the command of the Kuram Field Force. 'It was a proud, albeit a most anxious, moment for me,' he says, 'when I assumed command of the Kuram Field Force; though a local Major-General, I was only Major in my regiment, and save for a short experience on one occasion in Lushai, I had never had an opportunity of commanding troops in the field.' His earnest longing for success made him intensely interested in ascertaining the character of those who were to be associated with him, and he lost no time in taking stock of both the officers and men under him, and in endeavouring to satisfy himself as to their qualifications and fitness for their several posts. The force was assembled at Kohat, but much needed to be done before the column was ready to advance. By the 15th November all the troops were concentrated at Thal, and on the morning of the 21st the advance began. The Afghans were found posted on the Peiwar Kotal, 18,000 strong, with eleven guns. The position was much more formidable than Roberts expected. It was

'On the summit of a mountain, rising 2,000 feet above us, and only approachable by a narrow, steep, and rugged path, flanked on either side by precipitous spurs jutting out like huge bastions, from which an overwhelming fire could be brought to bear on the assailants. . . . I confess to a feeling very nearly akin to despair when I gazed at the apparently impregnable position towering above us, occupied, as I could discern through my telescope, by crowds of soldiers and a large number of guns.'

Fortunately a route was discovered over the Spingawi, by which it was hoped the enemy's left might be turned. Until this was thoroughly ascertained everybody was made to believe that an attack was to be delivered in front. Major Collet, who had discovered the route, at last reported it practical, and the flank movement began at 10 p.m. on Sunday, the 1st December. The position was severely contested, but

by sunset on the following day the Afghans were in full retreat, having left their guns, with quantities of ammunition and stores behind them in their hurry to escape. The engagement was not without its critical moments. There was treachery among the Pathan companies of the 29th Punjab Infantry. During the midnight march first one shot was fired from one of them as a signal, and then another. Later on, when owing to the darkness our troops had lost their way, things were still more critical and served to bring out the strong feelings of personal attachment to himself which Roberts had awakened in his native orderlies.

‘ My orderlies during this little episode displayed such touching devotion that it is with feelings of the most profound admiration and gratitude I call to mind their self-sacrificing courage. On this (as on many other occasions) they kept close round me, determined that no shot should reach me if they could prevent it ; and on my being hit in the hand by a spent bullet, and turning to look round in the direction it came from, I beheld one of the Sikhs standing with his arms stretched out trying to screen me from the enemy, which he could easily do, for he was a grand specimen of a man, a head and shoulders taller than myself. To my great relief, on my return to the edge of the hollow, Adams met me with the good tidings that he had found not only the lost troops, but the Native Infantry of the rear portion of the column, and had ascertained that the elephants with the guns were close at hand.’

Having taken possession of the Shutargardan, little more resistance was met with, and Roberts set himself to explore and settle the country round about, as far as he was able. Soon after the Gandamak treaty was signed and he left Kuram for Simla to join the Army Commission. He had not been engaged on this long when the news arrived of the massacre of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his escort at Kabul, and he was at once ordered to proceed to Kuram and resume his command. As a preliminary measure, General Massey, who had been left in temporary command, was directed to entrench himself at the Shutargardan. General Roberts arrived in Kuram on the 12th September, and on 28th had his first interview with the Yakub Khan, who, on the death of Shere Ali, had been set up as Amir. The impression he produced upon General Roberts was not favourable.

‘He was an insignificant looking man, about thirty-two years of age, with a receding forehead, a conical-shaped head, and no chin to speak of, and he gave me the idea of being entirely wanting in that force of character without which no one could hope to govern or hold in check the warlike and turbulent people of Afghanistan. He was possessed, moreover, of a very shifty eye, he could not look one straight in the face, and from the first I felt that his appearance tallied exactly with the double-dealing that had been imputed to him.’

The object of his visit was, if possible, to delay the advance on Kabul, with which place he remained in constant communication, and seems to have kept the leaders there accurately informed as to the strength and movements of General Roberts’ command. ‘That he felt pretty sure of our discomfiture was apparent from his change of manner, which, from being at first a mixture of extreme civility and cringing servility, became, as we neared Kabul, distant and haughty.’ During the stirring fight at Charasia, on the 6th October

‘My friend (!) the Amir, surrounded by his Sirdars, remained seated on a knoll in the centre of the camp watching the progress of the fight with intense eagerness, and questioning every one who appeared as to his interpretation of what he had observed. So soon as I felt absolutely assured of our victory, I sent an aide-de-camp to His Highness to convey the joyful intelligence of our success. It was, without doubt, a trying moment for him, and a terrible disappointment after the plans which I subsequently ascertained he and his adherents at Kabul had carefully laid for our annihilation. But he received the news with Asiatic calmness and without the smallest sign of mortification, merely requesting my aide-de-camp to assure me that, as my enemies were his enemies, he rejoiced at my victory.’

The victory at Charasia, in which, as in all other battles of the campaign, feats of individual bravery were done, opened the way to Kabul. Attempts were made to intercept the flight of the enemy, but without success. The Afghans drew off under cover of night and left their camp standing. Kabul was found completely Russianized :—

‘The Afghan Sirdars and officers were arrayed in Russian pattern uniforms, Russian money was found in the Treasury, Russian wares were sold in the bazaars, and although the roads leading to Central Asia were certainly no better than those leading to India, Russia had taken more advantage of them than we had to carry on commercial dealings with Afghanistan.’

Kabul taken and the Afghans dispersed, no apprehension seems to have been entertained of any further organised resistance to our occupation of the country, but early in December symptoms of discontent appeared. The mullas composed their private quarrels, and a movement began which soon assumed the aspect of a religious war. On the 9th the tribesmen had gathered in from all quarters in overwhelming numbers. For some time the British General was hard pressed, and, after a three days' fight against enormous odds, was forced to retire to his cantonments at Sherpur, two miles north of the city where with seven thousand men he had to defend a position nearly five miles long, two of which were unprotected, except by a shallow trench hastily constructed. Fortunately it was not until the morning of the 23rd that any serious attempt was made by the enemy to assault the place. The intervening days were occupied in strengthening the entrenchments, and mounting the heavy guns which had been found in the Kabul arsenal. The assault began just before daylight on the morning of the 22nd, and was delivered with great determination. Again and again the ladders were placed against the south-eastern wall, but the defence was entirely successful; and by one o'clock in the afternoon the enemy, who are said to have mustered as many as 100,000 fighting men, were in full flight. The arrival of General Gough's force on the following day put an end to all anxiety.

General Roberts' subsequent march to the relief of Kandahar is usually regarded as his greatest performance, and has been declared by no less an authority than Von Moltke, 'the greatest feat in British military history since Waterloo.' General Roberts does not share this opinion. To his mind the advance on Kabul was 'in every particular more difficult, more dangerous, and placed upon me as the Commander infinitely more responsibility.' He attributes the greater amount of interest displayed in the march to Kandahar and the greater amount of credit given to him for that undertaking to 'the glamour of romance thrown around an army of 10,000 men lost to view, as it were, for nearly a month, about the fate of which uninformed speculation was

rife, and pessimistic rumours were spread, until the tension became extreme, and the corresponding relief proportionably great when that army re-appeared to dispose at once of Ayub and his hitherto victorious troops.'

When the affairs of Afghanistan were settled, General Roberts returned to England, where he was 'fêted and feasted to an alarming extent,' and did not return to India until the end of 1881.

'Six weeks of these precious months,' he says, 'were spent in a wild-goose chase to the Cape of Good Hope and back, upon my being nominated, by Mr. Gladstone's Government, Governor of Natal and Commander of the Forces in South Africa, on the death of Sir George Colley, and the receipt of the news of the disaster of Majuba Hill.

'While I was on my way out to take up my command, peace was made with the Boers in the most marvellously rapid and unexpected manner. A peace, alas! "without honour," to which may be attributed the recent regrettable state of affairs in the Transvaal—a state of affairs which was foreseen and predicted by many at the time. My stay at Cape Town was limited to twenty-four hours, the Government being apparently as anxious to get me away from Africa as they had been to hurry me out there.'

While in England the appointment of Quartermaster-General at the Horse Guards was offered to him; but having already made his arrangements, he returned to India to take up his appointment there as Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. Two years later he succeeded Sir Donald Stewart as Commander-in-Chief in India, and held that responsible post eight years, during which he devoted himself to the task of rendering the army he commanded as perfect a fighting body as possible, and of improving the condition of the private soldier, whether British or native.

His splendid career of forty-one years in India came to a close in 1893, when he left the country carrying with him the esteem and affection of all who had served under him. While his own name will continue to be associated with wise administrative reforms and the brilliant successes he achieved as a General, that of Lady Roberts will be associated with the admirable work she initiated and directed in connection with the Army Nursing Service and the Homes in the Hills.

ART. IV.—MODERN GREEK FOLK-LORE.

New Folklore Researches—Greek Folk Poesy: annotated Translations from the whole Cycle of Romaic Folk-Verse and Folk-Prose. By LUCY M. J. GARNETT. Edited with Essays on the Science of Folklore, Greek Folkspeech, and the Survival of Paganism, by J. S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A. Two volumes. London: 1896.

THE folk-lore of Greece has hitherto received little attention in this country. To say that the English works dealing specially with the subject can be counted on the fingers of one hand, is probably to make too large an estimate of their number. Miss Garnett and Mr. Stuart-Glennie can therefore claim the credit of introducing a subject absolutely new to the majority of readers in a work which deals not only with the popular poetry of Greece, which is fairly well known in this country, but also with its less familiar prose tales and legends.

In considering these two volumes, it is somewhat difficult to know where to begin. Mr. Stuart-Glennie has chosen to make the present work subsidiary to a larger purpose, with the result that the main body of the book is guarded by a formidable array of prefaces, introductions, and excursus, in which he sets forth his own views on a variety of subjects, and not unfrequently combats those of other authorities. Folk-lore is a difficult subject in itself, and opens up a variety of interesting questions. To begin with, our author takes objection to the Folk-lore Society's definition of the subject as 'a body of survivals of archaic beliefs, customs, and traditions in modern ages,' and prefers to describe it as 'Folk's lore—the traditionally transmitted, rather than graphically recorded, lore of the folk about their own folk-life, and the lore, therefore, knowledge of which gives knowledge of Folk-life' (Vol. I., p. 17).

To understand the importance of this definition, we must bear in mind the main purpose to which these *New Folklore Researches* are subservient. Mr. Stuart-Glennie is endeavouring to formulate a new philosophy of history, and claims to have discovered the essen-

tial condition of the origin of civilized society and philosophic thought, in the conflict between races of higher and lower capacities for civilization, or between culturally lower and superior classes in the same society, an idea first suggested to him by the pagan tone of the songs of Epirus, a translation of which formed the germ of the present work. Just as the paganism of Hellas has retained its hold on the popular mind in spite of the influences of religion and culture, so, he considers, in every society the lower or subject strata have had and have their lore embodied in beliefs, practices, and traditions unrecognised or discountenanced by the dominant classes, pursuing, as it were, an underground but tenacious existence, and at times asserting itself as a vivifying influence in the intellectual life of the higher circles.

‘The greater epochs of world-literature will be found to have been determined by the greater energy and intensity at these epochs of the more or less constant interactions of folk-lore and culture-lore. The reason of this may hereafter be seen in the very constitution of Civilized Societies, and traced to the essential condition of their origin—the conflict of the colonists of a higher white race with the *πολὸ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων*, “the great multitude” of lower coloured and black races, by whom, living *ἀτάκτως καὶ ὡσπερ τὰ θηρία*, “lawlessly and like wild beasts,” we now know that the Chaldean and Egyptian cradlelands of civilization were already, before the settlement of these White Colonists, peopled. Conflicts of Classes have succeeded Conflicts of Races. And the fact that Folk-lore forms so considerable an element of the later sacred Books, and, at regularly recurring epochs, surges up so prominently in Secular Literatures, will be found in general to indicate nothing less than a more or less revolutionary uprising into political power of ethnically or culturally lower Races or Classes’ (Vol. I., p. xvi).

The thought here expressed is not altogether new to students of folk-lore. Von Hahn, the pioneer of Greek folk-lore research, expresses the view that many figures of the popular creed failed to find admittance to the circle of authorised divinities celebrated by priests and poets, but retained their place in the popular mind, and found a haven among women and children, where they were perpetuated in the form of *märchen*, long after the authorised divinities were swept away; and, he concludes, ‘the days when their flow ceases may well become poor in true poets and

artists.* Be this as it may, Mr. Stuart-Glennie has worked out the idea more fully, and insisted more forcibly on it than any other writer. He claims that his theory disproves the view which regards mythical tales as explicable only as 'relics of the phases where through nations have passed from the depths of savagery'—this 'passage being postulated as necessary evolution, and wholly unexplained as a natural process,' and also that it accounts for the difference between spontaneous Folk-myths and the more designed Culture-myths. Incidentally he finds confirmation of his views in the results of recent Assyrian and Egyptian research, which tend to locate the cradle of civilization there rather than in India—results familiar to readers of this *Review*. In a long note on the ethnology of the white races, he suggests the term Hyphenetian or Bearded to denote the civilizing white races. That there are difficulties in his theory is obvious. It barely does more than bring us one step nearer to the origins of civilization. And the hypothesis of races with superior capacities for culture labours under the same initial difficulties as those of 'a necessary evolution from the depths of savagery,' and the 'mythopoeic fancy' which he denounces. What were these races before their capacities began to be realized? Were they savages? Were all their members equally capable? Did they retain no reminiscences of their former state, and their passage (if any) from savagery? These and many more questions might be asked. To return to the question of folk-lore, Mr. Stuart-Glennie inclines to regard folk-lore similarities as the tide-mark left by these races in their migrations, and sets forth the effect of their conflicts on the origin of at least a great part of folk-lore.

'Men, from the time of our earliest geological knowledge of them, were already of different races; not in conflict with each other as yet, because there was more than room enough for all, but in conflict with gigantic Animals, of the impressions made by whom one Race at least has bequeathed us proofs in its wonderful engravings. In a later Age, Human Races, now in conflict with each other, were, the Higher of them, possessed not only of polished, while the Lower had but the rudest Stone Weapons; but possessed of what the Lower knew nothing of, the secret of giving

* *Griechische u. albanesische Märchen*, I., p. 25.

birth to, controlling, and making a slave of the divine element, Fire; and possessed also of as willing as powerful, as attached as helpful Servitors in Animals, which to the Lower Races were still fear-inspiring Foes;* and between these Higher and Lower Races, thus differing not ethnically only, but culturally, there would appear to have been often the physical difference of relatively gigantic and dwarfish stature. . . .

‘ . . . The impressions made by such historical facts as the above on minds gifted with imagination and capable of articulate expression, would be certainly recorded in some such Myths and Stories. . . . as we do actually find, in variants innumerable, both in Folk-lore and in Culture-lore—in *some* such Fairy Tales as those of Dragons, of Fire-theft, and Fire-bringing, of Helpful Beasts, of Giants and Dwarfs, sometimes the one and sometimes the other magically gifted, and of Cannibal and other Savage customs. . . . No doubt what I have termed the “floriated” of these archæ-historic (rather than “pre-historic”) Tales contain elements which demand further explanation. But such explanations can be given only as result of the solution of the larger problem of the origin of Mythical Beings’ (Vol. I., pp. 35, 36).

It may be asked what is the folk-view of the world? Mr. Stuart-Glennie combats the theory of Animism at considerable length, and in its place advances one to which he gives the names of Zoonism—‘The conception of the Objects of Nature as sentient Powers influencing and being influenced, according to their diverse capacities, at any distance, and even to the extent of transforming or being transformed’ (Vol. II., p. 479). In an appendix to his essay on the Survival of Paganism, he gives a classified list of passages from the present collection which illustrate the various workings of this view of the world. It is unfortunate that want of space has prevented him from working out his thesis in full, and tracing the passage from the primitive zoonist view of the universe, through the dualistic views of culture religions, to the modern hypothesis of the unity of nature which finds a national basis for the intuition of primi-

* Yet Mr. Stuart-Glennie remarks in another connection, ‘Fear is by no means the natural emotion of Man amid the powers of Nature,’ and in a note, ‘Very significant is, I think, in this relation, that wonderful contemporary engraving of Palæolithic Man, not only standing up, in his nakedness, to the Mammoth, but attacking him with such a dart as our bravest hunter now would not trust to as his sole weapon’ (Vol. II., pp. 514, 515).

tive man. While heartily accepting much that Mr. Stuart-Glennie has to say on this subject, we cannot help feeling that his sense of proprietorship in his theory has made him overshoot the mark, and take a one-sided view of the real facts of the case. In the ballad of Kostas Boukovalas (I., p. 308), one of the characters exclaims, 'Take heart my warriors, and show that ye are men and Christians,' on which the editor's note runs:—

'The term Christian is, among the Greeks, popularly applied only to members of the Orthodox, or Greek, Church, and other Europeans are called, not Christians, but Franks. An old hermit of Mount Athos, whom I visited in his cave, was unable to believe that, as an *Anglos*, I could be a Christian; and to please the poor old maniac, I performed the Orthodox rite of kissing an Icon of the Panaghía. The true equivalent therefore of the *χριστιανοί* of the text would, therefore be "Greeks" rather than "Christians."

But, even admitting all this, the influence of Christianity is one of the commonplaces of later Greek history. In captive Hellas, above all, their religion was the common bond of the people, the Oecumenical Patriarch was regarded as their real head, and their patriotism was sustained by their faith. Mr. Stuart-Glennie talks somewhere of 'Christianism' with its body of rites and doctrines in contra-distinction to the real beliefs of the people: but Christianity is something more. Its founders insisted on nothing so strongly as the fact that it was not what our author would call a culture belief,* but something deeper, a spirit and a life. Precisely because it is this, and not a mere veneer upon paganism, it has been the rallying point of Hellenic independence. The Cretan who, summoned to embrace Islam, replied 'No! I will not turn Turk,'† surely knew his own mind. He knew that the struggle to the death in which he was engaged was not between Turk and Pagan, but between Islam and Christianity. Besides, the mere fact of the survival of paganism is no measure of its importance as a factor in human thought. To take an example nearer home, the Christianity of Scotland is generally regarded as enlightened, if not advanced, the piety of

* Luke vii. 22 *fin.*; 1 Cor. i. 26.

† Τουρκάεις ἢ θχι; "Οχι δὲν Τουρκέω.—Pashley's *Travels in Crete*, I., p. 103, n.

her inhabitants as genuine, yet what a contrast between the 'Cottar's Saturday Night,' and 'Tam o' Shanter' or 'Hallow E'en,' or worse still, orthodox fathers and brethren sitting in Presbytery trying and sentencing witches. To decide what may be men's real belief, in instances such as this, it is necessary to consider both sides of the case, and what is more, to beware of drawing hard and fast lines in this or any other subject which deals with human nature. All men are not professional logicians, nor do they consciously employ the principle of non-contradiction. The human mind has a surprising receptivity for beliefs which are really incompatible, so that we may have the phenomenon of a man expressing himself now one way and now another, yet which is his real thought is not to be lightly decided.

Mr. Glennie concludes his first volume with an excursus on Greek folk-speech, in the course of which he traces the development of the Greek language from early times to the present day, touches on some peculiarities and difficulties presented by the text of his originals, and finally is betrayed, whether by a fatal propensity for controversy of which he elsewhere manifests symptoms, or by enthusiasm for his conflict theory, into entering on the thorny subject of the future development of Greek. As the initiated know, the Hellenic literary world is divided into two opposing camps over the 'language question.' One party bases its diction on ancient Greek, although with many concessions to present speech, thus aiming at a modernised Attic. The other would find its standard in the vulgar tongue, in fact in the language of the klephtic ballads. It may be imagined that the materials are thus to hand for an extremely animated controversy, which is not abated by the fact that both parties are seeking very much the same end, though by widely different ways. To Mr. Stuart-Glennie, these things are a parable. He draws attention to the different courses of development pursued by Latin and Greek. The Western Empire was the earlier invaded and broken up. The way was consequently opened for Latin, the cultured and official medium, becoming influenced by popular modifications, and branching out into the Romance languages. In the Eastern Empire, where Greek asserted itself against Latin as

the popular and official language—witness the Greek versions of Justinian's laws—the central power maintained itself some thousand years longer than in the West, with the result that Greek was a living tongue some five centuries after the Latin had ceased to exist as such, and further, the conservative tendency of government, church, and literature was so powerful, that when in the fifteenth century, Constantinople finally ceased to be the centre of Hellenic life, there was no breaking up of Greek into anything like Hellenic counterparts of the Romance languages, but a regular development, which simply carried on changes that had previously made their appearance. Mr. Stuart-Glennie thus claims to have made out an historical case for the popular party in the controversy to which we have referred. We have no desire whatever to enter on it ourselves: but we must say that Mr. Stuart-Glennie's reading of history seems somewhat *ex parte*. In accordance with his theory of history, he finds five Half-Millennian periods, in the development of Greek—(1) the Classical or Attic, (2) Hellenistic, (3) Byzantine, (4) Romaic, (5) Neo-Hellenic or Modern. The fourth of these he dates from 1000 to 1500 A.D., and describes as—

'Memorable in the history of Greek speech as a period of such definite further approach of the *Kouvé* or Hellenic to the Neo-Hellenic, or modern Greek of the next period, that if the previous period is linguistically distinguished as Byzantine, this must be distinguished as Romaic; for the two main results of the study of the Greek authors of the period are these: (1) their language differs from one century to the next, and also presents a continuous development; and (2) before them, or before the tenth century at earliest, the language never appears as it is found in their works' (Vol. I., p. 432).

To these we may add a third result equally important. The twelfth century, which falls within our author's period, is distinguished in the history of Byzantine literature by the Attic Renaissance, represented by historians like Anna Komnêna, Niketas Akominatos, and others, by Michael Psellos, by scholars such as Tzetzes and Eustathios, the editor of Homer and Pindar, and by many more writers in all departments of literature. It is true that this Renaissance was artificial and did not survive the Turkish capture of Constantinople, and that its ultimate effect was to widen the division between the literary and

the colloquial forms of the language, and to provoke a reaction which led to the popular idiom being for the first time employed in important *literary* works : but this only brings into clearer prominence a fact which Mr. Stuart-Glennie has strangely failed to appreciate, namely, that the 'language question' is no new thing in Greek. Attic itself is a literary form of expression, as he himself admits. To go no further back than the second century B.C., we find documentary evidence that vulgar idioms existed which were different from the current literary language. The New Testament represents local and popular usages rather than the *κοινή*. All down the course of Byzantine literature we find religious works, popular chronicles, songs, proverbs, popular acclamations, which bear unmistakable witness to the existence of a colloquial and a literary language side by side. In the tenth century the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennêtos lent his weight to an attempt to employ a more natural and popular form of diction in literature ; but this was unsuccessful in face of the classical tendencies which, as we have seen, came to a height in the twelfth century, and did not die out before they had produced 'that schism in the intellectual life of the Greeks, which since the twelfth century has given it that stamp of doubleheadedness characteristic of it more almost than of any other nation's, and has introduced a dangerous element of unreality into their entire national culture.'* In the light of these facts, Mr. Stuart-Glennie's derivation of Modern Greek, as represented in popular ballads and tales, is questionable in the extreme. The language of the pieces translated in his volumes is not the direct descendant of the Greek of Thucydides and Plato, Procopios, and Chrysostom, nor even of Malalas and Theophanes, but is rather akin to the colloquial Greek, which has always existed parallel with the former. His argument in defence of the Vulgarists is quite inadmissible. Either side may find equal comfort from history. We may dismiss the argument with the common sense words of a Greek contemporary : ' We must not forget that those devoted by profession

* Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd edition, pp. 18, 790.

to such scientific questions have a weakness for theories. But theories are, as a rule, inelastic and partial, and seldom adapted for practical use. Their advocates are seldom agreeable to compromise, whereas in real life everything is arrived at by compromise or depends on it.*

To come to the main body of the book, it consists of translations from the original prose and verse, which represent all species of popular lore current in the various seats of the Greek-speaking race. So far as we have examined, Miss Garnett has done her work admirably. The verse translations reproduce the original metres, are accurate, and often spirited. The prose versions are equally faithful to the originals. Some idea of the difficulties of the translator's task may be formed from that portion of the *Essay on Greek Folk-speech*, which touches on the peculiarities of popular Greek, and also from the *Preface*, where the Editor mentions his obligations to various scholars. In undertaking such work as this, one has nothing like the aids of lexicon, grammars, and notes which smooth away the difficulties of the classical language. The translator has to elucidate dialectical peculiarities, corruptions, errors of transcription, to hunt out words painfully through a variety of glossaries, and very often to confess himself beaten in the end. Thanks to a wide knowledge of the subject, and ready aid from various authorities, Miss Garnett has overcome these difficulties, and produced a trustworthy and eminently readable English version of what must be absolutely new to the majority of readers. The tales and songs in either volume are classified under the main headings of *Mythological*, *Social*, and *Historical*, and the principal annotations are placed at the end.

There are some points which we should like to have seen more fully treated. The historical pieces offer not a few occasions for discussing the transformation of popular records into myths—in fact, for exemplifying of Mr. Stuart-Glennie's *Conflict Theory*. Then, again, there is the question of *Oriental*, and especially *Turkish*, influences on Greek folk-lore, whether they have affected its

* D. Bikélas, *Διαλέξεις*, p. 137

outer form, or have enriched it with new elements—a question which the author touches upon and no more.

We have mentioned this latter question, because it is perhaps the first that will occur to any one who gives a thought to Greek folk-lore—the very name seems to conjure up visions of the East, and raise hopes, which are fated not to be realized. We cannot do better than quote Hahn. Considering the long-standing connection between Greece and the East, in antiquity, under the Empire, and finally under the Turk, as well as her comparative isolation from Germany, he expected to find abundant traces of Oriental, especially Arabic, influences, and also remnants of ancient Greek myths in the Tales which he got collected while at Jannina.

‘Both expectations were disappointed, for by far the greater part of the tales collected, in the secluded mountain-villages of ancient Tymphæa (Zagorie) by choice, proved to be variants of Grimm’s *Household Tales*, and those subsequently collected in Eubœa, the Cyclades, and elsewhere presented the same peculiarity as the Epirote tales. Closer examination of the resemblances between the collected tales and the *Thousand and One Nights* and Hellenic god-myths led to the astounding result, that with a few exceptions, the Greek tales stand to both in exactly the same relation as do the German.’*

His comparative tables and annotations attest the truth of his conclusion. Just as he showed the relation of Greek to German, Italian, Wallachian, and other folk-lores, so Mr. Stuart-Glennie in turn shows its affinity to Celtic mythology.

At the same time Greek folk-lore has certain peculiarities of its own. Hahn remarks, among others, the absence of any allusion to dwarfs. In fact, in some passages which recall German parallels, their place seems to be taken by giants. A similar feature is found in older Greek stories, where reference to pigmies and tailed dwarfs are so rare that they seem to be importations from foreign sources, rather than native traditions of an extinct race.

In contrast to this, notable figures in Greek tales are the Drakos—a name also given to the newly-born Greekling before his baptism—and his consort the Drakaina. This is not a

* *Griechische und Albanesischen Märchen*, Vol. I., p. 27.

dragon, as his name would suggest, but a giant, and answers regularly to the northern monster. He is possessed of marvellous-strength; as in the following story, 'The Last of the Old Hellenes,' which in Hahn's parallel is told of a Drakos.

'Very long ago, in the times of the grandfathers of our grandfather, some people of our village [Khrysovitz] went to Constantinople. While there, they heard that one old woman of the race of the ancient Hellenes was still living in that city, and they went to visit her. She was very tall, taller than any man of our day, but had become blind from old age. She asked her visitors about their country, and, addressing one of them, "Give me thine hand," said she. He was afraid; so, taking up the fire-shovel he held it towards the old woman, who bent it with her fingers till it broke.

"You are pretty strong," she remarked, "but not so strong as we used to be." (Vol. II., p. 413).

They delight in cheese, like Polyphemus, but have to steal it from the shepherds' shielings, as in Mr. Geldart's story of 'The Man without a Beard.'* Frequently they are represented as the inhabitants of marvellous castles, where they sometimes hold human beings in enchanted forms. One is referred to as the warden of the mouth of Hades. In spite of their strength and wonderful endowments, they are constantly being outwitted. A tale tells of a Drakos who was dependent on a partridge which warned him of danger, his spectacles which enabled him to see everything, and a horse which went like the wind. The hero steals these, so rendering him powerless, and finally captures him by going to his place, making a great barrel, and cajoling him into getting inside it, when he promptly nails on the lid. Sometimes the Drakos is helpful to man. In one story, the hero becomes the brother-in-law of forty Drakoi; in another, the warden of Hades, mentioned above, along with the wardens of the Red Apple-Tree and the Well of Life, become allies of the hero, and overthrow an army sent against him; while in a third, the hero gets himself adopted by a Drakos.

The Lamia is somewhat like the she-Drakos, the principal difference between them being that the former is usually a cannibal. The Stoicheion is another interesting figure. The

* *Folk-lore of Modern Greece*, p. 185.

word was anciently used in the sense of element, and is now applied to the spirit of a place or thing. We find the three Stoicheia of the universe, the Stoicheion (also Lamia, or Magissa) of the Ocean, of wells, etc. The latter often assumes the form of a woman, and even goes to church, and allures men into descending her haunt in search of her ring, which, she says, has fallen in.

“ My lass now pull me up again, for nothing have I found here ;
 Here there are only speckled snakes with vipers intertwined.
 One wicked viper of them all, she holds thy ring, this viper.”
 “ Now thou art in, my pretty youth, forth shalt thou come, ah, never !
 For I'm the Lamia of the sea, devourer of the Heroes ! ”
 “ And I, I am the Lightning's Son, I'll lighten, and will burn thee ! ”
 She of the Lightning was afraid, and up again she drew him ' (Vol. I.,
 p. 104).

This threat seems to be invaluable against Drakoi, Lamiae and all such beings. As a rule, ballads of this sort end with the unfortunate man being forced to remain in the well for ever. The belief in foundation-sacrifices is as common among the Greeks as among other nations. The victim must be a human being, and is destined to become the Stoicheion of the building. Miss Garnett translates two ballads dealing with this belief, one of which we quote. It comes from the Peloponnesus.

‘ When I am dead and seen no more, the world will be no poorer ;
 For I my money leave behind, my coins of gold and silver.
 A thousand leave I to the church, and to the noble minster,
 To Vrety I two thousand coins bequeath, a bridge to build there,
 A bridge across the Tricha broad, with sixty-two wide arches.
 All day long do they build the bridge : by night it falls to pieces.
 And sadly weep the 'prentices, and sorely grieve the masons.
 A little birdie went and perched upon the arch i' the middle ;
 She sang not as a birdie sings, nor was her note the swallow's :
 “ Without a human stoicheion the bridge can ne'er be founded.
 It neither must an idiot be, a madman, nor a pauper,
 But Ghiorghi's wife it needs must be, Ghiorghi's the master-mason.”
 Then hasten all the 'prentices, and off they set to fetch her.
 “ Thine hour be happy, Ghiórhaina ! ” “ My boys, I'm glad to see
 you ! ”
 “ Unbind and swaddle fresh thy babe, and of thy milk now give him ;
 Thy husband Ghiorghi he is sick, and thou with us must hasten.”
 As they were going on the road, and on the road did journey,

“ Three sisters once were we [she cried], and stoicheia we'll all be !
 Of Korphos one's a stoicheion ; the other of Zitouni ;
 And I, the third and fairest one, o' the bridge across the Tricha,
 And as my eyes are streaming now, may wayfarers stream over.”

The victim of the bridge of Adana expresses a different wish—

“ As trembling now is my poor heart, so may the bridge still tremble ;
 And as my tears are failing me, so may wayfarers fail it,
 From August unto August pass one solitary camel.” *

The Nereids still survive, and occupy a position analogous to that of Fairies, though they are represented as of the same stature as human beings. There are mountain Nereids and sea Nereids. They are associated with whirlwinds and similar disturbances, during which one should crouch down for fear of being carried away by them. The country women mutter ‘Honey and milk’ when they see wind-driven clouds overhead, and often make offerings of these things and of cakes at places frequented by the Nereids. Often they appear as benevolent to mortals. Sometimes one falls in love with a human being, but he runs the risk of being made oblivious to the world about him, to judge from a tale in these volumes. There was a prince whose father and mother desired him to marry. Accordingly they brought many princesses to him, but he paid no heed to them. At last they asked three sisters, who lived near, to try their fortune with him. The first two he never heeded, but kept on writing without speaking a word to them, so they were sent home disappointed. The youngest then went to him. He behaved as before, but she managed to make him speak by addressing not him, but a bird-cage and a candlestick which were in his room. She was therefore regarded as his bride. Her sisters, in their envy, teased her into getting him to buy her presents, and finally to give orders for a dinner to which they were to be invited. The bride could not imagine how to get him out of his room to the feast. In despair, she told a servant to gallop his horse in the courtyard during dinner, and send a message to her, ‘Come downstairs, for the Prince desires to see you.’ Under cover of this, she made her retreat. In a distant

* Vol. I., pp. 70, 73.

part of the palace she found a slab, which moved when she trod on it. Lifting it, she found a staircase, which she descended until she came to a place full of thistles, where was sleeping the Prince, and near him a Nereid with a child by her side. She went back to the palace, got a rose-coloured and a white scarf, a silver comb, and a gold embroidered coverlet, and returned to the Prince. She combed the hair of the Nereid and her child, and covered them and the Prince with the scarves and coverlet, then stole away.

‘ When the Nereid woke up and saw herself and her child thus cared for, and without thistles in their hair, she turned and said to the Prince—

“ Who is she that has come and has done this thing to us here ? ”

‘ He swore to her—“ *by the sparks of the fire* ”—that he had seen no woman. “ Thou knowest well that thou hast taken the light out of mine eyes, and that I see no woman but thyself ! ”

‘ Then he related to her how he heard every evening a woman talking to the Candlestick, but saw her not. Then she gave him a slap, and said :

“ I give thee this blow that thy light may come again, and I charge thee on thine oath to take none else to wife but her.”

‘ Then the Nereid clapped her hands, and a great whirlwind arose, like that which carried away the Prince one noontide when he was out hunting, and it carried off all the thistles and her child and herself, and they disappeared. Then he heard a voice out of the whirlwind, which said, “ I leave farewell to thee ! Thou wilt never see me again, neither me nor thy child.”

‘ It was about mid-day, and the Prince grieved for her until evening. He then went up to his chamber, and saw the young woman weeping bitter tears. As soon as he came in he embraced her, and said, “ Let your tears be dried ; you must neither say what you saw, nor I what I know ; let us forget the past. You delivered me from out the hands of the Nereid. Now let us go and kiss my mother’s hand, and to-morrow we will hold our wedding.”

‘ He led her to his mother, and the next day [they had] music and drums, and great rejoicings. The wedding was celebrated to the joy of everybody, and to the disgust of her sisters.’ (Vol. II., p. 243).

The three Fates still survive in popular belief.

‘ Oh, from the summit of Olympos high,
The three extremest heights of Heaven,
Where dwell the dealers-out of Destinies ;
Oh may my own Fate hear me,
And hearing, come unto me ! ’

On the third night after the birth of a child, they may be overheard forecasting his destiny. They invariably give different readings of the future, but the decision of the third is final, and will assuredly come true. The one who gives this decision is regarded as a person's own Fate, as in the invocation above. She often appears in bodily form to help or advise the person over whose destiny she presides. In one case a mother's Fate appears to her daughter, and, somewhat in the same way, an old man who aids the hero of one tale, declares that he is his mother's blessing.

Mr. Stuart-Glennie remarks that paganism survives in full force in the beliefs connected with death. He is personified as Charos, the ancient Charon, who goes up and down selecting his victim, wrestling with the youth in all his pride of life and overcoming him, taking away sister, daughter, and bride beyond hope of recall. His impartiality is expressed in many songs, and in a tale which is common all about the Mediterranean. A certain man who desired a just one for godfather to his child, refused God and S. Peter, and finally accepted Death. In course of time his own term of life came to an end. He implored Death for a respite in vain, and had to follow him to a great palace where innumerable tapers were burning.

'One of them was nearly burnt out. "That taper," said Death, "pictures thy life. Dost thou not see how wasted it is?" "I pray thee, O Death, let me put one of these tapers in its place!" "They are those of thy relatives." "This one, then?" "It is the life-taper of thy son—of my god-son." "What matter!" "What matter! sayest thou. Come, come, look at thy taper! See—the flame flickers—it dies—it is gone!" And at the same instant, the old man fell dead at the feet of the supremely just Being who shows favour to none!' (Vol. II., p. 412).

A pathetic song describes Charos driving along his victims.

'Why do the mountains darkly lower, and stand brimmed o'er with tear-drops?

Is it the wind that fights with them? Is it the rain that beats them?

'Tis not the wind that fights with them, nor rain that's on them beating;

But Charon's passing over them, and with the Dead he's passing.

The young men he before him drives, and drags the old behind him,

And ranged upon the saddle sit with him the young and lovely.

The old men beg and pray of him, the young beseech him kneeling :
 “ My Charon, stop thou in a town, or near cool fountain tarry,
 That water may the old men drink, the young men cast the boulder,
 And that the little bairnies all may go the flowers to gather.”
 “ At no town will I stop to lodge, nor near cool fountain tarry ;
 The mothers would for water come, and recognise their children ;
 And know each other man and wife ; nor would there be more part-
 ing.” (Vol. I., p. 88).

His abode is variously described, sometimes as a tent, outside green or red, but within blackest darkness, the ropes twisted from the hair of heroes, sometimes as a great hall of which he holds the keys, or a place where men go about their usual avocations with implements of gold and silver, the spoils of Charos' victims. In some cases the horrors of hell are added ; a daughter sees her mother in a furnace, Pashas and Aghas are burning. His captives do not forget the upper world ; but are constantly remembering it with tears, and women have been known to slip letters into the hand of a corpse to convey to those who have gone before. In some passages we find the belief that the house of the dead is the grave. Thus in the ‘Dirge for a Sister,’ her brother gives orders for her tomb :—

‘ O masons build it long and wide, and build it proud and lofty,
 That she may stand and gird herself, or she may cross-legged rest her ;
 And in the wall at her right hand, leave her an open window,
 That she may see when comes the spring, may see when shines the
 summer,
 When warble all the birds around, the nightingales of springtide.’
 —(Vol. I., p. 98).

A similar wish is expressed by the dying klept in the well known ballad, the ‘Burial of Demos.’

Some dead pursue a more terrible existence. In consequence of their wickedness or of a curse laid upon them, earth will not receive them. Their bodies do not decay, but grow bloated, their spirits haunt them, and they become Vampires (Brykólakas Katakhanâs). This doom is believed to have fallen on Ali Pasha and his officer Thanâses Vághias in retribution for the massacre at Gardiki, and forms the subject of a weird poem by Valaoritis, part of which is translated by Miss Garnett. The vampire was originally a Slavonic monster, but he has found a place every-

where among the Greeks. A most horrible story of one comes from Crete. The vampire wished to come out of his tomb, but could not because a shepherd, who happened to be his *synteknos* or gossip, had taken shelter in its chamber, and had placed his weapons cross-wise above his head. At length the shepherd let him out on receiving the vampire's oath, 'on his winding-sheet,' that he would do him no harm. He went away to where a newly-married couple were, killed them, and returned with their livers, off which he began to feast, inviting the shepherd to share with him. The vampire gave the other strict orders to tell no one of what he knew; but he lost no time in informing the priest and others of the matter. They went and found his body like a vampire's, and understood then that it was he who had been troubling the countryside. They made a great fire and burnt him. When he was about half burnt, his gossip the shepherd came up, whereupon the vampire threw out a single spet of blood, which fell on his foot, so that it withered away. When the body was all burnt, they raked among the ashes and found the little finger nail still whole, and that too they burned. Pashley, from whom the story is taken, collected several others dealing with equally repulsive doings of the *katakhanâs*. Sometimes, however, to become a vampire is looked on as rather desirable than otherwise. Mr. Stuart-Glennie translates a popular wish:

' O friend, may'st thou live for ever !
 But if death be thy doom,
 May'st thou vampire become,
 Thou'lt enjoy then this fair world twice over !'

And in a ballad the vampire brings his sister back to her mother from far distant Salonica.*

In addition to these supernal beings, Greek folk-lore has one or two characteristic human figures. First of these we may mention the Beardless Man. Mr. Stuart-Glennie suggests that he is a reminiscence of Mongolian invasions of Turkey. According to another authority, however, he may be a relic of the Hellenic dislike to physical defects. *The Mass of the Beardless* is the title of an unseemly Byzantine satire on monastic corrup-

* Vol. I., p. 243 ; Jeannaraki, *Kretas Volksliedar*, p. 229.

tion, and consistently with this, the Beardless Man is always cunning, and usually a thorough knave.* He frequently appears as getting the better of giants, and a very interesting story describes the adventures of a king's son who disobeyed the warning that when he came to his father's court, he was to beware of travelling in a Beardless Man's company. Another strange figure is the Half-man. Hahn regarded him as unique; but Mr. Stuart-Glennie shows that while unknown in Norse and German lore, he reappears in Celtic tales as the Fachan 'with one hand out of his chest, one leg out of his haunch, and one eye out of the front of his face.'† There is a far-off echo of this in the Spanish story of the Half-chick, who insisted on seeing the world in spite of the mother-hen's remonstrances, and was punished for his disobedience by being caught up by a storm to the top of a tower, where he became a weather-cock. Negroes and Dervishes constantly occur, and are no doubt due to Eastern influences. The latter bear an unenviable reputation in most tales; which is shared in by gipsies. These are credited with being ready for any base work. A gipsy is the executioner of the heroic Vlachavas. It was a gipsy, according to a common legend, who forged the nails with which Christ was fastened to the cross. An amusing corollary to this legend comes from Asia Minor. A shepherd took out the nails, in reward for which our Lord blessed him, and said, 'Never cease doing such deeds.' Hence it is that shepherds have a right to 'take' sheep.‡

The Widow's Son is a stock character both in the ballads and the tales. A large number of the historical songs recount the doings of Digenes Akritas, the Byzantine Cid or Roland. They are all echoes or fragments of a great Byzantine epic, two versions of which have been published by M. Legrand, while others are still unedited. Digenes received his name from the fact that the blood of two races flowed in his veins, since he was the son of Arete, daughter of Andronikos Dukas, and the Syrian Emir

* Krumbacher, *Byz. Lit.*, p. 809.

† Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Paisley, 1893), iv. 297, 298.

‡ Carnoy et Nicolaidès, *Traditions Popul. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 241.

Musur, who captured her in one of his raids, and afterwards became a Christian, and married her. Their son Basil, to give him his real name, distinguished himself greatly on the Eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire, and, after a brilliant career, died about the middle of the tenth century in his 33rd year. Mythical accretions seem to have gathered round the story of his life at a very early date, as may be seen from the ballads in the volumes under notice. Mr. Stuart-Glennie compares them to the legends of Hercules, Perseus, and Bellerophon.

With all these peculiarities, Greek folk-lore, as has already been said, is substantially the same as Northern, especially in its tales. Greek children have their Cinderella, and the fairy god-mother's place is taken by her dead mother, whom her wicked elder sisters have eaten. In accordance with her dying injunctions, Cinderella preserves her bones, and one fine day finds them turned into precious stones. They have their Beauty and the Beast, the Beast being a Snake. 'The Two Brothers and the Forty-nine Drakoi,' is their Ali Baba. Kyr Lazaros outwits the Drakoi, just as the Brave Little Tailor does the giant, and the *motif* of Bluebeard, the fortieth door that may not be opened, is of constant occurrence. There are many other points familiar to Northern readers. Black cats are unlucky, and a rejected suitor threatens to send one to the marriage of the maid who has rejected him. In this connection we may remark that leap-years are referred to in one of the ballads as unlucky. The incident, so common in our ballads, of plants springing out of lovers' graves and intertwining, is very frequent in Greek songs. The following ballad bears a remarkable resemblance to the story told of Ninewells, near Dundee, which may be found in Chambers' *Traditions of Scotland* :—

' Nine stalwart sons could Yanni boast, and they were nine tall brothers,
And they did all agree one day that they would go a-hunting.

When word of it to Yanni came, he ran to give his orders.

"You everywhere may hunt," he said, "roam hither, and roam
thither,

But to Varlámi's hill alone there ye must never venture ;

For there an evil Monster dwells, with nine heads on his body."

But unto him they would not list, but would go to Varlámi ;

And out to them the Monster came, with nine heads on his body,

And he snatched up the brothers nine, snatched up and them did swallow.

When Yanni heard their dismal fate, then grieved was he right sorely ;
His spear into his hand he took, and his good sword he girded,
And to Varlámi's hill he ran, and quickly he ascended.

"Come out Stoicheió ! Come, Monster, out ! and let us eat each other."

"O welcome my good supper now, and welcome my good breakfast !"

Then Yanni on the monster ran, with sword in hand uplifted ;
Nine strokes he dealt upon the heads, the nine heads of his body,
And aimed another at his paunch, and set free all his children ;
And bore them home at eventide, all living, to their mother.'

—(Vol. I., p. 62).

Resemblances to the Talmud are found in the stories of 'the Puzzled Hermit,' and 'the Stingy Woman,' and also in the division of the fowl in 'Crows' Language.'

We have left no room for more than a passing allusion to the dancing-songs, the humorous pieces and the wealth of historical tales and ballads contained in these volumes. In conclusion we can only say that, while there must be many opinions as to the views which Mr. Stuart-Glennie has advanced in what he evidently considers the most important portion of his work, there can be only one opinion as to the service which he and his coadjutor have rendered to students of folk-lore in thus opening up to them the traditional literature of Modern Greece.

W. METCALFE.

ART. V.—NEW LIGHT ON BURNS.

1. *The Life and Works of Robert Burns.* Edited by ROBERT CHAMBERS. Revised by WILLIAM WALLACE. 4 Vols. Edinburgh. 1896.
2. *The Poetry of Robert Burns.* Edited by WILLIAM ERNEST HENLEY and THOMAS F. HENDERSON. 4 Vols. Edinburgh. 1896.

TO the centenary of the death of Robert Burns we owe some notable additions to Burns literature. When the descriptive illustrated catalogue of the Exhibition held in Glasgow

last summer is completed, there will be available to the student, as a direct product of the centenary, a hitherto undreamt of corpus of Burnsiana, in the best acceptation of the term. To the querulous query of the uninterested or half-interested man—‘What possible new light can be thrown on the poet, whose life and work have for a hundred years been subjected to scrutiny of unparalleled closeness?’ no answer should be required but the contents of the volumes before us. There we learn, from innumerable revisions, corrections, and fresh facts, how little of really valid labour has hitherto been spent on Burns, how neglected has been the study of his origins, and how necessary it was to put on record the best-informed estimate formed by the present generation of the life and works of Burns, and of his place in literature. Though the myth which envisages Scotland’s greatest son as a drunken gauger, uncultured, and a singer by accident, has almost disappeared from this country, gross ignorance of the truth about both his conduct and his education still remains to be sapped, as is shown by the example of the Poet-Laureate, mourning—and not to be comforted—over the blindness of Scotsmen to their hero’s faults. Inquisitiveness and the craving for novelty are ever creating new myths. Mr. Wallace has demolished a few of these concerning the poet himself, Jean Armour, and Mary Campbell. If Messrs. Henley and Henderson have evolved one of their own in the statement that Burns ‘was the satirist and singer of a parish,’ it is positively harmless in its unverisimilitude, and is not noted here in disparagement of the valuable services the editors of *The Centenary Burns* have rendered to the cause of historical truth, especially in regard to what the poet actually wrote. What new light, then, has been thrown recently on Burns? Briefly stated, this: Mr. William Wallace, editor of the new *Chambers*, besides accumulating a vast amount of notes and fresh information about the life, the poems, and the letters, has at a stroke justified the world’s refusal to dis sever the life from the works of Burns by the essay in which he exhibits the poet’s conscious moral reconstruction of his career, vindicates his conduct, not merely from the artistic but also from the ethical standpoint,

and holds him up to admiration as poet, prophet, and man, as one whose management of the business of his life, rightly regarded, is no less morally helpful to those who can understand it than his poetry has been, and is auxiliary to the progress of the human race, in manners as well as in thought. The editors of *The Centenary Burns* have set before themselves the production of a perfect text and a sufficient bibliographical history, and the investigation of the 'origins' of the poet, mainly in respect of the form of his writings, and their work as a whole redounds to the credit of their literary instinct, scholarship, and industry. In their account and collation of the available MSS. they have accomplished a task which has long awaited a competent doer, and their text will stand till—the day when all the Burns MSS. in the world are collected in one room, and submitted to the judgment of an ideal jury of experts.

For the two reasons that *The Centenary Burns* is not yet complete—only three vols. out of four having been issued—and that what is new in it cannot be properly qualified, save summarily in the space at disposal, this article must be confined mainly to an account of the new *Chambers*. Mr. Wallace's revision of the work of Robert Chambers amounts to a complete reconstruction of the whole book, save only the original plan and structure, and even that has been modified in parts. He has utilised the whole mass of Burns literature that has come into existence since Chambers's day, as well as materials and suggestions for further enquiry left by his predecessor, and has pursued many original lines of investigation bearing on the poet's character and doings, and the personalities of his friends and subjects. The value of his several contributions to knowledge will be differently assessed by different classes of people. Mr. Quiller Couch, for instance, objects to being told the local tradition of the origin of 'Mary Morrison,' while very many not unlettered persons will welcome all the details that have been gathered about the actual Mary Morrison, who is buried in Mauchliue churchyard, none the less heartily that Mr. Wallace successfully assails the myth that this 'adjutant's daughter' was the heroine of that purest

gem of song. Most students—all Scotch ones—will hold Mr. Wallace's multiplicity of detail justified—(1), by the theory of criticism which disdains no help to the understanding of the circumstances in which literature arose; and (2), by his theory of the ethical work of the biography of Burns, presented 'warts and all.'

Students of life and letters, however, will turn with greatest interest to the effort the new editor of *Chambers* has made to 'place' Burns, the man and poet, in relation to humanity and his own environment in the one regard, and in the other to his predecessors, contemporaries, and successors among the 'makers.' The ancestry of the poet is traced with a perspicacity and completeness never before attempted in Burns biography. Mr. Wallace does not put the Celtic derivation of the Burnesses altogether out of court, but he demolishes the legend of Walter Campbell of Burn-house, as 'Thrummy Cap' told it, by proving its anachronisms, and simply characterises the whole Celtic tradition as 'an attempt to account for the origin of a name in a certain district—the Mearns—a century after its first recorded occurrence there.' It is exceedingly improbable that the editor has left anything to be discovered about the Jacobitism of the poet's ancestors, of which he was not a little sentimentally vain. The genealogy on the male side is revised and corrected, the evidence for and against the famous attribution of Jacobitism to the 'forefathers,' which Gilbert, playing as it were at cross purposes, so lamely disputed, is clearly stated. For the first time, also, detailed proof is offered of the correctness of Burns's belief that he came of Covenanting stock on his mother's side; the family-tree of the Brouns in Ayrshire—springing from the Bruce's day—is exhibited with the same fidelity as that of the Burnesses of the Mearns.

Save for a number of new facts about the poet's residence in Irvine, the revised *Chambers* adds little to our knowledge of the first, comparatively pure and sober, twenty-five years of the life. When we come, however, to the Mossgiel period, the epoch of the 'Epistle to John Goldie,' 'The Twa Herds,'

etc., Mr. Wallace presents us with a lucid general statement—at once full and concise—of Burns's theological position:—

'A man of Burns's temperament, born in the middle of that [the 18th] century, was almost bound to combine rationalism in theology with a genuine religious sentiment. It is unnecessary to search very particularly in his actual theological environment for the origins of his religion. He had the same bias in reasoning—towards materialism, empiricism, "common sense,"—as most of the leading intellects of the age.'

Again, after briefly summarising the controversy between Old and New Lights, and showing that it was William Burnes himself who brought his son under the spell of the New Lights, and placing proper stress upon the effect which transference from the pastoral care of 'D'rymple mild' to that of 'Daddy' Auld must have wrought on the ardent spirit of the young poet, he proceeds:—

'It would be a mistake to try to trace any very close connection between the thought of Burns, so far as it was dogmatic, and the doctrines held by the New Light ministers who took the young farmer by the hand, and eulogised the satires which he wrote for their side. The doctrines preached by Auld, Russell and their kind disgusted him; but his polemic against them was purely negative and destructive. . . . The consciousness of the living presence of God in nature was always stronger in him than any theory of redemption. An intellectual sceptic, he was not really interested in theological dogma, though moral and emotional causes preserved in him certain relics of more or less inter-dependent doctrines.'

These sentences exhibit the results of a careful and conscientious study of Burns's theological environment. In text and appendix we have a précis of the principal religious documents that are known to have influenced the poet—'Goudie's Bible,' William Burnes's 'Manual;' the most important writings of Dr. Dalrymple and Dr. McGill of Ayr; and a full and interesting account of the petty and protracted quarrel between Gavin Hamilton and the kirk-session of Mauchline.

Equally searching is the light which is here thrown upon Burns's relations to Jean Armour and the mystery of Mary Campbell, neither of which topics can by a right reader of the man and poet be allowed to be classed under the category of 'Chatter about Harriet.' Mr. Wallace is forced to admit that

the date of Burns's attachment to Highland Mary, and several of the circumstances connected with it 'are still, to a great extent, enveloped in mystery;' also that 'her story, as here given, is based on, and pieced from, various traditions, and cannot be regarded as a portion of the absolutely authentic history of Burns.' In what respect then, does he leave the matter different from the state in which he found it? Well, it is something that in an authoritative biography it should be plainly stated that the identification of the Mary of Burns's poesy with Mary Campbell, who was born at Auchamore, Dunoon, and is buried at Greenock, rests solely on tradition. And it is more that the sequence of the events in this mysterious mess of love-entanglements should be as clearly stated as it is here. It was in the spring of 1786 that the poet gave Jean Armour the acknowledgment of their union, which old Armour straightway caused to be mutilated, and which Mr. Wallace, following Dr. Edgar, doubts if a court would have recognised as constituting an irregular marriage. In March Jean took refuge in Paisley. Burns, disgusted with her conduct, and intent on matrimony, turned to Mary, nurse in Gavin Hamilton's family; their intimacy 'ripened into love;' and in May they parted, she to go home to the Highlands for a short time, to arrange for her marriage. He had made up his mind to emigrate in order to make a living for Jean; he now persevered in his project for the purpose of providing for his wife-to-be, Mary Campbell. Yet, as Mr. Wallace, founding on documentary proof, coldly puts it, 'within a very few weeks after his parting from her, we find him, in a letter to a friend, speaking of Jean as still holding sway over his affections.' Short indeed was the blossoming time of Burns's 'white rose,' that 'grew up and bloomed in the midst of his passion-flowers.' However, we must pass from dates and their sequelæ, to note that Mr. Wallace will not allow that the Paisley incident in Jean Armour's life offered the slightest foundation for R. L. Stevenson's slander of her as a 'facile and empty-headed girl;' and that by a beautiful catena of reasoning from facts which he has himself to a large extent unearthed, he demolishes the 'strong presumption,' which Mr. George A. Aitken,

editor of the third *Aldine*, fathered, that Mary Campbell, instead of being a 'white rose' was a very tarnished flower indeed, worthy the rude attentions of Adam Armour and his rough mates; and further disposes effectively of the secondary, but equally ugly 'Highland Mary' myth founded on Joseph Train's MS. notes of what John Richmond told 'a Mr. Grierson.' It is not the least of Mr. Wallace's services to the Burns cult that, while vindicating the 'dear, departed shade,' he does justice to the character of the poet's faithful, magnanimous and honourable helpmeet, who was 'always his warmest defender,' and made his married life happy and morally remunerative.

Turn we now to the Edinburgh episode. Stevenson, with that local patriotism which he could never shake off, spoke of the 'Edinburgh magnates' who patronised Burns. Carlyle took a truer measure of the literary society of the Scottish capital at the end of the eighteenth century. The editor of the new *Chambers* has rightly restated the relation between Burns and his patrons thus:—

'The period was, however, the evening of the first heyday of Edinburgh letters. A few years before, Burns would perhaps have found an even warmer welcome and a more just appreciation; he would certainly have met at least one man intellectually his peer in the Select Society and the Poker Club. But David Hume had, in 1786, been dead half a score of years; Lord Kames was gone, and the majority of their more or less brilliant contemporaries were long past their prime. Adam Smith was too ill to see Burns. William Robertson had only seven years to live; Tytler and Lord Hailes even less. It was, in short, the interregnum between Hume and Scott. Burns himself was the man of the age. It strikes us of this day as almost ludicrous that he should have been patronised by men of the undoubted though second-rate capacity of Dugald Stewart, Hugh Blair, and Henry Mackenzie.'

Again, summing up the testimony as to Burns's conduct in Edinburgh, Mr. Wallace says:—

'He saw from the first that his reputation, so far as society in Edinburgh was concerned, must be evanescent, and he acted accordingly. His second Common-place Book proves that he measured himself deliberately against the men he met. He perceived his own superiority to them in natural force; he did not repine at their better fortune. It is morally certain that had Burns visited Edinburgh in the days of the literary supre-

macy of Scott and Jeffrey, a vigorous and successful effort would have been made to secure for him a position which would have permitted free exercise for his extraordinary faculty. . . . Burns, however, asked nothing from his Edinburgh friends; when they helped him to a farm and a position in the Excise, believing, as they apparently did, that they were thereby gratifying his own wishes, he made no complaint, but cheerfully prepared himself for the necessarily uncongenial career which alone appeared open to him.

'Burns was but twenty-seven years of age when he came to Edinburgh from Ayrshire. Of few men of warm temperament and exceptionally endowed by nature with those strong passions which are the sources at once of selfishness and unselfishness, can it be said with truth that "the battle between the flesh and the spirit" which ends in the ruin or the consolidation of character had been fought out so early in life. His sociable temperament, his eager willingness to observe all sorts and conditions of men, inevitably led him into "scenes of life," the survey of which meant the enlargement of experience, but not—at least immediately—the enrichment of motive. But it is as certain that he never lost command of himself, amidst the Crochallan festivities, as that he acquitted himself with modesty and manliness at the tables of professors and senators of the College of Justice.'

Mr. Wallace's revision of the Edinburgh episode is thorough and broad. He has pursued every incident of it—the *Clarinda liaison*, the Masonic bardship, the tours, the flirtations, the relations with Creech, etc.—with the pertinacity of a sleuth-hound. It is impossible to go into details here, but students of Burns will be grateful for many misconceptions removed, many mysteries as to dates cleared up, and generally for the numerous vivid touches he has introduced into Chambers's generally accurate picture of the poet as he lived and moved at this period.

Equally valuable is the reconstruction of the Ellisland epoch. There is no stick or stone left of the house that Burns built on the farm which he described as 'the very riddlings of creation.' As the Rev. Richard Simpson, minister of Dunscore, who is *the* authority on the history and topography of the district, testifies, those who protest against the rebuilding of the present farm-house as desecration of the roof-tree of Burns, are more than eighty years too late, and even the famous window with its inscription is of more than doubtful authenticity. Mr. Wallace presents us with a picturesque description of Ellis-

land, and—what is of even greater interest—he brings the tenant of 1788-1791 into at least geographical touch with others whose memories are rooted in Dunscore. Thus—

‘Its glens are steeped in the story of the War of Independence—of Wallace, of Bruce, and of Bruce’s friend and “mak siccar” lieutenant, Kilpatrick, to whose family Ellisland once belonged. The hillsides of Dunscore recall the more recent memories of the Covenanters. The tower of Lag, the prototype of Redgauntlet Castle, and the home of Sir Robert Grierson, “the persecutor,” whose name was more feared and hated in Galloway than that of John Graham himself, still stands in one of the glens. . . . Travelling up the valley, we come to Thornhill, with Tynron Doon, recalling the memories of the Ettrick Shepherd, Drumlanrig Castle, etc.

‘The extreme eastern point of Dunscore parish is Ellisland; the extreme western point is Craigenputtock, looking out on the moors of Galloway, where Carlyle wrote *Sartor Resartus* and his essay on Burns. It was on the slopes of Craigenputtock Hill that Carlyle, conversing with Emerson, put the Iliad of “this mysterious mankind” into a nutshell—“Christ died on the tree; that built Dunscore kirk yonder; that brought you and me together. Time has only a relative existence.”’

On this epoch of the poet’s existence, as on all the others, a vast amount of editorial labour has been spent. On point of research, pure and simple, there is nothing more valuable in any of the four portly volumes than the results displayed of a fresh investigation into Burns’s connection with the ‘London newsmen.’ Peter Stuart, the pioneer of Metropolitan journalism, tried to secure the poet as a paid contributor to his newly-established *Star* in 1788. Burns refused enrolment, but sent contributions, including the Ode on Mrs. Oswald, the ‘Ode to the Departed Regency-Bill,’ and probably also the (prose) ‘Address of the Scottish Distillers to the Right Honble. William Pitt.’ He called the *Star* ‘a blasphemous party newspaper.’ He helped to justify the description by a satire he sent to it on the ‘solemn farce of pageant mummary,’ the public thanksgiving for the recovery of the king. This production, unearthed now from the files of the *Star*, is dated, Kilmarnock, April 30th, and takes the form of a psalm, said to have been composed for and sung on the occasion.

Burns’s note to Stuart, of April, 1789: ‘Your polite exculpation of me in your paper was enough,’ has not hitherto been

understood. It referred to an episode in his connection with the *Star*, which is expiscated in the new *Chambers* for the first time. In March, 1789, Stuart, in the pleasant polemical manner of the day, struck a blow at that eminent Pittite, the Duchess of Gordon, by publishing a set of coarsish verses about her, which, 'a correspondent assured him,' were from the pen of Burns, describing Her Grace's performance at an Edinburgh ball. Burns hastened to repudiate the whole thing. The *Gazetteer* had copied from the *Star* a still more disrespectful stanza to the Duchess. Burns denied the authorship, with heat, in both journals, and it was doubtless for the 'exculpation' from 'The two most damning crimes of which, as a man and as a poet, I could have been guilty—ingratitude and stupidity,' that he thanked Stuart in April. Henley and Henderson in *The Centenary Burns*, having evidently not pursued their researches far enough, accept the Duchess pasquade as genuine, although internal evidence is convincing against its authenticity. The most interesting discovery, however, which Mr. Wallace chronicles in connection with the affair is this note, which the editor of the *Gazetteer* appends to Burns's letter:—

'Mr. Burns will do right in directing his petulance to the proper delinquent, the Printer of the *Star*, from which Paper the stanza was literally copied into *The Gazetteer*. We can assure him, however, for his comfort, that the Duchess of Gordon acquits him both of the ingratitude and the dullness. She has, with much difficulty, discovered that the *jeu d'esprit* was written by the Right Honourable the Treasurer of the Navy, on her Grace's dancing at a ball given by the Earl of Findlater; this has been found out by the industry and penetration of Lord Fife. The lines are certainly not so dull as Mr. Burns insinuates, and we fear he is jealous of the poetical talents of his rival, Mr. Dundas.'

Burns, as everybody knows, hated the Dundases because Robert, the Solicitor-General, slighted his poem on the death of the Lord President. We have not here absolute proof that the skit on the gay Gordon was written by Henry Dundas, 'the great dispenser of patronage,' or that, even if it were, he had anything to do with the attribution of the lines to the 'ploughing poet,' but one cannot help suspecting that in this piece of literary horseplay there is a clue—if only it could be

followed up—to the neglect which Burns suffered at the hands of Dundas and his compeers.

We must, however, take leave of the particulars which the editor of the new *Chambers* has added to Burnsiana, merely noting the illumination he throws on the origin of 'Scots wha hae,' as thus: 'Under cover of a fourteenth century battle-song he (Burns) was really liberating his soul against the Tory tyranny that was opposing liberty at home and abroad, and, moreover, striking at the comfort of his own fireside;' the wealth of biographical, bibliographical, and linguistic information he has collected about 'Tam o' Shanter,' 'Auld Glen,' 'A man's a man for a' that,' etc., and the tracing of such allusions as 'the daring path Spinoza trod.' And at least a word of commendation is due to the editor's scathing analysis of the Globe Inn and other malignant legends; to the great mass of valuable notes he has collected, including the identification of every individual, contemporary or historical, mentioned in the poems; and to the vast improvement he has made in the glossary. The indexes are exceptionally complete, indeed unique in their reach and peculiarity.

As has been said, the work of Messrs. Henley and Henderson is still incomplete. At present we can only indicate, by means of one or two details, the quality of it. The text of *The Centenary Burns* is as excellent as the typography in which it is displayed is beautiful; it has been compiled after collation of as many MSS. as research and industry could command, and of the various 'authors' editions;' and, to the great profit and pleasure of scholars, the source of every reading adopted is plainly stated in the notes, along with the various readings rejected by the editors—rejected, we may add, in every case that we have tested, with correct taste and nice appreciation of language. There is little that is new in the Notes as to facts or persons. Their special worth lies in the precision and fulness with which they trace the history of the poems in manuscript and print, and in the originality of the results they body forth of investigation into the 'origins' of the poetical forms used by Burns. One could wish that the editors had put otherwise the motive of these annotations,

whose purpose, they say, is 'to emphasize the theory that Burns, for all his exhibition of some modern tendencies, was not the founder of a dynasty, but the heir to a flourishing tradition, and the last of an ancient line; that he is demonstrably the outcome of an environment, and not in any but the narrowest sense the unnatural birth of Poesy and Time, which he is sometimes held to be. However, an editor must be allowed his theory, and Messrs. Henley and Henderson's bold and uncompromising assertion of theirs is welcome as an antidote to the theory of the 'Common Burnsite' who, in more or less mythical form, is their *bête noir*. Only, their prefatory statement that their notes are meant to emphasise their theory offers a needless, and, it must be said, a risky challenge to criticism. Three volumes of *The Centenary Burns* are now before the world, and presumably the editors have brought forward the bulk of their proofs. These are extensive, scholarly, the fruit of learned and critical research. They stand by themselves without the support of any preconceived theory whatever. Do they demonstrate Messrs. Henley and Henderson's proposition or propositions? Unquestionably they do—up to a certain point. They prove—what was not disputed—that 'Burns was the heir to a flourishing tradition, and the last of an ancient line,' that he 'derives from a numerous ancestry;' but they do not prove that he was 'not the founder of a dynasty,' and, rightly interpreted, they do not minimise his 'modern tendencies.' They prove that Burns borrowed not only form but matter from his Scotch predecessors, that he wrote in their manner, on subjects similar to theirs, but not that he looked at the world as any one of them did. In short, while emphasising the debt Burns owed to his 'forebears,' they also unwillingly emphasise the gulf that separates him from the best as well as the last of them—which gulf is made not only by genius (for Dunbar had genius too), but by modernity.

No poet, not even Shakespeare, has been so minutely, lovingly studied as Burns. No editor has ever approached the text in so truly critical a spirit or treated it in so scholarly and classical a fashion as Messrs. Henley and Henderson. It is

impossible to convey in a brief notice an adequate impression either of the bulk or of the quality of their work. Take for example their treatment of 'The Kirk's Alarm.' Their note embraces a summary of the M'Gill persecution, which is a model of conciseness and completeness, and an account of the production of the poem, to which they contribute a quotation from the unpublished Dunlop MSS. at Lochryan: 'I have just sketched the following ballad, and as usual send the first rough draft to you.' Their 'study of the origin' is as follows: 'This copy (Mrs. Dunlop's) was originally entitled "The Kirk's Lament," a Ballad: Tune, "Push about the Brisk Bowl;" but in the MS. *Lament* is deleted for *Alarm*. Probably, therefore, the idea of the burlesque was suggested by a certain broadside, "The Church of Scotland's Lamentation concerning the setting up of Plays and Comedies, March 1715," the work of an anonymous writer, of which there is a copy in the Roxburghe Collection.' Then they describe the various MSS. and versions, including the broadside published in 1789 with the title 'The Ayrshire Garland,' an Excellent New Song: Tune, 'The Vicar and Moses,' of which Mr. Craibe Angus is the proud possessor of the only copy known to exist. Burns's tunes do not, it seems, fit the verses. The stave of 'The Kirk's Alarm' was used in Pitcairne's 'Roundell on Sir Robert Sibbald,' 1686, and by Congreve, and was popular in England throughout the eighteenth century. But 'as a matter of fact "The Kirk's Alarm" was modelled directly on a political squib which appeared in *The Glasgow Mercury*, December 23-30, 1788, and was current at least six months before Burns wrote his first draft.' This is admirable work. It is the kind of critical editing that the student has long desired, and it is free from all suspicion of a straining of the facts to suit the editors' theory. But too high praise cannot be accorded to Messrs. Henley and Henderson's studies of origins throughout. Thus the six-line stave in *rime couée*, built on two rhymes, of the 'Address to the Deil,' is traced from the work of the first-known troubadour, William IX., Count of Poitiers and Duke of Guienne (1071-1127), through Hilary, a Paris monk of the twelfth century, through an anonymous English love-song of the

thirteenth century, through the *York Plays* and the *Towneley Mysteries* of the fifteenth century, down to its first use by a Scotsman, Sir David Lyndesay. So by Ferguson's time it had 'become the common inheritance of all such Scotsmen as could rhyme.' Again, the metrical structure of 'The Holy Fair' is traced back to the thirteenth century romance of *Sir Tristrem*, and 'docked of the bob-wheel, that never-failing device of the mediæval craftsman, the *Sir Tristrem* stave is identical with one which, imitated from a monkish-Latin original, was popular all through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and long afterwards.' Burns himself avowedly derived the metre of the 'Epistle to Davie' from Montgomerie. Messrs. Henley and Henderson ascribe to Montgomerie, with the utmost probability, the invention of this peculiar quatorzain; they trace its history to Ramsay's revival of it in 'The Vision,' and elsewhere, and claim it as exclusively Scottish, both in derivation and in use. In like manner they trace back 'The Death and Dying Words of Poor Mailie' to Hamilton of Gilbertfield's (1665?-1757) 'Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck.'

To revert to the famous theory, what do Messrs. Henley and Henderson make of 'Tam o' Shanter' and 'The Jolly Beggars?' Do these works of genius help to prove or disprove that Burns was the last expression of the old Scots world and the outcome of an environment *plus* Scots forebears, rather than a pioneer in poetry, a prophet with a distinct point of view from his predecessors? Well, the *Centenary* edition does not attempt to derive 'Tam o' Shanter' at all. Of 'The Jolly Beggars' it says frankly:—'The Burns of this "puissant and splendid production," as Matthew Arnold calls it—this irresistible presentation of humanity caught in the act, and summarised for ever in the terms of art—comes into line with divers poets of repute, from our own Dekker and John Fletcher to the singer of *les Gueux* (1813) and *Le Vieux Vagabond* (1830), and approves himself their master in the matter of such qualities as humour, vision, lyrical potency, descriptive style, and the faculty of swift, dramatic presentation, to a purpose that may not be gainsaid.' Does

not that give away the whole case? The poet of 'The Jolly Beggars' was neither the satirist and singer of a parish, nor the product of a local or traditionary environment, ever so many forebears aiding. He imitated, copied, and stole much; that is proved to the hilt, and never more conclusively or completely than here. But when an attempt is made to place him in the hierarchy of literature, his imitative work must be assigned its proper, recognised value, and that which he invented (in the widest sense of the term, including form and point of view) must be taken as the decisive evidence of distinction. But the note on 'The Jolly Beggars' is in itself a monument of knowledge of the literature of mendicancy and knavery, and will be precious to all time.

It is in the third volume, recently published, that Messrs. Henley and Henderson are most successful, as they were bound to be, in proving Burns to be the last expression of the old Scots world, although their theory unquestionably leads them to exaggerate a little his debt to his 'nameless forebears,' and to minimise, by ever so little, the broad distinction between him and the writers of the songs which he 'passed through the mint of his mind.' It is not easy to see how they can prove—and they do not attempt it—that the master-qualities of 'fresh and taking simplicity, of vigour and directness, and happy and humorous ease,' came to Burns from his nameless forebears, along with 'much of the thought, the romance, and the sentiment, for which we read and love him.' But theory apart, students are deeply indebted for the study in the origins of Burns's songs which is here presented to them. The editors have utilised a vast mass of material which previous editors have but skimmed—broadsides, chap-books, rare song-books, the great collections of David Herd, including the British Museum MSS., even 'The Merry Muses,' an invaluable guide, rightly used. The Lochryan MSS., embracing unpublished letters of Burns to Mrs. Dunlop, have furnished them with a number of interesting facts, such as the poet's explicit statement that 'Sweet Afton' was written for Johnson's *Musical Museum* as a 'compliment' to the 'small river Afton that flows into the Nith, near New Cumnock, which has

some charming wild romantic scenery on its banks.' Their treatment of Burns's inheritance from the clandestine literature of Scotland, and of England too, is excellent. The poet's relations with Johnson and Thomson are carefully and accurately set forth, and sufficient proof is furnished from his correspondence in the Hastie MSS., and from certain MS. material in the possession of Mr. George Gray, Rutherglen, that he was virtually editor of the *Museum* from 1787 till his health began to fail. The Thomson songs are justly placed on a lower level than those which he passed through the mint to Johnson, though one may fairly demur to the sweeping criticism that 'they are *often* vapid in sentiment and artificial in effect.'

A good example of the editing of a song is the note on 'M'Pherson's Farewell.' The Herd set is traced to an old broadside—'The Last Words of James Macpherson, Murderer,' with the corollary—'That it is excellent drama that has bred the ridiculous tradition—devoutly accepted by certain editors—that the hero wrote it.' And Peter Buchan's copy is declared to be a clumsy vamp from Burns and the original. Take, again, the note on 'Up in the Morning Early.' D'Urfey's authorship of the original ballad is not assailed, though doubt is cast upon it by the existence of a set in a *Collection of Old Ballads* (London, 1723,) described as 'said to have been written in the time of James.' Hogg and Motherwell's 'well known song' is said to be a vamp from Burns, and Burns's chorus at least is clearly traced to its immediate source in a hitherto unknown set in the Herd MS. We have remarked the discovery which settles the ancient controversy about 'Afton Water.' But these are mere tastings of an inimitable and invaluable body of contributions to the critical appreciation of Burns's song-witing. 'Under his hand,' say Messrs. Henley and Henderson, 'a patch-work of catch-words became a living song. He would take you two fragments of different epochs, select the best from each, and treat the matter of his choice in such a style that it is hard to know where its components end and begin; so that nothing is certain about his result except that it is a work of art. Or he would capture a wandering old refrain, adjust it to his own conditions, and so renew its

lyrical interest and significance that it seems to live its true life for the first time on his lips.' Their own work supplies, for the first time, sufficient detailed evidence of the truth of that scarcely original thesis. There are errors of taste in the *Centenary Burns*, but these and some slips in accuracy apart, it stands forth as the classical edition of the Poetry of Robert Burns.

JAMES DAVIDSON.

ART. VI.—FARTHEST NORTH.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN'S *Farthest North*. Maps and Illustrations.
Two volumes. Westminster. 1897.

DR. NANSEN has performed a very remarkable feat. He has not accomplished all he intended or hoped to do, still what he has succeeded in doing is quite sufficient to entitle him to a very distinguished and foremost place among that gallant band who have contributed so much towards the solution of the mystery of the Arctic seas. He has also written a very remarkable book. It is a brilliant record of skill, courage and perseverance amid enormous difficulties as well as of a success without a parallel. Life and adventures in the Polar seas have never been described with a more brilliant pen. Here and there the scenes and incidents recorded are similar, but Dr. Nansen is a master in the art of writing as well as in the art of exploration, and from the beginning to the end of his long and detailed narrative he carries the sympathies of his readers along with him, and keeps their attention and interest always on the alert.

A student of Arctic exploration Dr. Nansen early came to the conclusion that the methods and routes which had previously been adopted for penetrating to the North Pole, were wrong. His own plan was suggested to him by an article, contributed as far back as the year 1884, by Professor Mohn, to the Norwegian *Morgenblad*, in which, arguing from the find-

ing upon the south-west coast of Greenland of certain articles which must have come from the ill-fated *Jeannette*, the Professor conjectured that they must have drifted on a floe right across the Polar seas. 'It immediately occurred to me,' says Dr. Nansen, 'that here lay the route ready to hand. If a floe could drift right across the unknown region, that drift might also be enlisted in the service of exploration—and my plan was laid.' It was not, however, till 1890 that he propounded his theory, when he laid it before the Christiania Geographical Society in a lecture, from which long extracts are given in the first volume of *Farthest North*. He assumed, on what are now known to be good grounds, that a current flows at some point between the Pole and Franz Josef Land from the Siberian Arctic Sea to the east coast of Greenland. The problem, therefore, was to enter this current, and by firmly mooring to the ice floes a ship, built specially for the purpose, and capable of resisting or avoiding the immense ice pressure which might be expected, to use the current as a motive power to transport the vessel across the Pole and onwards to the sea between Greenland and Spitzbergen.

In Norway the plan met with the warmest approval, and was vigorously supported by Professor Mohn. Elsewhere, it met with little favour. 'Most of the Polar travellers and Arctic authorities declared more or less openly that it was sheer madness' to attempt it. When laid before the Royal Geographical Society in London at a meeting attended by the principal Arctic travellers of England, it was severely criticised, and though one or two admitted the correctness of the theory on which it was founded, the general opinion was that it was impracticable. The Norwegians on the other hand seem to have had no doubt either as to the practicability or as to the success of the plan. The government gave it their support; the Storting voted grants to the amount of £15,750, the King subscribed £1,125 towards it, and the remainder of the sum required for fitting out the expedition was raised by private subscription, Dr. Nansen himself subscribing largely. The London Geographical Society sent a donation of £300.

The first requisite for the expedition was a suitable vessel.

It was resolved to build a new one. Every detail had to be carefully thought out, and as far as could be foreseen every possible contingency provided against. In the planning and construction of the vessel Dr. Nansen had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Colin Archer. 'What was specially aimed at was to give the ship such sides that it could readily be hoisted up during ice pressure, without being crushed between the floes.' At the same time it had to be so constructed as to withstand the greatest possible pressure from without in any direction whatsoever, and to afford a safe and warm stronghold for the crew while drifting in the ice. Speed and sailing qualities were of secondary account. Size was a matter of importance, and it was necessary to make the vessel as small as possible, consistent with the other qualities required. The result was a complete success. The *Fram* did her work admirably. She was a bad sailer, and could make only 6 or 7 knots an hour under steam, but during the whole of her weary months of drifting she afforded a warm and comfortable shelter to the crew, and under the heaviest ice pressure never gave the slightest occasion for fear as to her safety.

The *Fram* was well supplied with instruments for taking scientific observations; special attention was paid to the commissariat; an excellent library was provided for the crew; and arrangements were made for lighting the vessel with electricity. Indeed it is scarcely possible not to admire the foresight exercised in the fitting out of the expedition. Everything seems to have been thought of, except a supply of Keating's insect powder, and nothing appears to have been left undone to ensure success.

In his crew Dr. Nansen appears to have been exceedingly fortunate. The Commander of the *Fram*, O. N. Sverdrup, had taken part in the Greenland Expedition of 1888-89. Under him were S. Scott-Hansen, First Lieutenant in the Navy; Dr. H. G. Blessing; A. Amundsen, the Chief Engineer, who held the rank of Chief Engineer in the Navy; T. C. Jacobson; P. L. Henriksen, and B. Bentzen, all of whom were accustomed to the Arctic seas; A. Juell, F. H. Johansen, B. Nordahl, and J. O. J. Møgstad, the second of whom is a Lieutenant in the

Reserve, and shipped as stoker. Throughout the voyage all lived together on terms of equality, the most perfect order and discipline prevailed, and each seems to have been more anxious than the other to make things pleasant, and to contribute to the success of the expedition.

On the 24th June, 1893, everything was ready; the *Fram* weighed anchor at Pepperviken, and began her adventurous voyage. Her passage up the Norwegian coast, barring one or two incidents, was something like a triumphal procession. Everybody seemed to be on the outlook for her, and whenever caught sight of she was hailed with enthusiasm:

‘Every now and then a hurrah from land—at one time from a troop of children, at another from grown-up people, but mostly from wondering peasants, who gaze long at the strange-looking ship, and muse over its enigmatic destination. And men and women on board sloops and ten-oared boats stand up in their red shirts, that glow in the sunlight, and rest on their oars to look at us. Steamboats, crowded with people, come out from the towns we passed, to greet us and bid us God-speed on our way, with music, songs, and cannon salutes. The great tourist steamboats dipped flags to us and fired salutes, and the smaller craft did the same. . . . Most touching was the interest and sympathy with which these poor fisher-folk and peasants greeted us. It often set me wondering. I felt they followed us with fervent eagerness. I remember one day—it was north in Helgeland—an old woman was standing waving and waving to us on a bare crag. Her cottage lay some distance inland. “I wonder if it is really you she is waving to?” I said to the pilot, who was standing beside me. “You may be sure it is,” was the answer. “But how can she know who we are?” “Oh, they know all about the *Fram* up here in every cabin, and they will be on the look-out for you as soon as you come back, I can tell you,” he answered.’

At Vardö the ship’s company were entertained to a banquet, and then bade adieu to Norway. The news received at Tromsö and Vardö respecting the ice was not encouraging, but the *Fram* pushed on her way through fog and ice to the Yugor Strait, where the *Urania* was to have met her with a supply of coal; but, owing to the ice, she did not reach Khabarova until the 7th August. Here at Khabarova the *Fram* also took on board thirty-four dogs, which, acting under the instructions of Baron Toll, Trontheim had purchased at Berezoff and brought on overland.

The voyage through the 'dreaded' Kara Sea, into which the *Fram* glided at 4 A.M., August 4, was difficult and slow; ice, winds, and currents, had to be contended with, but Taimur Island was passed, and on 10th September Cape Chelyuskin, the northernmost point of the Old World, was turned, 'and we saw the way clear to our goal, the drift ice to the north of the New Siberian Islands.' On the 14th the *Fram* was off the land lying between the Chatanga and the Anabara, and instead of turning in to the Olenek to take in another supply of dogs which Baron Toll was to have waiting for him there, as the season was so far advanced, Dr. Nansen made for the North as directly and rapidly as he could. On the 18th he wrote in his diary:—

'A splendid day. Shaped course northwards to the west of Bielkoff Island. Open sea; good wind from the West; good progress. Weather clear, and we had a little sunshine in the afternoon. Now the decisive moment approaches. At 12.15 shaped our course north to east (by compass). Now it is to be proved if my theory, on which the whole expedition is based, is correct—if we are to find a little north from here a north flowing current. So far everything is better than I expected. We are in latitude $75\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., and have still open water and a dark sky to the north and west.'

The following day he wrote:—

'I have never had such a splendid sail. On to the north, steadily north, with a good wind, as fast as steam and sail can take us, and open sea mile after mile, watch after watch, through these unknown regions, always clearer and clearer of ice one might almost say! How long will this last? The eye always turns to the northward as one paces the bridge. It is gazing into the future. But there is always the same dark sky ahead, which means open water. . . Now we are almost in 77° north latitude. How long is it to go on? I have said all along that I should be glad if we reached 78° , but Sverdrup is less easily satisfied; he says over 80° —perhaps 84° , 85° .'

On the 20th, the day following, their conjectures were set at rest. About 11 A.M. they were sharply pulled up by the ice in about $77^{\circ} 44'$ north latitude, and after an attempt to get further north by sailing north-west along the ice, the *Fram* was made fast next day to the ice-floes in about latitude $78\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., to test the theory on which the expedition was based.

Everything was at once made snug for the winter, which

soon came down. The rudder was hauled up ; the engine was taken to pieces, oiled, and laid away :—

‘ We cleared up the hold to make room for a joiner’s workshop down there ; our mechanical workshop we had in the engine-room. The smithy was at first on deck, and afterwards on the ice ; tinsmith’s work was done chiefly in the chart-room ; shoemaker’s and sailmaker’s, and various odd sorts of work, in the saloon. And all these occupations were carried on with interest and activity during the rest of the expedition. There was nothing, from the most delicate instruments down to wooden shoes and axe-handles, that could not be made on board the *Fram*. When we were found to be short of sounding-line, a grand rope-walk was constructed on the ice. It proved to be a very profitable undertaking, and was well patronised.’

A windmill was erected on deck to drive the dynamo and produce the electric light, and arrangements were made for making meteorological and other observations. Provisions were plentiful and varied, and the best of good-fellowship prevailed. To break the monotony of the long Arctic winter various birth-days were observed, and all the principal events in the Norwegian political calendar : an illustrated newspaper was started, excursions were made, the library with which the ship had been provided was thrown open, and amusements of various kinds were got up and enjoyed. For instance, on November 5th,

‘ A great race on the ice was advertised for to-day. The course was measured, marked off, and decorated with flags. The cook had prepared the prizes—cakes numbered, and properly graduated in size. The expectation was great ; but it turned out that, from excessive training during the few last days, the whole crew were so stiff in the legs that they were not able to move. We got our prizes all the same. One man was blind-folded, and he decided who was to have each cake as it was pointed out. This just arrangement met with general approbation, and we all thought it a pleasanter way of getting the prizes than running half-a-mile for them.’

Again

‘ On Christmas Day [1894], of course we had a special dinner. After dinner coffee and curaças made here on board, and Nordahl came forward with Russian cigarettes. At night a bowl of cloudberry punch was served hot, which did not by any means seem unwelcome. Mogstad played the violin, and Pettersen was electrified thereby to such a degree that he sang and danced to us. He really exhibits considerable talent as a comedian,

and has a decided bent towards the ballet. It is astonishing what versatility he displays : engineer, blacksmith, tinsmith, cook, master of ceremonies, comedian, dancer, and last of all, he has come out in the capacity of a first-class barber and hair dresser. There was a grand "ball" at night ; Mogstad had to play till the perspiration poured from him ; Hansen and I had to figure as ladies. Pettersen was indefatigable. He faithfully and solemnly vowed that if he has a pair of boots to his feet when he gets home, he will dance as long as the soles hold together.'

Visitors to the *Fram* were comparatively few and were generally in the shape of one or more polar bears. A trap was set for them, but they were too astute to be caught by it. Immediately after it was set one of them calmly examined it, and having made up his mind as to its suspicious character, appears to have communicated it to the rest. At anyrate, though they were continually prowling around the vessel and on more than one occasion carried off one of the dogs, not one of them seems to have ever been found in the trap. Visitors on the wing were few.

Of the natural phenomena they witnessed Dr. Nansen has naturally much to say, and often calls in the artist to assist him in conveying to his readers an idea of what they were. They were chiefly, of course, of the heavens and of the ice. His own descriptions are remarkably vivid and here and there poetic. Take for instance the following, which was written on Tuesday, September 26th :—

'The sky is like an enormous cupola, blue at the zenith, shadowing down into green, and then into lilac and violet at the edges. Over the icefield there are cold violet-blue shadows, with lighter pink tints where a ridge here and there catches the last reflection of the vanished day. Up in the blue of the cupola shine the stars, speaking peace, as they always do, those unchanging friends. In the south stands a large red-yellow moon, encircled by a yellow ring and light golden clouds floating on the blue back-ground. Presently the aurora borealis shakes over the vault of heaven its veil of glittering silver—changing now to yellow, now to green, now to red. It spreads, it contracts again, in restless change, next it breaks interwaving, many-folded bands of shining silver, over which shoot billows of glittering rays ; and then the glory vanishes. Presently it shines in tongues of flame over the very zenith ; and then again it shoots a bright ray right up from the horizon, until the whole melts away in the moon-light, and it is as though one heard the sigh of a departing spirit. Here and there are left a few waving streamers of light, vague as a foreboding

—they are the dust from the aurora's glittering cloak. But now it is growing again ; new lightnings shoot up ; and the endless game begins afresh. And all the time this utter stillness, impressive as the symphony of infinitude.'

After the first alarm the phenomena of the ice pressure began to be looked upon with a considerable amount of equanimity. Thanks to the shape given to the hull of the *Fram* and the skill with which it had been constructed, instead of being squeezed in the ice by the pressure, the vessel was squeezed up almost out of it and never suffered anything but the slightest injury. Still the phenomena were sufficiently alarming.

'An ice conflict is undeniably a stupendous spectacle. One feels one's self to be in the presence of Titanic forces, and it is easy to understand how timid souls may be overawed and feel as if nothing could stand before it. For when the packing begins in earnest, it seems as if there could be no spot on the earth's surface left unshaken. First you hear a sound like the thundering rumble of an earthquake far away on the great waste ; then you hear it in several places, always coming nearer and nearer. The silent ice world re-echoes with thunders ; nature's giants are awakening to the battle. The ice cracks on every side of you, begins to pile itself up ; and all of a sudden you too find yourself in the midst of the struggle. There are howlings and thunderings round you ; you feel the ice trembling, and hear it rumbling under your feet ; there is no peace anywhere. In the semi-darkness you can see it piling and tossing itself up into high ridges nearer and nearer to you—floes 10, 12, 15 feet thick, broken and flung on the top of each other as if they were featherweights. They are quite near you now, and you jump away to save your life. But the ice splits in front of you, a black gulf opens, and water streams up. You turn in another direction, but there through the dark you can just see a new ridge of moving ice-blocks coming towards you. You try another direction, but there it is the same. All around there is thundering and roaring, as of some enormous waterfall, with explosions like canon salvos. Still nearer you it comes. The floe you are standing on gets smaller and smaller ; water pours over it ; there can be no escape except by scrambling over the rolling ice-blocks to get to the other side of the pack. But now the disturbance begins to calm down. The noise passes on, and is lost by degrees in the distance. This is what goes on away there in the north month after month and year after year.'

When, as mentioned above, the *Fram* was made fast to the ice in about $78\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude, on the 22nd September, 1893, and was allowed to drift, her movements were somewhat peculiar.

They were not always in the same direction: they were now in one direction, and now in another; at times indeed they were south; but in the long run they were to the north-west; and on the 22nd September, 1894, she had drifted 189 miles, equal to $3^{\circ} 9'$ latitude. By March 13th of the following year, still drifting with the ice, she had reached 84° N. lat., $101^{\circ} 55'$ E. long. Dr. Nansen's theory of the north-west current was thus proved, and the *Fram* had reached a point considerably further north than any other vessel. Subsequently on Nov. 15th, 1895, when in longitude $66^{\circ} 31'$, with an E.N.E. wind, she had reached latitude $85^{\circ} 55.5'$

In the beginning of 1895, after much thought and preparation, Dr. Nansen resolved to leave the *Fram* in charge of Sverdrup, and push directly North over the ice. Taking with him Johansen on March 14th therefore, after several false starts, he finally set out with three sledges drawn by twenty-eight dogs. The sledges carried two kayaks as well as provisions and instruments. As they proceeded the ice became exceedingly rough, and the sledges had frequently to be lifted up bodily over 'the terrible ice ridges.' Progress was slow, and the fatigue intolerable. After a hard struggle they at last succeeded in reaching lat. $86^{\circ} 13.6'$ in longitude about 95° on March 7th, and finding the ice getting still worse they resolved to shape their course for Cape Fligely.

The journey homeward was one of the most remarkable ever performed. It was a struggle—a long and fierce struggle for life, and the story of it is told with a skill equal to the best in the Sagas. One by one the dogs gave out and were slain to feed the rest, until at last but one was left, and it was shot, because there was no food for it. Dr. Nansen and his companion, Johansen, were overtaken by winter in Frederick Jackson Island, where they were compelled to spend the long polar night in a rude hut, and were reduced to live on bears' flesh and blubber.

On May 19th, 1896, they resumed their journey south by sledge and kayak. If anything their journey was more perilous than before. More than once they were within an ace of perishing. At last they reached what afterwards turned out to

in Franz Josef Land. On June 17th, while on the look out, and watching some flocks of auks, a sound reached Dr. Nansen's ear, which he says was 'so like the barking of a dog that I started.' The sound was repeated, 'first single barks, then full cry; there was one deep bark, and one sharper; there was no longer any room for doubt. At that moment I remembered having heard two reports the day before, which I thought sounded like shots, but I had explained them away as cracks in the ice.' He shouted to Johansen that he heard *dogs barking inland*. Johansen 'could not quite take it in,' and 'very much doubted the possibility of the thing.' After breakfast, during which they ate the last of their Indian meal, Dr. Nansen went to examine into the mystery.

'It was with a strange mixture of feelings that I made my way in *crevasses and among the numerous hummocks and inequalities*. Suddenly I thought I heard a shout from a human voice, a strange voice, the first *for many years*. How my heart beat, and the blood rushed to my brain, as I ran up on to a hummock, and hallooed with all the strength of my lungs. Behind that one human voice in the midst of the icy desert, this *one woman from life*, stood home and she who was waiting there; and I saw *nothing else* as I made my way between bergs and ice-ridges. Soon I heard another shout, and saw, too, from an ice-ridge, a dark form *moving among the hummocks further in*. It was a dog; but farther off came another figure, and that was a man. Who was it! Was it Jackson, or one of his companions, or was it perhaps a fellow countryman? We approached one another quickly; I waved my hat, he did the same. I heard him speak to the dog, and I listened. It was English, and as I drew nearer I thought I recognised Mr. Jackson, whom I remembered once to have seen.'

It turned out to be Mr. Jackson. The two wayfarers were welcomed enthusiastically, and entertained. After a short stay they were on their way to Norway.

The *Fram* meantime had been drifting, and on 13th August, 1896, when in about 81° 48' N. latitude, she was set free from the ice, and steamed off with sails set for home. At Skjærvø, on 20th August, Sverdrup obtained news of Dr. Nansen, who had arrived at Vardö the same day that the *Fram* got free of the ice, and was then at Hammerfest. Sverdrup and his companions on the *Fram* then set off to meet Nansen and Johansen at Tromsø, and on the 25th August, at 4 P.M., after

a separation of seventeen months, the members of the *Fram's* crew were again united.

Captain Sverdrup's report of the drifting of the *Fram* from March 14th, 1895, which is given at the end of the second volume, is well worth reading. Both volumes, as need hardly be said, are full of the most exciting adventures. The supply of maps and illustrations is profuse. The translation, which is evidently from several hands, is well done, and the production of the volumes, in so short a time, is creditable in the highest degree to all who were engaged in it.

ART. VII.—THE DIARY OF JANE PORTER.

WHAT a fascination lurks around old faded notes and manuscripts and franked letters, with their wafers and sealing-wax! A subtle far-off delicacy clings to them. Visions of short-waisted, be-muslined girls, of scented rose leaves and harpsicords, rise before us as we turn over the pages. To us, in these days of Röntgen rays and phonographs, there is something soothing in the thought of that old-world life, when a tea-drinking and the weekly part of an anonymous novel were the excitements of one and all. The times and the manners are changed. Our grandparents—and particularly the fair sex—were satisfied with themselves and all their doings. Placidity and complacency were the order of the day. Now-a-days our faults may be legion, but at least we are endowed with 'a large and liberal discontent,' and have freed ourselves from the artificial formalities which smothered all spontaneous feeling. We jerk off illegible notes with stylographic pens, while the Belinda and Sélina of a hundred years ago sat themselves down and composed 'epistles' studded with Johnsonian phrases and tedious circumlocutions. And if the 'pen was wielded' in the service of literature, it was as a religious duty, for, as the subject of this article says, 'We regarded our works not as a pastime

for ourselves, or a mere amusement for others, but as the use to be made of an entrusted talent "given to us for a purpose," and for every word we set down in our pages, we believed we must hereafter be accountable to Heaven and our country.' So writes Jane Porter, the authoress of *The Scottish Chiefs*, some of whose old diaries and papers have lately come into my possession, and are now taking me back to the end of last century.

Few of us in the present remember the name of Jane Porter, and still fewer have ever read her works. The copies of *Thaddeus of Warsaw* and *The Scottish Chiefs*, over which our parents bestowed their tears and enthusiasms, are now relegated to shelves in the lumber-room. Still there is a certain interest in following the 'vicissitudes' (as she would call them) of a literary life of that period, even of such a minor light as Jane Porter herself, and I propose to piece the fragments together and let them tell their own story.

The first glimpse we have of the Porter family is in 1777, when Jane's father, who was a surgeon in the 6th Dragoons, writes thus to his wife from Bareges, in the north of France :

' I approve of your changing the children's school-mistress, for rudeness is horrid, the expense is but small. I am sorry Billy is no better improved in his Learning, pray pay great attention to him and make his school-mistress use double diligence in teaching him properly and tenderly. I must have him a good scholar. Tell him if he learns well I will bring him pretty things from France and shall love him. Jacky is a charming boy, and promises to be a lad of Genius. Billy must not be behind hand with him in learning. My Jenny is beautiful; it will be my pride to dress my little Queen handsomely and decently. The rest I leave to your good sense to make up the rest of her education fitting her for a good wife to an Honest Man, who will use her as I have used her good mother. I am still the plain Irishman, and never mix with french folks as I do not understand well nor have I french enough to converse with them. I severely regret the want of that part of my Education; my Children shall not labour under that defect. Please God I live to see their Education perfected.'

Poor Dr. Porter did not live to superintend the education of his beloved children. Two years after this letter was written, he died, before his youngest child, Anna Maria, was born. After his death, Mrs. Porter left Durham and settled in Edin-

burgh, where the children spent the first part of their lives. Jane and Anna Maria went to school there, and their romantic feelings were nourished by the historical charm of the town. Sir Walter Scott, when a boy, was a frequent visitor in their house, and an old woman called *Lucky Forbes* poured into their delighted ears tales 'of the awful times of the brave Sir William Wallace.' Of the family, 'Billy' became a naval surgeon, and after travelling, and writing a history of his adventures in collaboration with Jane, he settled down as a physician at Bristol. 'Jacky' was Colonel John Porter, and 'Bobby' the famous traveller, artist, and writer, Sir Robert Ker Porter.

The two girls were dabbling in literature while in their teens, and Anna Maria, at the age of thirteen, began a series of 'Artless Tales,' which appeared anonymously. At seventeen she had produced several three-volume novels, *Octavia*, and *Walsh Colville*, and others. Jane was four years older than Anna Maria, 'more serious and thoughtful,' and having a warm admiration for her younger and charming sister. S. C. Hall described Anna as a 'blonde, handsome and gay,' and dubbed her 'l'Allegro' in contrast to the 'quieter brunette,' Jane, who got the name of 'Il Penseroso.'

Let us look at the girls and their life as we can see it from Jane's Memorandum Book of 1796, exactly one hundred years ago! At this time the family was settled in London. Jane was twenty years old; Anna Maria, sixteen; and Robert, nineteen. Their life seems to have been a very free and happy one. Admirers and love affairs filled the air. Their brother John's friends from his regiment, Wade and Henry Caulfield, were constant visitors, and James and Horace Smith, Richard Davenport, and Stockdale, all young aspirants to literature, gathered round the eager, intelligent family. Stockdale and Davenport live—and die!—in the Dictionary of National Biography, but the Smiths are remembered by many for their witty joint production called *Rejected Addresses*, and Horace's charming 'Lines addressed to a Mummy' can never be overlooked. In those days everyone scribbled; would-be poets 'were as plentiful as black-

berries.' One and all burst into verse on the slightest provocation. There were 'lines' addressed to every conceivable person on every conceivable subject. As Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie says: 'One is struck by the keener literary zest of those days, and by the immense numbers of MSS. and tragedies in circulation, all of which their authors confidently send from one to another. There are also whole flights of travelling poems flapping their wings and uttering cries as they go.' It was an age, too, of mutual admiration and adulation, and only poems charged with 'throbbing hearts,' and 'agonized tears,' and 'fond despairs,' could relieve the over-burdened soul! Henry Caulfield, in a sonnet, calls Davenport

'Sweet child of Fancy,'

and sighs for one

'So young, so young and so unblest;'

and Davenport replies thus to Henry—

'Child of the Muse, thy soul-entrancing strains
Might sure the soft, the blissful balm bestow!
Tho' lost to joy—while thro' each throbbing vein
Urges the stream of life its course along,
Still shall unfading Memory retain
Thy peace-inspiring sympathetic song.'

Jane addresses Stockdale as

'Gentle Bard,'

and is enraptured with

'The trilling sweetness of thy moral song,'

and admirers of Jane apostrophise her as

'Jane, lovely, fair, divinely bright.'

Jane perorates an extravagant poem about her brother Robert with these lines—

'I cannot speak thy Inward Beauty's glow
(Tho' thy form's graces all mankind allow),
But it is ever present to my soul
And oft oppress'd with Love as now,
I long for Life and Time to roll
And bring the *last Great Day*, to make thee wholly known!'

and in a sonnet she declares that she will die happy if 'Fame that Eagle, soar but to Jove to register *his* name.'

But now let us look at a few extracts from the diary:—

'Jan. 21. Bob and Halsted went to the Masquerade. H. as a French hairdresser; Bob went as a young Highlander, and looked beautiful. Bob met Wade dressed in a domino: he saluted a hundred times and promised to call soon.

'Feb. 3. Sent Harrison my *Classicus* (Jane's *nom de plume* at this time: Harrison edited a popular weekly magazine), called "The Errors of the Heart." In the evening went to Barbar's Ball: met disagreeable company—a fellow who called himself the Pink Domino.

'Feb. 12. Wrote a paper called "Youthful Imprudence." Maria finished her novel of "The Guards." Stockdale drank tea.

'March 6. Maria and Silena walked out: they met Wade with Horace (Smith). Wade looked delighted and bowed: Maria curtsied and proceeded. Wade parted from Horace and stood opposite Maria: said to Silena something about his extreme happiness at the sight of Maria. Horace flew forward, begged her pardon for the intrusion, but the situation of his friend demanded it, as he loved her to madness. Maria burst into tears: Silena stormed: Horace apologized, but still swore the passion of his friend. How will this end?

'June 6. Wrote to Davenport as from "*Classicus*." Mrs. Siddons' Benefit. Wrote a sketch for the "Mysteries of the Black Forest."

'June 10. Davenport called: shewed me the letter from "*Classicus*:" said it should only be parted with him with his life. Went to the School of Eloquence.

'July 12. Davenport and Stockdale drank tea. Poor Davenport's situation nearly resembles Chatterton's.'

This remark of Jane's is curiously prophetic. After struggling with literature and pouring out his melancholy and morbid feelings in sonnets, young Davenport was found one morning, like Chatterton, dead in an attic, and surrounded by books and pamphlets. It was said that he had taken an over-dose of laudanum. I wonder if an unreturned affection for '*Classicus*' heightened his melancholy?

Jane is constantly recording the arrival of letters from various beaux with locks of hair, etc. It is strange that none of the love affairs came to anything. That the girls were much admired is evident, and that they were beautiful and accomplished is none the less clear. Perhaps Jane's feelings on the subject are expressed in these lines, written a few years later:

' I tell you I won't, so don't tease me again,
 I wish *you* were charming or I were not so :
 Sure I'm not to blame, because silly-brained men
 With fondness will melt or with passion will glow ?

Nay, sigh not, and weep not, and kneel not to me,
 Your sighing and kneeling but injure your suit :
 To relinquish such triumphs what fools we should be,
 For of courtship's sweet blossom, full bitter's the fruit.

In wedlock we *women* must kneel, sue and cry,
 Must beg for a look, must implore for a smile,
 Must shrink at a frown, at a glance quickly fly,
 And turn into pleasure each pain and each toil.

Then why should we marry, and why should we leave
 The throne which your folly so easily gave ?
 Ah, trust me, in vain you may flatter or grieve
 Who that once was a Tyrant, would e'er be a Slave ?'

And once on being offered a Rose d'Amour, Jane declares :

' Oh, not the Rose d'Amour for me !
 Too many thorns that rose surround :
 These thorns will pierce, these thorns will wound
 How sweet soe'er the flower may be !'

In 1707 Robert Porter and his sisters started an illustrated magazine called *The Quiz*. They were helped by Thomas F. Dibdin, the author of *The Bibliomania*, and the well-known librarian to Lord Spencer. It seems to have been a failure, and only a few copies were printed. A poem dated in 1801 is the next link in my papers, and gives us another glimpse into the Porter family circle. Here the friends include Horace Smith, Charles Kemble, the great actor, and the fair Teresa du Camp, who was married to Kemble in 1806. She was a charming actress, playing sometimes Portia and Desdemona and sometimes Lady Teazle, and is described as a 'delightful dark-eyed, dark-haired girl, whose motion was itself music ere her voice was heard.' It is called 'A Home Scene.'

' We to the parlour's precincts hasten soon,
 Soft are the sofas, warm the velvet room,
 The closing curtains fold our mingling feet,
 Twelve faithful Friends, beneath this favoured Dome
 This evening woo fair Joy—in Gerrard Street.

The candles bright, the Fire it blazes high,
The fragrant Tea, my mother's hand bestows :
To take the cups the ready footsteps fly
Of Beaux to serve the Belles and Belles the Beaux.

First in the circle as the first in wit
Teresa fair and wise as fair is seen,
And near to her by Cupid's arrow hit
Sits Kemble sighing for his Captive Queen.

Smiling Maria rolls her azure eyes
And trills an Elegy to Ernest's praise :
The youth his silver lyre responsive tries
And as the Nymph he sings, his tresses bloom with bays.

Robert with sportive jest young Horace dares
To wrestle with him in the field of wit,
Leonard benign the halting Punster spares,
Embodied virtues on *his* temples sit !

Victoire demure, Sophia ever gay,
Denham of Feeling warm and heart sincere
Beneath the table on the carpet play
The Joke, the Laugh, their jocund moments wear.

Last in the train and seated on a stool,
Joanna leans her elbows on her knees :
Alas ! she fears these Rhymes will dub her Fool,
And yet she hopes they may her sister please !

Jane and Maria's reading can be followed from their Extract Books, which are monuments of patience and solidity. At twenty-two Jane has a huge volume of Extracts, 'particularly relating to education,' and taken largely from Aristotle and Plato. A favourite author is Dr. Johnson, to whom she gives admiration enough to please even Miss Deborah Jenkins, and whose works she has laboriously transcribed. Then there are passages from Thomson's *Seasons*, from *The Rambler*, from Mary Wollstonecraft's novels, from Knox's *Essays*, from Burke, and from Sir Philip Sidney. She had a great admiration for Mary Wollstonecraft, that pioneer of 'Woman's Rights,' and writes these 'Lines on her grave.'

'Where art thou fled, great Soul ? O where are gone
The loves, griefs, joys which made thee all their own ?
Cold with thy broken heart, thy mouldering breast
Dare man presume thou liest in dreamless Rest ?

Ah no ! th' immortal mind which round this tomb
 Shall call the tender thought in years to come
 That mind immortal lives and feels, tho' clouds
 From human eye its place and being shrouds.'

And in some 'Stanzas' on the same subject Jane talks of—

'Sun-eyed Genius mourning his darling's early tomb.'

Sir Sidney Smith, the great Admiral, who at the time was achieving some of his world-renowned exploits, was also worshipped by our impressionable heroine, and in some lines Jane even goes the length of coupling his name with another of her heroes, Sir Philip Sidney.

'O Sidney like that Sidney formed
 Who nobly fell on foreign land ;
 Like him, in war a vengeful Brand,
 In peace a summer's moon,
 Beneath whose softened noon
 The rapture-thrilling heart is elevate and warmed.'

Miss Porter retained her love and admiration for Sir Sidney Smith all her life. In 1803 the first edition of her *Thaddeus* was dedicated to him, and after his death, in 1840, she wrote to her man of business about the 'sacred subject' of raising money for a monument to him. She says: 'In case that private friends wish to pay a subscription it might be is F. such persons should see some name already placed in the, own Will you therefore prepare a little book with the label of 'Sir S. S's. monument' upon it, and set down on the first page the name of *Sir Robert Ker Porter, K.C.B.*, for *ten pounds*, and under it *William Wallace*, for *one pound*, the latter is a *nom-de-guerre* of myself, just to set the example that so minor a sum would be highly acceptable.'

But this is indeed 'forty years onward,' and I must go back once more to the extract and note books of 1800. At this time the story of Thaddeus was much in her mind, and two years before the publication of her novel I find these lines—

'Tho' I have wept at Godlike Caesar's fall,
 And sighed o'er Alexander's early death ;
 Yet never felt my young heart such a pang
 As that which rung it when brave Thaddeus fell,
 When from the lengthen'd line and phalanx deep
 One general shriek transpierced the startled ear.'

The book came out in 1803 and had a certain vogue, reaching a tenth edition in 1810. The characters were all drawn from life. It was translated into German and was read by Kosciusko, who wrote to Jane in very warm terms of approval. She dedicated the tenth edition to his memory.

Her father's wish that his children should be taught French had evidently not been overlooked. Two or three of Jane's extract books are filled entirely from French authors, her favourites being Pascal, La Bruyere, Madame de Stael (whose acquaintance Miss Porter made in later years), and Rochefoucauld. In a note book, dated 1812, she gives a 'list of French books read this year,' amongst them being *Memoires de St. Simon*, *Memoires de Mme. de Maintenon* and *Memoires de Bussy Rabutin*—over against which Jane has emphatically written 'most vile.'

The Porter sisters are writing constantly in these years. Anna Maria's chief work, *The Hungarian Brothers*, appeared in 1807, and was extremely popular; and the *Scottish Chiefs*, by Jane, followed in 1810. It had, at the time, an almost European reputation, and was translated into French, German and Russian. Jane tried her hand at a drama too, but it was a complete failure. The Blackwood critic of that day says scathingly, 'A tragedy was produced under the name of "Switzerland," written by Miss Jane Porter, and we are sorry to report that it received the most decided condemnation, and that it is generally considered as having deserved it. The public opinion of it was so strong and so unequivocally expressed that the manager was obliged to come forward, after much awkward delay, and announce that it should be withdrawn.' Miss Mitford, talking of the failure of the play, says, 'Miss Porter is sick too—I have not much pity for her—her disease is wounded vanity.'

Jane's handwriting is very unlike the pointed precise style of that time, and it must have caused some talk among her friends, for I find a poem addressed to a lady 'who wished to see my hand-writing,' in which Jane apologizes for her illegibility.

‘ If with the wish to please, kind Heaven,
 The power to do so still had given ;
 Then I, who scrawl to you this letter,
 Would sure have written vastly better :
 But since to *will*, and since to *do*,
 Are clearly things distinctly *two* ;
 Since a whole world of sighs, could ne'er
 Make my unhappy writing fair,
 I e'er must wish you Joy and Health,
 Long life, well spent, and worldly wealth.’

There is now a long break in my papers, and when we next hear directly from Miss Porter it is from her diary of 1835. What a gap ! The beautiful girl is gone and we have before us a striking-looking woman of about fifty, with ‘ the air of a *Melpomene*,’ and somewhat ‘lackadaisical.’ Campbell, the poet, meeting her at this time, describes her as ‘ a pleasing woman,’ and N. P. Willis, the American poet and critic, talks of ‘ her tall and striking figure and noble face, still possessing the remains of uncommon beauty.’ She goes much into society, and some spiteful person has it ‘ that Miss Porter generally contrives to be seen patronizing some sucking lion or lioness.’ She has gained a certain amount of laurel from that ‘Eagle Fame.’ The *Scottish Chiefs* has been read enthusiastically, and its ‘brilliant colouring’ and ‘passages of terrific sublimity’ and its hero have been on every tongue. Miss Mitford, indeed, hardly knows ‘ a *heros de roman* whom it is possible to admire except Wallace,’ and Joanna Baillie, in the preface to her poem on ‘ William Wallace,’ acknowledges her indebtedness to the ‘gifted authoress.’ It is even hinted in some circles that Sir Walter Scott, etc., etc. !

Anna Maria, the ‘beloved sister whose existence had been as part of my soul,’ has died, and the mother has died, and Bob is now Sir Robert Porter. His life has been a curious one. In 1804 he was appointed Historical Painter to the Czar of Russia. In St. Petersburg he decorated the Admiralty Hall, and got engaged to a Russian princess. Her parents objected, and in consequence of this fearful breach of etiquette he had to leave the country. He travelled in Sweden, and met there Sir John Moore, whom he afterwards accompanied to Spain,

and was present at his death at Corunna. He published several large books on his travels in Russia, Sweden, and Persia, and finally married his Russian princess, and became well-known in diplomatic circles. His beautiful young wife died soon after the marriage, leaving to him a little daughter, who afterwards married and settled in Russia. In 1835 Sir Robert was British Consul in Venezuela, and from there he writes constantly to Jane.

Miss Porter is now living alone in London, but she has many friends, and meets all the celebrities of the day. Of Shirley Park, the home of her great friends, the Skinners, she writes:—

‘ When far away, I cannot but often remember with a grateful delight the collected honey of its flowers and the charming circles often assembled there to share the mingled sweets. Schlegel, the light of taste in Germany; Neimsewitz, the venerable bard of Poland; Campbell and Scott, Harness and the Ettrick Shepherd, high poets of our own land; and Willis and Fay, sweet minstrels of the Transatlantic world; while Miss Edgeworth, Mrs. Somerville, Miss Pardoe, Miss Landon, and Madame Calmache, and other “fair lady” names which adorn our British literature, both in London and in the country at successive periods, drew around their hospitable board.’

Among her frequent visitors are Lady Morgan (authoress of a work called *Woman and her Master*), Tom Moore, Joanna Baillie, Miss Pardoe, and Miss Agnes Strickland, the ‘distinguished biographer’ of *The Queens of England*. She gets introduced to Mr. Willis, the American poet and critic, and he enrols himself in her list of admirers and pours out what Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie calls his ‘superlative admiration.’ ‘What an intoxicating life it is,’ he cries; ‘I met Jane Porter and Miss Aiken and Tom Moore, and a troop more *beaux esprits*, at dinner yesterday. I shall never be content elsewhere.’

And in her diary, on the 22nd December, Miss Porter reciprocates thus—

‘The first anniversary of the day in which the Almighty Goodness introduced to me my invaluable friend, N. P. Willis, by Sir John Franklin (the North American traveller) at his sister’s house in Gower Street. On this anniversary Mr. Willis and his sweet wife were at Shirley Park, with Mr. and Mrs. Skinner and myself, and we all hailed with delight Mr. Willis’ proposal that hereafter while we live we shall keep the day in memorial.’

She sees a great deal of Mr. Willis, and writes, 'He finds great esteem here, and he grows in mine also;' and, 'Received a sweet letter from Mr. Willis;' and, 'Willis with us; he is an admirable and pious poet.' On July 1, Miss Porter writes—

'Went to Harrow with Mr. Skinner and Mr. Willis. Chatham's speech for "America" spoken by one of the boys. I could hear Willis' heart beat as he sat close to me. We walked to Byron's favourite tomb, and my young friend and I strewed it with the rose-leaves from our bosoms. We then visited the dog which swam by him on the Hellespont.'

Miss Porter elsewhere describes her 'first and last sight of Childe Harold.' She met him in the house of William Sotheby, the poet of 'Oberon,' and translator of 'The Iliad,' and says:

'His appearance in the splendid drawing-room of his brother-poet was what might have been that poet's dream of Petrarch in his prime of manhood, musing his "high thoughts" by moonlight—his clear and polished marble-like brow having that effect under the subdued lustre of the new kind of blond lights which illumined the room. The expression of his countenance, too, was mild and attaching, for he was talking to a friend; there was no scorn on his brow, and the tones of his voice were peculiarly melodious.'

Later on, Miss Porter visits her friends, the Throckmortons of Coughton Court. Mr. Willis is there too, and the diary records that—

'My dear friend Willis is much pleased. After dinner, Sir Charles Throckmorton for the first time filled Shakespeare's Mulberry cup with wine to drink to the memory of the Bard, in presence of Mr. Willis. He gave it into my hands to drink first "To the immortal memory of Shakespeare, the Father Bard of both countries!!!" I handed it back to him, who drank the words of dedication, and then bowing to Willis, handed it to him, adding "Health and Fame to him also," he drank it with the countenance of a poet. It was a moment of great delight. Next day Sir Charles took us—Mr. Willis and me—to Stratford, and went with us to Shakespeare's tomb. He left us an hour afterwards. It was too rainy to walk out to the other memorial places, so Mr. Willis read to me some of his own essays' (over Shakespeare's Tomb, oh ye Shades!) 'One on the Poetry of Religion is written with an Angel's pen. He seems to me the most sainted creature in man's form I ever met, and yet lively and all that in the world is called the Elegant Gentleman. We were at the "Red Horse" celebrated by Washington Irving, and the widow-landlady, as proud of having the poet Willis for her inmate, told us over the tea-table the history of his stay there, and showed us the poker with which, in his

musings, he nearly raked out the fire. I have promised her a set of my friend's Poems.'

Washington Irving and Willis! How transitory has been the reputation of the latter!

It was about this time that Mr. Willis tells Miss Porter that he is engaged to be married. I am wicked enough to think that this announcement was rather a shock to her, and that Miss Porter, even at this eleventh hour, would willingly have given up her early anti-matrimonial views. Every day in this old-faded diary on which Willis 'drank tea' is marked with a cross, and on the marriage day, she writes in a shaky hand, and with an extra quantity of exclamations and underlining.

'My dear friend N. P. Willis married this morning!!! It was a *happy* marriage!!! The Almighty alone had introduced them to each other and blessed their mutual impression on each other to this fulfilment. I feel it will be a *lasting* happiness, because it was begun and continued under a deep sense of *who* it was that willed it! and brought it to this!!!'

And a week later she writes—

'The Willis' returned. He brings to me the days that are passed!!!'

Other entries for this year are—

'Oct. 21. (Battle of Trafalgar). Dined at the Archbishop of Canterbury's. Thirty years after this great battle.

'Nov. 18. Heard of Lord Nelson's death—a young man—nephew of the great Lord.

'Nov. 18. Stayed with Lady Hamlyn. She read to me in the evening part of Bulwer's *Pompeii*. I admire it very much.

Dec. 26. Went to the Assembly Rooms at Croydon to hear the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan plead for the Irish Protestant clergy. He spoke gloriously—the collection £300—I was introduced to him.'

The next diary is dated 1840. Miss Porter has evidently been very ill. She begins the book with a little Thanksgiving for having been spared 'when I was at the very Gates of Death—spared by God's mercy to meet my beloved Brother again on Earth—Glory to the Merciful God.'

When I glance over her chemist's bill I really wonder that the good lady survived. In the month of November she consumes twenty-one bottles of quinine and a box of pills daily! Like Miss Mitford she is in great pecuniary straits and has to accept loans from her friends. In the preceding year £100

was procured for her from the Royal Bounty. A secretary begs to inform her that he 'has received directions from Lord Melbourne that £100 be paid from the Royal Bounty to Miss Jane Porter,' and in 1840 she writes—

'Last October, entered into an agreement with Mr. Virtue (Please Heaven and as far as my recovered copyright allows) to furnish him a new Preface and additional notes to the *Scottish Chiefs*—at the end of 3 months or within 6 months—when he will give me a Bill for £200, payable at 3 months; God in his gracious mercy grant I may be able to do it within the 6—that will be the middle of April.'

Poor Miss Porter keeps her accounts scrupulously, but they are a great burden to her and, as she writes, 'money matters make me so nervous.' Some items in her expenditure are:—Poor man, 1s.; 2 muslin handkerchiefs, 2s.; dyeing black satin, 5s.; a month's medicine, £14; my beverage, 4s.; etc.

After one great settling up is scrawled—

'Originally there,-	-	£55 15 0
Expended,	-	31 5 0
Ought to remain,	-	24 10 0

and so it is, this March 5, 1840, quite rightly balanced in my hand.'

Other accounts have touching little additions, as, 'Have still £5 in Blue Pocket Book;' or, '£10 in pledge to Selina's rent;' or, 'a little extra money left in my purse before I began the Morgan money;' or, 'find this account quite clear, thank God for his Bounties.'

The year 1840 is chiefly spent in preparing a new Preface for the latest edition of the *Scottish Chiefs*. In March she writes:—'Had a letter from Mr. Longman telling me I had recovered my S. C's. Thanks to God. He had heard I had got a Pension.' And in August, 'Mr. Longman hopes to settle entirely to my satisfaction my business with Mr. Virtue on Monday, and then send me the legal paper to sign, also to send me Mr. Virtue's bill for 200 guineas payable in Dec. this year.'

Miss Porter mentions a fire in Ivy Lane: 'It has injured Mr. V.'s premises, but they send me word that all the MSS. are safe, and also no lives lost at his house, but four at his neighbours, where the fire broke out,' and next day she has 'A gratifying little note from Mr. Virtue pleased with my

sympathy about the fire—my MSS. safe! But he is too much engaged for a month to come arranging his disordered papers to do business yet with mine.'

There was an unpleasant episode connected with the new edition, but Mr. Longman seems to have put the matter—whatever it was—to rights for her. Miss Porter says :—

'Had a painful letter from Mr. Bentley—sent it to Mr. Longman to reply to. This matter shakes my shattered frame and wrings my soul, for my Integrity is put to question. Heaven knows the money is needful, but it is my good name that is my great staff. May God preserve it.'

But a few days later she adds, 'Longman tells me to be easy—all was going well,' and in November the edition came out triumphantly. For that time it was quite an 'Edition de Luxe.' It is printed in two large volumes, and is profusely illustrated with engravings by Cousen, after popular landscape painters. The frontispiece shows us Miss Porter, clad in voluminous velvet robes, and having the air of a Tragic Muse. She is seated on a grassy bank, under a spreading tree, and gazes heavenwards, while the setting sun illumines the lake at her feet! The books are dedicated in effusive terms to 'Thomas Longman, Esquire, as a token of the unchanging regard to Him and to his House, of his, and their ever truly attached Friend (from Youth to Age).'

Miss Porter winds up the year 1840 with—

'This is the last day of the year 1840, in which so many awful circumstances have occurred to the world! and to poor me a Single Individual! and signal mercies with them all Publick and Private! May God thro' our Lord and Saviour sanctify them to us—Publickly and Privately!!! Amen! Amen! Amen!

'JANE PORTER.'

And now there is another gap, and we take up a diary dated 1845. Poor Miss Porter! The entries are very few, and the once bold writing is feeble. The London whirl of society is given up, and we find her living with her brother William, the Doctor, at Bristol.

Since 1840 her beloved brother, Robert, had come back from Venezuela, but only to set out on a still longer journey. While visiting his married daughter in Russia, he died shortly

after Jane had joined him in St. Petersburg. She returned to England, broken in health and heart, and spent many months in settling his affairs. Her own were in a still worse condition, and she was glad to retreat to Bristol, where she writes in her diary :—

‘Jan. 6. Received the Sacrament in St. Paul’s, the church in whose churchyard my beloved sister, Anna Maria, lies buried. Our mother lies in a grave at Esher, and my beloved brother Robert in one in the Protestant cemetery of St. Petersburg. Wherever I may be laid, may the mercy of God through our Redeemer Christ raise us in joyful Resurrection.’

The poets and writers of America presented Miss Porter at this time with an Arm-chair, and she mentions it thus :—

‘Jan. 10. Wrote to Churchill with a notice of “The Chair” for him to get into the “Morning Herald.” And again, ‘Heard the Chair is noticed in the “Times”!’

Later on she writes :—

‘Revised *Thaddeus* most of the day. Heard of an attempt to kill the Duke of Normandy. Better in health. I thank God. Wrote to Colnaghi and to Drummond acknowledging the notice of the £50. Promised Colnaghi Sets of my new edition. N.B.—I have in my possession 2 Bills of Mr. Virtue’s for £100 each in my favour—one due in July, the other in October—in payment for the revising, etc., of my three works, *Thaddeus*, *Scottish Chiefs*, and *The Pastor*.’

Miss Porter had great hopes of receiving a pension at this time, but she was disappointed. She says :—

‘During this month letters passed between me and Lord Aberdeen and others relative to my hopes of a Pension. The last from Lord Aberdeen closed these Hopes as far as Man could do ! by Sir Robert Peel’s refusal to grant it, offering me a Donation of £150. I answered Lord A. Still respectfully maintaining my hopes for the Pension. Have heard no more up to April 3rd from either minister either of the Donation or my Hopes. But I retain them as God may will. Meanwhile Mrs. — wrote to me of some powerful friend of hers in England having zealously proposed his interest in the Peel quarter in my behalf if I would permit it, and give particulars through her. I did, but did not broadly proclaim the actual refusal. I have since learnt from her the kind friend is Mr. Packington, M.P. for Worcestershire ; so he is at work for my object. About the same time Mrs. Marchir wrote me a similar proposal from some unnamed but apparently more powerful Interest, and I wrote her a similar answer. That personage also is at work for me, and God alone can give the Blessing.’

About this time she paid a visit to her London friends and met Mr. Packington and others interested in her case. Mr. Packington afterwards became First Lord of the Admiralty under Lord Derby's administration in 1858.

He seems to have failed in his efforts to procure the pension, and Miss Porter returned to Bristol. On December 3 she writes her last entry.

'Anniversary of my birthday! God give me Grace! Made a copy of my last Will and Testament, to be prepared by my friend Mr. Shepherd for my proper signature to be ready in case of my death, being in an increasing weak state. Despatched the Packet to him to-day by Post.'

And so the old Diary ceases to speak. Somewhat sadly we close its pages and take our leave of the frail and feeble authoress. In spite of the pedantry and artificial expressions of her time a warm heart beat in Jane Porter's breast. And although her name is now almost forgotten, and she and her works are fast fading into the 'Uncatalogued Library of Oblivion,' we must remember that in her own day she kindled a certain flame of patriotic enthusiasm for which we still owe her a grateful tribute.

INA MARY WHITE.

ART. VIII.—THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

1. *Final Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Financial Relations of Great Britain and Ireland.* London, 1896.
2. *Minutes of the Evidence taken by the Commissioners.* Vols. I. and II. London, 1895.

THE Childers Commission has, with all but one voice, declared that Ireland is, and has long been, greatly overtaxed. An intelligent and conscientious body of men, possessing knowledge of Constitutional Law, and even of the

broad facts of Irish History, could, indeed, hardly form any other conclusion, notwithstanding jests about Ireland as 'a separate entity,' and about her 'taxable capacity,' as it has been called, made by writers, who simply parade their ignorance. But Ireland is a member of the United Kingdom; she is under the same fiscal arrangements as England and Scotland, with seeming advantages in her favour; it is necessary, therefore, to make this conclusion good, to prove that Ireland has peculiar financial rights of her own, contra-distinguished from those of England and Scotland, and is entitled to special financial treatment. From this point of view it is scarcely doubtful that her taxation can be shown to be largely excessive; the Irish case stands on foundations that cannot be shaken. But I fully agree with Mr. Arthur Balfour, that this does not exhaust the whole subject, in taking a complete and true account of the finances of Great Britain and Ireland; and the Childers Commission appears to me not to have thoroughly examined parts of this question, nay to have dealt rather unfairly with it. It will be found, I believe, as I shall endeavour to show, that a counter-claim, of considerable amount, may be made against the overcharge of which Ireland complains; and the Government have properly appointed a new Commission to investigate this matter in all its details. The terms of reference to this supplemental tribunal are not, perhaps, entirely fair to Ireland; they are somewhat perplexing and confusing; they conceal important facts that should be made prominent. Nevertheless, I believe that the new Commission will be able to elucidate the truth, although this has been, in some degree, kept back, and will make a candid and impartial report confirming in the main that of the Childers Commission, but qualifying it in some essential points. I can only add that an immense majority of Irishmen are agreed on this subject, and entertain the strongest opinions about it; they are convinced that Ireland, on the true construction of the Treaty of Union, is unduly burdened; and it is obvious that, if this view be correct, nothing could injure the Union more gravely than to refuse Ireland justice in this most important matter.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that whether under the dependent Parliament, which existed before 1782, or under Grattan's Parliament, as it has been commonly called, Ireland, in financial, as in other matters, was regarded as a distinct country; she had a separate government and administration, and her whole fiscal system was completely different from that of Great Britain. The Union did not remove this distinction; the Irish Legislature was merged in that of England and Scotland, but Ireland has retained a Viceroy, separate Courts of Justice, and a separate mode of government, to the present hour. The same principle was carefully preserved in finance, and though it has been to a considerable extent set at nought, it has never been repudiated by statesmen in power, and it is still in operation, bearing manifest results. Pitt, the author of the Union, hoped that a time might come when the Three Kingdoms, as one land, might be placed under a common fiscal system, when uniform modes of taxation might exist, when Ireland should be regarded in finance, and treated as but a part of England and Scotland. But though he had the comprehensive views of his master, Adam Smith, Pitt was a just-minded and enlightened statesman, and he clearly perceived that, for two main reasons, this consummation was, at the time, impossible, and might even, perhaps, be never realised. The Debt of Ireland when the Union took place, was not one-fifteenth of that of Great Britain, that is about £28,000,000 to £446,000,000—I use only round numbers throughout these pages—it was out of the question, therefore, with any regard to justice, that the fiscal system of Great Britain could be applied to Ireland, and that Ireland could be taxed in the same way as England and Scotland. Moreover—and this is of supreme importance with reference to the present enquiry—Pitt recognised that Ireland was a very poor country, and could not bear an equal load of taxation as readily as the two other kingdoms; and both he and Castlereagh pledged themselves that, however desirable might be a common fiscal system, Ireland should not be charged beyond her means, and

for this reason alone should still continue to be financially dealt with as a distinct country.*

The Act of Union—not a mere statute, but a solemn Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland—carried out these principles with respect to finance. Ireland remained, fiscally, a separate country; she had her separate exchequer, and separate customs and taxes. She was bound to discharge the debt she had already incurred, but it was plainly enacted that she was not to be placed under the same fiscal system as England and Scotland. On the contrary, as a distinct people, she was to contribute a fixed proportion only to the charges of the Three Kingdoms as a whole; this was fixed at a sum of two-seventeenths of the entire expenditure, that is, rather more than twelve per cent; this, according to the calculations of Pitt, being assumed to be her legitimate render. Power was taken that, after a period of twenty years, Parliament might revise and change this proportion upon a full enquiry into the facts of the case, and provision was made that, in certain events, and under conditions to protect Ireland from wrong, the ideal of Pitt might be realised; that Great Britain and Ireland might be ‘assimilated in finance,’ and be financially treated as a common country, but subject always to the distinct rights of Ireland. Should the Debts of Great Britain and Ireland be discharged, or should the contributions of the two peoples prove to be in the same ratio as their two Debts—contingencies evidently viewed as remote—it was declared that ‘If it shall appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately,

* I quote Pitt’s own words: ‘It were a consummation much to be wished that the finances of both countries were so nearly alike that the system of both could be identical; but from the different proportions of debt, and the different stages of civilisation and commerce, and the different wealth of the nations, that desirable object is rendered impracticable.’ And again: ‘The contribution to be imposed on Ireland would not be greater than the necessary amount of its present expenses as a separate kingdom.’ Castlereagh spoke repeatedly, in the same sense, in the Irish House of Commons.

by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to declare that all future expenses thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may admit, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly.' This power, however, to bring Great Britain and Ireland prospectively under the same fiscal system, was governed by a striking provision in Irish interests; it was enacted that all this was to be 'Subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain, called Scotland, as circumstances may appear, from time to time, to demand.'*

The rational meaning of these provisions is that though Ireland, at a future time and in certain circumstances, might be subjected to the British fiscal system to a considerable extent, and to the taxation of England and Scotland, she was still to possess distinct financial rights, and to be regarded as a distinct financial unit. The title to special 'exemptions or abatements' reserved to her, and, indeed, to Scotland, implies this from the very nature of the case; and if, as I by no means admit, the language of the Treaty is in any sense ambiguous, constitutional and even financial usage have long ago given this interpretation to it. Mr. Childers has truly remarked: 'The claim of Ireland to special consideration in fiscal matters as a distinct section of the United Kingdom, has never been suffered to become extinct, and it is therefore, even from a legal point of view, impossible to consider Ireland as being fiscally, no more than a certain group of counties of the United Kingdom.'† And Lords Welby and Farrer have significantly added: 'The Union between Great Britain and Ireland was in effect, a treaty or deed of partnership between two parties, which had for fiscal purposes previously been independent.

* *The Act of Union.* Article 7.

† *Report*, p. 150.

Every line of that instrument bears witness to this fact; and if it is true that it contains evidence that its framers looked forward to a period when the two partners should become one, it is no less true that it contains equally strong evidence that the two partners must for a very long while, if not for ever, retain their separate individuality.*

Under circumstances, to which I shall advert afterwards, the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland underwent a great change in 1816-17. One of the events contemplated at the Union occurred; the Debt of Ireland had increased from less than one fifteenth, to less than a seventh of that of Great Britain—say £112,000,000 compared to £738,000,000—and exceeded the ratio of her contribution; and Parliament thought it proper to interfere. The proportional payment of the two seventeenths was abandoned; the separate Irish Exchequer was closed; the financial arrangements of the two countries were in these respects transformed. But—and this is the point of vital importance—the fiscal system of Ireland was not identified, even approximately, with that of Great Britain; her taxation was not made the same; her financial position remained quite distinct, notwithstanding a Resolution of the House of Commons. Parliament evidently believed that, in the words of the Treaty of Union, ‘the circumstances of the two countries did not, at that time, admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes,’ to the general charges of the State; and Ireland continued, for a long series of years, to be treated, as a separate country, for fiscal purposes, enjoying financial privileges of her own. This, in fact, was the interpretation placed by the statesmen, who remembered the Union, on the ‘exemptions’ from taxation, or ‘the abatements,’ which Ireland had a right to demand; and though, after 1816-17, attempts were made, not without success, to assimilate, to a certain extent, the taxation of England, Scotland, and Ireland—the duties on tea and tobacco were, by degrees, made equal as regards the three countries—still these were partial and tentative only, and, what deserves

* *Report*, p. 38.

notice, were severely condemned by more than one distinguished Irishman of the day.* How Ireland still remained a distinct financial unit, entitled as such to distinct financial treatment, was shown in a most striking instance, as late as 1842-45. Peel, at this time Minister, had begun to inaugurate the system of General Free Trade, which has had such momentous results for England and Scotland, and probably has trebled British commerce. To carry this into effect it became necessary to abolish duties on many foreign imports, and to create new taxes of different kinds; and Peel imposed the Income Tax on Great Britain. But Peel had been Chief Secretary for Ireland, for nearly seven years; he knew the traditions of the Union; he was thoroughly acquainted with Irish poverty; and he refused to extend the tax to Ireland, treating her thus, markedly, as a distinct country, with a right to special immunities through a fundamental law. Another act of his was not less significant; he slightly increased the duty on Irish spirits reducing it, however, a few months afterwards; but he took care to leave it far below the British level, and not to proceed a step further in making Irish taxation identical with that of England and Scotland. Had his valuable life been spared, the attempts made afterwards to bring Ireland under the British fiscal system, in all probability, would not have been made; it is a most remarkable fact that the one great financier of the century who understood Ireland, was the one who respected her peculiar financial rights, and regarded her as, fiscally, a separate country.

Between 1853 and 1860 another great and important change took place in the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland. Persistent and successful efforts were made to realise the old ideal of Pitt, to assimilate the fiscal systems of the three kingdoms, and to make Irish taxation the same as that of England and Scotland. The policy of Free Trade was bearing rich fruits; the trade of Great Britain was advancing by leaps and bounds; it had become obviously expedient still

* One of the most conspicuous of these was the late Sir John Newport, almost the last of the Chancellors of the Irish Exchequer.

further to abolish or to reduce duties on foreign imports, and new modes of taxation, accordingly, had to be found. The generation of the statesmen of the Union had passed away; their successors did not equally respect the Treaty; Mr. Gladstone was the master spirit of Finance; and Mr. Gladstone has never been scrupulous, when a great object was to be attained, to secure its accomplishment, whatever the means. He imposed the Income Tax on Ireland by a stroke of the pen; he largely increased the duty on Irish spirits; and this increase was augmented by his successors, until the duty has become identical throughout these realms. Ireland, at this period, was in a very weak state; her representation was weak in the extreme; still this attack on her financial rights, and on her status as a distinct financial unit, which raised her taxation about two millions and a half, was not permitted to prevail without indignant protests, made by independent Irishmen of mark. From this time forward the fiscal system of Great Britain and Ireland has been virtually the same, though Ireland still possesses a few 'exemptions;' and the taxation of England, Scotland, and Ireland, has been all but identified. But, though the financial position of Ireland has been changed, and her financial privileges have been invaded, it is not the less certain that her Constitutional right to be regarded as, fiscally, a distinct country, and to have, as such, immunities, has been over and over again recognised. Ireland, to the present day, is not subject to a few taxes paid by the people of England and Scotland—an 'exemption' thrown in her teeth by ignorant sciolists—and this is one of the provisions of the Act of Union. And—what is infinitely more important—Mr. Gladstone, and every other Minister, who has made her liable to increased taxation, in the last forty years, and has framed her taxation on the British model, have taken special pains to shew that, somehow or other, she received an equivalent for these imposts; their pleas, sophistical and idle as they were, proving clearly that she had still a Constitutional claim to be regarded as a distinct country entitled, fiscally, to separate financial rights. This, her true position, was fully acknowledged, without a dissentient voice in Parliament, on

two quite recent occasions, by the two statesmen of highest rank among our living financiers. Mr. Goschen nominated a Committee, in 1890, to enquire into the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland; Mr. Gladstone appointed the Childers Commission; and the terms of reference, in both instances, treated Ireland as a fiscally separate country, possessing independent financial claims.

Ireland, therefore, it has been conclusively shown, must be taken to be a distinct land, apart from England and Scotland from a financial point of view, and with financial rights of her own, the chief of these being that, under a solemn Treaty, she is not to be taxed unfairly beyond her means. The provisions of the Union, in this matter, have, no doubt, been kept out of sight, in late years; but they come out clearly, and with decisive effect, when the subject is fully studied, with an impartial mind. Is then Ireland unjustly taxed under the fiscal arrangements in existence since 1860? There is but one way to arrive at the truth on this question, and that is to compare the revenue and taxation of Ireland, at this day, with the revenue and taxation of England and Scotland, to compare the resources of Ireland with those of England and Scotland, and then to consider whether Ireland is taxed beyond a fair proportion. Now the revenue and taxation of Ireland has, of late years, varied from about £7,300,000 to £7,800,000, the revenue and taxation of England and Scotland varying from £85,000,000 to £89,000,000; that is, the revenue and taxation of Ireland is from an eleventh to a twelfth of that of Great Britain, say generally at from nearly nine to nearly eight per cent. of the whole. But, taking any test that can be legitimately applied—Death Duties, Income Tax, and a host of others carefully examined by the Childers Commission—the resources of Ireland cannot be reckoned at more than one twentieth, at the outside, of those of England and Scotland; and if this is the case, and if Ireland is to be only taxed fairly as compared with Great Britain, it follows that her revenue and taxation should be one twentieth only, that is, that her taxation should be not more than five per cent. of the whole at the utmost, not, in other words, more than £7,000,000, but less than £5,000,000.

According to this computation, the Childers Commission has declared that Ireland is annually overtaxed from two to three millions sterling; and this estimate I believe is, in the main, correct. According, however, to very high authority, even these figures do not nearly show how unfair is the burden imposed on Ireland. Taxation, it has been argued, with great force, should be levied, not from the resources of a country, on the whole, but only from the margin left after paying for the necessaries of life; * and this margin is, proportionately, very much less in Ireland, than it can be in Great Britain, for Ireland is an extremely poor country, and Great Britain is extremely wealthy. Allowing for this distinction, the resources of Ireland should be regarded, for taxation, not as one twentieth, but as at most one thirty-sixth of those of Great Britain; and her taxation should be less than £3,000,000, not, as now, much more than double that sum.

It is impossible, it has been said, to determine, with anything like an approach to certainty, the true resources of Great Britain and Ireland; it is inferred that these calculations are simply worthless. But probability is the rule of life; notwithstanding sneers at 'taxable capacity' as a phrase, where all the evidence points in the same direction, and no evidence points the other way, it is but reasonable to conclude that the true proportion between the resources of the two countries, and the true measure of their taxation have been nearly found out, though mathematical accuracy cannot be attained. These considerations, however, do not completely show how onerous the burden of the existing taxation on Ireland is. I do not agree with those who assert that the wealth of Ireland has declined since the Union, and that she is in a state of progressive decay. Some of her industries have, indeed, perished; her county towns are in a sorry condition; her agriculture is still behind in the extreme; during the last twenty years she has hardly shown a sign of improvement. † Nevertheless, due

* See on this subject the remarkable evidence of Sir. R. Giffen. *Evidence*, Vol. II., 17, 18.

† The value of the crops and of the stock of Ireland, her principal products, have greatly diminished since 1870.

as it is in part to the effects of the Great Famine, which forced millions of wretchedness from her soil, the state of her humbler population is infinitely better than it was; Belfast and even Dublin have rapidly advanced; her resources, tried by every conceivable test, have been largely augmented since 1800-1. Still Ireland remains a poverty-stricken land; her progress has been at a snail's pace compared to that of England and Scotland, the wealth of which has probably been multiplied at least four-fold in the course of the century; she is relatively much poorer compared to Great Britain than she was when the Treaty of Union was made. But if this be the case—and it admits of no dispute—to subject her to the fiscal system of England and Scotland, and to make her taxation even nearly the same, is to lay on her a weight of imposts most oppressive and unjust, and, in fact, to violate the pledges made at the Union, that she was not to be charged unduly beyond her means. For there is no greater fallacy than to suppose that equal taxation bears equally on a very rich and a very poor country; what the one can without difficulty endure, will be felt by the other to be a crushing load. This was clearly set forth by Pitt more than a century ago; that first of financiers remarked with respect to Great Britain and Ireland: 'The smallest burden on a poor country was to be considered, when compared with those of a rich one, by no means in proportion to their several abilities; for if one country exceeded another in wealth, population, and established commerce in a proportion of two to one, he was nearly convinced that that country would be able to bear near ten times the burden that the other would be equal to.'* And the late Mr. Nassau Senior—no mean authority—remarked significantly on this very question of the alleged equal taxation of Great Britain and Ireland:—'The pressure of taxation will be felt most by the weakest part of the community, and as the average wealth of the Irish taxpayers is less than that of the English taxpayers, the ability of Ireland to bear heavy taxation is evidently less than the ability

* *Report*, p. 182.

. . . England is the most lightly taxed and Ireland the most heavily taxed country in Europe, although both are nominally liable to equal taxation; . . . I do not believe that Ireland is a poor country because she is over-taxed, but I think she is over-taxed because she is poor.*

The fiscal system, therefore, applied for years to Ireland and her present taxation are unfairly severe, though 'her finances have been assimilated' to those of England and Scotland. The only answer that has been made to this argument is to suggest a false historical parallel. 'No doubt,' it has been alleged, 'equal taxation does not mean an equal burden; a poor country feels identical taxation much more sensibly than a rich country. But the grievance of which Irishmen complain exists as certainly between parts of England and Scotland as between Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore it is not a special Irish grievance, of which it is reasonable to take cognisance. Sussex and Wiltshire are much poorer than Yorkshire and Lancashire; the Highlands are much poorer than the Lowlands; yet all these districts of England and Scotland are taxed in the same way; how then can Ireland, which is in the same case, have legitimate grounds to say she is oppressively taxed?' The simple and conclusive reply is that Ireland under the Treaty of Union, and even in the events which have followed, is fiscally a distinct country, with fiscal privileges and a right to separate financial treatment; she is not an aggregate of English and Scotch counties; and the assumed analogy does not bear on the question. It requires, indeed, no little assurance, it arouses recollections better forgotten, to maintain that, from any point of view, Ireland can be regarded as a mere part of Great Britain. At what time, in the course of seven centuries has Ireland, politically, economically, or, indeed, in any respect, been dealt with as a group of English and Scottish counties? I pass by the dark tale of her long misgovernment, the agony of centuries she went through, the anarchy and disorder of her mediæval annals, the frightful conquests and confiscations from which she suffered from the

* *Report*, p. 16.

days of Edward VI. to those of William III., the ruinous oppression of the fatal Penal Code, the tardy concession to her of imperfect justice, the faulty legislation which has taken place even since the Union. When, financially, was the measure meted out to Ireland which has long been meted out to England and Scotland? Was it when her industry was strangled for nearly two hundred years, when the commercial tyranny under which she groaned, aroused the 'sæva indignatio' of Swift, when, even at a later day, she was like the peasantry of old France, 'taillable et corvéable a la miséricorde,' of an all powerful master?

The history, indeed, of the taxation of Ireland, even after the Union, is, in the main, a melancholy record of fiscal wrongs, and cannot be left out of sight in this brief survey. I have no sympathy with the wild invectives levelled, in this matter, against British statesmen; I shall not denounce England as, in finance, 'a robber and despoiler of the Irish people.' This is the false and silly extravagance of the Celt; and it is contradicted by the facts on a calm review of them. Pitt, the author of the Union, unquestionably had beneficent intentions with respect to Ireland; he believed the financial arrangements he made, iniquitous to Ireland, as they proved to be, were reasonable, equitable, even generous to her. Nor do I doubt that Mr. Gladstone thought he was acting rightly and consistently with sound political principles, when he enormously increased the taxation of Ireland, and made her fiscal system practically the same as that of Great Britain. Every fair allowance is to be made for our leading men; but Ireland has, not the less, been unjustly dealt with, financially, for a long series of years, and her rulers have not been wholly free from blame. They have sometimes been deceived by sheer ignorance, the great fault of Englishmen in Irish affairs; they are sometimes to be censured for having set at naught the warnings and advice of eminent men 'racy of the soil,' and versed in Irish affairs, and for having acted independently on an ill-informed judgment. Nor can it be denied, I think, that, on more than one occasion, they have, possibly without knowing it themselves, sacrificed Irish interests to those of Great

Britain, and, unconsciously perhaps, have done Ireland fiscal injustice in order to further British or Imperial policy.

Pitt, we have seen, fixed, at two-seventeenths, the contribution to be made by Ireland to the expenditure of the Three Kingdoms. His calculations were chiefly founded, among other things, on exports and imports; he really believed, there is no reason to doubt, that, we repeat, Ireland would be a gainer. But the Minister's estimate, echoed by Castlereagh, was criticised and denounced by the illustrious Grattan, and by Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, one of the ablest men of the day; both insisted that Pitt's figures were false and misleading, and that Ireland would suffer heavily from the arrangement. 'Your financial conditions,' Grattan exclaimed, 'are dangerous experiments, and such as you are perfectly competent to make, provided you are disposed to do so much mischief to your country. . . . The terms go on, and propose a proportion of two to fifteen as the future contribution of Ireland; they do this without any data whatever, which can warrant such a proposition.'* No less remarkable were the words of Foster:—'To begin with the article of contribution, I will not enter into argument that it is calculated on unfair or unjust ground. . . . The whole is a gross deception, unintentional, I will suppose in the noble Lord, (for I do not mean to charge him with deception), but the effect is equally prejudicial.'† In an address to the King made by the Opposition in the Irish House of Commons, similar language was used:—'Your Majesty's faithful Commons are satisfied that the calculation is extremely erroneous; and that on a just and fair enquiry into the comparative means of each country, this kingdom ought not, and is not able to contribute in anything like that proportion.'‡ The most striking, however, of these remonstrances, was a protest, on the part of twenty Irish Peers, against the fiscal arrangements proposed before the Union. The dissentient Lords declared that the contribution of two-seventeenths was essentially unjust, and much too large; they cal-

* *Report*, Vol. I., p. 492.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 489-90.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 329-30.

culated it should be from about an eighteenth to a twentieth, that is less than six per cent., not more than, as intended, twelve. They summed up their arguments in these weighty words:—‘Under such circumstances it appears to us that, if this kingdom should take upon itself irrevocably the payment of two-seventeenths of such expenses, she will not have the means to perform her engagements unless by charging her landed property with 12s. or 13s. in the pound; it must end in the draining from her her last guinea, in totally annihilating her trade for want of capital, in rendering the taxes unproductive, and consequently in finally putting her into a state of bankruptcy. We think ourselves called upon to protest against a measure so ruinous to this country, and to place the responsibility for its consequences upon such persons as have brought it forward and supported it.’

Ireland, however, in the pregnant language of Swift, was ‘in the condition of patients who have physic sent to them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution, and the nature of the disease.’ These warnings and counsels were cast to the winds; Ireland was subjected to the contribution to which we have before referred. The results that followed were no doubt, in part due to the enormous expenditure caused by the war with Napoleon,—Grattan acknowledged this with becoming candour,—but they are also to be ascribed, perhaps mainly, to the fiscal wrong done to Ireland when the Union was made. The calculations of Pitt were completely falsified; the predictions of the best and ablest Irishmen of the day were verified almost in every respect. The taxation of Ireland which, in 1783, was hardly more than one million sterling, which in 1800 was but two millions and a half, soon rose to four and a half and even six millions; the Debt, we have seen, increased from £28,000,000 to £112,000,000. Her resources, in fact, were altogether exhausted; she was a sucked out fruit that yielded no more juice; as the protesting Peers had rightly foreseen, she was, financially, in a state of bankruptcy. In these circumstances, as I have said, the contribution of the two-seventeenths was no longer exacted; the separate Irish Exchequer was shut up; and, at the same time,

that is in 1816-17, the revenue of Great Britain and Ireland was thrown into a common fund, the Debts of the two countries being united and consolidated into a single National Debt. This certainly gave Ireland large and immediate relief; but it was not without consequences of an untoward kind. The amalgamation of the two Debts made Ireland and her resources liable for a gigantic National Debt of £800,000,000, which she had, in no sense, contracted herself; and this prepared the way, however remotely, for the assimilation of her fiscal system to that of Great Britain, which has done her, we have seen, such grave injustice. It is truly amusing to read what has been urged about the 'generosity' of England, in relieving Ireland, of part of her enormous separate Debt. The fiscal arrangements of the Union were utterly unfair; the contribution of the two-seventeenths was greatly excessive; Ireland should never have been subjected to such a burden: it is rather too much to say that a trivial remission of an extravagant and extortionate charge, was a liberal 'concession,' in any sense, or aught but a small instalment of justice. These Treasury doctrines, conceived in the spirit of Shylock, are unworthy of the serious notice of history; 'Cease your funning,' the retort made by Bushe to one of the Castle hacks of 1800, is the only answer such stuff deserves. Lords Farrer and Welby have truly remarked:—'The debt contracted by Ireland became a part of the debt of the United Kingdom, and Ireland was relieved from the obligation of making up her quota of two-seventeenths. This was intended to be, and was, a relief to Ireland; but it was a relief from burdens imposed on her by the Union.'*

During the thirty-six years subsequent to 1816-17, little financial injustice was done to Ireland. It was no wrong to her that special English taxes were gradually remitted after the Peace; if the assimilation of her tea and tobacco duties, ultimately followed by a like measure as regards stamps, was dangerous in some degree to her rights, and was resented by far-seeing Irishmen, this, it must be said, was not a grave

* *Report*, p. 33.

injury. Ireland remained, fiscally, a distinct country; the sagacity of Peel, we repeat, preserved her from excessive, and what is called 'equal,' taxation. But the financial measures of Mr. Gladstone and his successors, the imposition of the Income Tax on Ireland, the enormous augmentation of her spirit duties, the making her fiscal system nearly the same as that of Great Britain, not only increased her taxation two millions and a half, but set the Union at nought, and wrought a great national wrong. The pleas made, indeed, for this iniquitous policy, prove, we have said, that she was still held to be a distinct country; but they were mere sophistry or Pharisaical cant; the Income Tax, which has cost Ireland £23,000,000, was laid on her as an equivalent for £4,000,000 which, in common equity, she did not owe; her spirit duties were quadrupled, because Mr. Gladstone could not see 'the right of Irishmen to get drunk on whisky,'—philosophy just worthy of Sir Wilfrid Lawson. It is impossible, too, to deny that the time was most inopportune for laying on Ireland a new and enormous burden. If the wealth of England and Scotland was growing rapidly, Ireland had been lately ravaged by a devouring famine; her social system had been disorganised; her population had fled the country in millions; her local taxation had been suddenly and largely increased—was this the moment to exhaust her dwindling resources? And if it was expedient, at this period, to promote the generally successful policy of Free Trade, and to remove duties from foreign imports, ought this to have been done, at the expense of Ireland, a country, which from the very nature of the case, could not gain from Free Trade as Great Britain was gaining?

I do not indeed deny, as some have denied, that Free Trade has been of some advantage to Ireland; it has augmented the comforts of the humbler classes; it has in some measure promoted Irish commerce. But it has injured Irish agriculture, the staple industry of the land; it has impoverished Irish landlords and the larger farmers; it has certainly done Ireland infinitely less benefit than it has done England, and, in a less degree, Scotland. There is some truth in these remarks of

Mr. Childers :—‘As consumers, the Irish population may have gained in some cases by the abolition of duties on food, yet on the other hand, as producers chiefly dependent on free agriculture, they have lost in a far greater degree by the cheap prices in British markets, produced, in part at least, by the free and untaxed supply of foreign corn, live stock, dead meat, butter, cheese, eggs, and other articles of food. . . . It may even perhaps be said that, just as Ireland suffered in the last century from the protective and exclusive commercial policy of Great Britain, so she has been at a disadvantage in this century from the adoption of an almost unqualified free trade policy for the United Kingdom.’* Nor do I wholly dissent from these words of Mr. Sexton :—‘Ireland is still, in the language of Mr. Pitt, made completely subservient to the interests and opulence of Great Britain ;’† no impartial mind can doubt that, since 1860, her rights have been sacrificed to a policy that has enriched England and Scotland. And few, in looking back at the facts of the case, will dispute the truth of what Mr. Childers has written :—‘We think that if the House of Commons in the period 1853 to 1860, when the great enhancement of taxation took place, had fully considered the circumstances of Ireland, they would not have felt themselves justified in increasing the taxation of that country by means of the income tax and the equalisation of the spirit duties.’‡

Excuse Parliament and our rulers as we may—and they are not to be condemned for wilful wrong—Ireland has therefore been largely and unjustly overtaxed during the greater part of the present century, and especially from 1853 to 1860.§ I

* *Report*, pp. 159, 160.

† *Report*, p. 104.

‡ *Report*, p. 158.

§ The incidence of taxation by the head as regards Great Britain and Ireland, since the Union, indicates, also, how unfairly Ireland has been treated. Taxation by the head has steadily diminished in England and Scotland ; it has steadily increased in Ireland. No doubt this is largely to be explained by the great augmentation of the population in England and Scotland, and the great diminution of the population in Ireland, which has distributed the taxation in Great Britain over a continually growing number of heads, and in Ireland over a continually lessening number ; but the figures remain significant. I cannot, for want of space, go into the account at length ; it is very ably set forth by Mr. Sexton,

shall not recur to the exploded arguments that she is not to be considered fiscally, as a distinct country, entitled to separate financial rights, or that the estimate of her taxation and her resources, which proves how unfairly she has been burdened, has no solid foundation in fact; these I hope I have sufficiently exposed. But I must briefly notice a plausible topic—I have glanced at it, indeed, before—due originally to the ingenuity of the late Mr. Lowe—a keen chop-logic, but in no sense a sage—which, it is pretended, disposes of the case of Ireland, but is essentially a piece of very shallow sophistry. Taxation, it is alleged, falls upon persons, not on a country; it is Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen who are charged, not the lands of Great Britain and Ireland; and as Irishmen are taxed exactly the same, with some exemptions, indeed, in their favour, as the inhabitants of the larger island, it is ridiculous to assert they have the smallest grievance. A great landowner, possessing estates in Derbyshire, in Perthshire, and in the wilds of Kerry, worth say together £100,000 a year, pays the same rate of Income Tax in respect of all these lands; he is taxed in precisely the same proportion. Messrs. Guinness in Dublin, Messrs. Napier in Glasgow, Messrs. Alsopp and Bass upon the Trent, are charged on their profits in the same ratio; if each make £10,000 a month, they are equally burdened. And so it is through the whole scale of imposts; a clerk in a bank in London, in Edinburgh, in Dublin, in Belfast, paid a salary of £300 or £400 a year, pays the same sum in direct taxation; the peasant in Northern Ireland, in Sussex, in Caithness, in Galway, is charged alike so far as regards the revenue, on a pound of tea and a pound of tobacco, as on other articles indirectly taxed; the taxes on beer and whiskey do not differ a penny, in the case of the labourer in Yorkshire and the

Report, pp. 84, 89; but I quote the words of Lords Farrer and Welby, *Report*, p. 34:—‘The taxation per head in Ireland has increased from 14s. 5d. in 1819-20 to £1 8s. 10d. in 1893-94; whilst the taxation per head in Great Britain has diminished from £3 10s. 3d. per head in 1819-20 to £2 4s. 10d. in 1893-94.’ There is some truth in this remark of Mr. Sexton, *Report*, p. 89, ‘the wealthier country was taxed less and less as it became more wealthy, the poorer country was burdened more and more.’

Lothians, or of the labourer in Leinster and Connaught. What inequality, therefore can exist; is not equality the true, and the only equity; is a preference in taxation to be made in favour of Harland & Wolf, the great Belfast shipbuilders, and against the Lairds of Birkenhead; are Irishmen to get a bounty compared with Englishmen and Scotsmen? ‘*Solvuntur risu tabulæ* ;’ the complaint of Ireland is a delusion or worse.

That taxation falls on persons, not on the land they dwell in, is a truism I have never heard disputed. But—and this is the real point in question—equality of taxation as between the peoples of two countries, or even as between the people of different parts of the same country, may not be in any sense equity, it may be very great iniquity; and, dealing with the argument on this footing, this happens to be the case of Ireland, and, from this point of view, of Scotland likewise. Place the same tax on home-grown wine in France and in England; would not the wine producer on the Meuse and the Marne, whose vintage was almost his only harvest, bear a very different burden from the wine producer of Kent, who had probably only grapes in a hot-house? Place the same tax on cider throughout England, would it weigh as lightly on the population of the Cider Land as on the population of East Anglia, whose crops of apples are confined to their gardens? Paris drinks coffee, London drinks tea; would an equal tax on coffee imposed on both, equally affect the Londoner and the Parisian? Say that we levy the same tax on coal in Great Britain and Ireland, would the people of Great Britain, a land of coal, fare as well as the people of Ireland, a land of bogs and peat? Illustrations might be made *ad infinitum*; nothing is more certain than that equal taxation may be consistent with the greatest injustice. And this, we have said, is the case as between Great Britain and Ireland, adopting the premises above laid down, and is also the case between England and Scotland. The taxes on malt and spirituous liquors respectively are identical from John-o’-Groats to the Land’s End, and from Cape Clear to the Giant’s Causeway; Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen pay the same charge on a gallon of beer, wherever

it is drunk, and the same charge on a gallon of whiskey. But England is a beer drinking country; Englishmen drink a great deal of beer, and comparatively little spirits; Scotland and Ireland are whiskey-drinking people, making use, comparatively, of little beer,* and as the tax on spirits is many times higher than that on beer, it follows that Scotsmen and Irishmen are much more heavily burdened than Englishmen on the beverages they habitually consume. The difference amounts to many hundreds of thousands of pounds; equality of taxation, therefore, is in this province not justice, but very plain injustice.

In this matter, indeed, of malt and spirits, equality of taxation is such a palpable wrong, as between England, Scotland, and Ireland, that special pleas are required to prop up a fallacy. Irishmen—and Scotsmen are in the same predicament—are, it is said, not called upon to drink whiskey; they tax themselves of their own free will; they may, if they please, escape this impost. This is the 'Foundation of Belief' of Mr. Arthur Balfour with reference to this branch of the subject; I should like to see would he stand on such flimsy materials were the cases of England and Ireland reversed, and Englishmen were as addicted to whiskey, as, with their present tastes, they are addicted to beer? Were he, or any Minister, gravely to tell Englishmen that they are rightly taxed out of all just proportion, because they preferred their national drink, and that if they simply abstained from it, the remedy lay in their own hands, how long does he imagine his Government would survive? Another plea of the same type is that whiskey is an unwholesome and noxious thing, and that it ought to be enormously overtaxed in order to wean Scotsmen and Irishmen from it; but this is insolence or Pharisaical stuff;

* Attempts have been made to show that Englishmen consume as much spirits by the head as Irishmen. The taxation in respect of spirits is £1 9s. 0d. a head for Great Britain, and only £1 6s. 6d. a head for Ireland. But the term Great Britain includes the population of Scotland, and the millions of Irishmen in England and Scotland, all whiskey drinkers. Statistics ought to be studied, not swallowed, and it is useless to dwell more on an extravagant paradox.

persecution and tyranny might be justified, nay, have been justified, on like pretexts. In passing from this subject, I shall just glance at an argument which has been paraded, as a last defence, against the case of Ireland. Under our existing fiscal system, it has been urged, Ireland does enjoy 'exemptions and abatements' as regards taxation; the terms of the Treaty of Union have thus been satisfied, and Irishmen have no grounds for remonstrance. It might be enough to reply that such a plea has never proceeded from a statesman; it is a mere device of writers in the Press; it is easy to show that it has no foundation. Ireland certainly has 'exemptions and abatements,' but these are of the most trivial kind; in fact, the few taxes she does not pay, as contra-distinguished from Great Britain, could not pay the cost of collection, as Treasury officials themselves admit, and these are not the 'exemptions or the abatements' she is entitled to under the Treaty of Union, which, interpreted by the usage of many years, regards her as a separate financial unit, in no event to be unfairly charged. The meaning of these 'exemptions and abatements' unquestionably is that she is not to be taxed beyond her legitimate means, as Pitt and Castlereagh distinctly promised.

I sum up, therefore, the true conclusions to be formed on this very important subject. Ireland is, and has long been, much overtaxed; the excess is, probably, from two to three millions of pounds, and as she is an extremely poor country, the overcharge is a very severe burden. The arguments against this view altogether fail; they break down, especially when confronted with the Treaty of Union, and the pledges given by its author. This, however, in my judgment, by no means completes the case as to the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, considered in all its parts, and on an impartial survey. Here, as I have said, I fully agree with Mr. Arthur Balfour that the Childers Commission has not dealt thoroughly with a large and far-reaching branch of the subject; indeed, it rather avoids the question, or has treated it either superficially or not without sophistry. This circumstance affords a solid ground for the appointment of the new Commission to report on this matter; and I, for one, believe that Great

Britain, or rather the State, representing the Government of the Three Kingdoms, has a large counterclaim that may be legitimately made against the excessive taxation imposed on Ireland.

Out of a revenue of more than £7,000,000, Ireland has of late years contributed less than £2,000,000, to what has been described as the charge of the Empire,* the difference has been spent on so-called 'Irish services.' This proportion, indeed, has not always held; the figures in 1819-20 are £5,250,000 and £3,690,000, and in 1859-60, £7,700,000 and £5,400,000; in former years, therefore, Ireland has paid very large sums, on Imperial account, from her own resources. But this proportion has, of late, prevailed; it seems probable, indeed, that after deducting the expense required to defray her alleged 'local' needs, the balance available from Ireland, for 'Imperial services,' will, in the future, diminish, not increase. Ireland, as affairs now stand, absorbs more than £5,000,000, from a gross revenue of upwards of £7,000,000, in an expenditure which is described as 'Irish;' the margin left for the general purposes of the State, less than £2,000,000, is, certainly, very small. This sum of £5,000,000 and more is made up of a great variety of charges which, the Treasury insists, must be deemed exclusively Irish. It represents the interest on loans which have been made to Ireland, certainly in a larger degree, than to England and Scotland, the cost of Irish administration in all its branches, the cost of the great Irish Constabulary force and of National Education on the Irish system, and a number of lesser miscellaneous charges. The question is whether, regard being had to the insignificant sum coming to the State generally, a considerable part of this sum of £5,000,000 and upwards, obtained partly from Irish taxation, no doubt, but expended for the assumed benefit of Ireland, does not fairly constitute a just set off to the overtaxation to which Ireland is subject. Nor can it be forgotten here that Ireland has had the benefit of free grants, to a large extent, and of remissions of taxation, great in amount, for which she is not really charged anything.

* *Report*, p. 165.

At the outset I make no trifling admissions to those who dissent from the view I hold, and think that the State has no counter-claim in this matter. As regards interest payable on loans to Ireland, it has been regularly discharged in the main; here therefore no set off can exist; nor can a set off be justly sought in the case of loans, which, in too many instances, have, in different degrees, been misapplied or wasted. A very considerable part, too, of the sums put down as devoted to purely 'Irish services' is, assuredly, an Imperial charge; for example, the cost of the Lord Lieutenantcy, called 'Irish,' should certainly be placed to the account of the State. No counter claim can be made, under these heads, which make up a very large total; and, besides, I concur, on this subject, with a view which diminishes any counter claim further to a great extent. It is a fallacy to call many charges, which at first blush seem Irish, exclusively Irish, and confined to the needs of Ireland; the State, for instance, has a direct interest in the Government of Ireland, and her administration, and the Imperial Exchequer, therefore should defray, as its own liability, a large part of the charge in this respect, and should not consider it simply as an 'Irish service.' The O'Connor Don and his colleagues have observed with much truth:—'Whilst these kingdoms are united under one Parliament and Imperial expenditure is determined on Imperial grounds, we cannot but regard the maintenance of order, the enforcement of the laws, the collection and protection of the revenue are subjects of Imperial concern, no matter in what part of the United Kingdom they take place, and the expenditure on them must be regarded as a whole and Imperial in its character.'* In this way any set-off that can be made in this particular must be largely cut down; and it must be added that when the Union was made, it was never contemplated that any part of the expenditure caused by Ireland was to be deemed a separate Irish charge, or to be held applicable to an 'Irish service,' 'The division of Imperial expenditure into three parts, one for local purposes in Great Britain, one for local purposes in Ire-

* *Report*, p. 23.

land, and one for Imperial purposes, is, we must remark, a distinction of quite modern creation. It was not thought of at the time of the Act of Union. It is quite clear, according to the provisions of that Act, that the Imperial expenditure to which Ireland was to contribute in proportion to her resources included all civil Government expenditure, no matter in what part of the United Kingdom it took place.*

Allowing, however, for these drawbacks—and certainly they must amount to a very large sum—I still think that the State has an important counter-claim against the overcharge of Irish taxation. Free grants, so far as they have been out of proportion with free grants to England and Scotland, create a counter-claim of this kind; and remissions of taxation must be taken into account to the extent that they represent *bonâ fide* debts. Part, too, of the cost of Irish government and administration must be deemed special expenditure for Irish purposes, and ought to be placed exclusively to the charge of Ireland, affording in this way a set off for the State. A considerable portion, for example, of the sum devoted to Irish judicial and legal establishments is required to defray the enormous cost of the Irish Land Commission and the Irish Land Courts, tribunals wholly confined to Ireland; Ireland, in my judgment, is justly liable for these, and to this extent the Imperial Exchequer has a claim against her. The chief item of set-off, however, consists in the charge of the great Irish Constabulary force and the charge of Irish Education on the National system, these amounting together to nearly £2,500,000. The State pays almost all this sum; in England and Scotland the corresponding sums are largely contributed from local English and Scottish sources; it seems to me, therefore, the plainest equity that part of this expenditure should be imposed on Ireland, and should constitute a set-off for the State. It has been alleged that the cost of all these services is extravagant and ought not to be laid on Ireland, at least to any considerable extent; if this can be legitimately reduced, there can be no objection. But any large reduction is, I am convinced, impossible if any-

* *Report*, p. 22.

thing like good government is to prevail in Ireland. The expense of maintaining law and order, and therefore of keeping up a large staff of legal officials in a country subject to periodical explosions of anarchy and crime, and controlled by the State in all its landed relations, must, from the nature of the case, be great; it would be sheer insanity to weaken the Constabulary force, and the expenditure on National Education cannot be diminished. Nothing is more ridiculous, nothing shows more the ignorance about Ireland that exists in England than to assert gravely, as has been asserted, that the government and administration of Ireland ought not to cost more than that of a land like Belgium.* It must be added that this alleged extravagance has never been made a subject of complaint in Ireland; it has been, on the contrary, rather popular.

For these reasons, a counterclaim against excessive Irish taxation, I think, may be rightly made, though I do not pretend even to guess its extent. The Childers Commission, I repeat, has not dealt with this subject fully or fairly; it has properly been referred to a fresh enquiry. Mr. Childers was the only member of the Commission that bears his name, who made an attempt to examine this question in detail; he thought there was a just set-off against Ireland, to the amount of about £500,000; I shall be surprised if it is not found to be a much larger sum. It will be for the new Commission to search out this matter thoroughly, to investigate it in its multifarious parts, to consider what expenditure can properly be charged to Ireland, and what must be properly charged to the State, to ascertain if a counterclaim, and to what extent, exists against the overcharge of Irish taxation. The enquiry will be one of great difficulty, so numerous, obscure, and intermingled are the elements entering into the problem, but a reasonably just conclusion may be arrived at. If, as I believe, after making every fair allowance, a considerable balance shall be struck in favour of Ireland, Parliament will, of course, decide how this shall be discharged. Two remarks, however, may here be made; Ireland has practically acquiesced, in the

* *Report*, p. 49.

existing system of undue taxation, for many years ; she has no right, therefore, to claim compensation for the past, and no right to demand that our general fiscal arrangements shall be radically changed. But she will have a right to insist on redress for the future ; and this can be given, without the least difficulty, whatever may be said by clamorous partisans, intent on appealing to narrow and purely selfish prejudice, and to silence the voices of Irishmen, whatever the result. The true title of Ireland to relief, in this most important matter, rests ultimately on the Treaty of Union, interpreted as its author meant it should be ; if, as I firmly believe, the Union must be upheld, in the interest of Great Britain and Ireland alike, let it be carried out fairly, and even generously as respects the Irish people. For myself, I have confidence in Englishmen, and in Scotsmen ; if Ireland can prove a wrong, they will do her justice ; I simply address myself to their sympathies and their sense of right ; I separate myself from those who denounce them.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (February 1897).—F. von Duhn describes the recent researches of German archæologists on Marcus Aurelius' column at Rome. Like Trajan's, the column is adorned with bas reliefs, which represent scenes in the emperor's campaigns against German and Slavonic tribes north of the Empire in A.D. 171-175. This, the oldest monument of German history, has been investigated, and a volume with a description of the pillar, accompanied by a complete series of photographs has been recently published.—'The Psychological Origin and Social Character of Language,' by Ludwig Stein, deals with the much debated question of Speech and Reason, and insists that speech is an indispensable postulate for the relations of intelligent society as opposed to instinctive aggregations of living beings. The writer remarks on the contrast between the desire for a universal language as exemplified in Greek, Latin, and French, not to mention modern factitious languages, and the effort after individuality in style.—The Schubert centenary gives occasion for an interesting article by Max Friedlaender, in which he corrects many errors which have crept into current accounts of the composer's life. Remarking on the scarcity of materials for Schubert's biography, he says that only 70 letters by the composer exist, of which he has discovered 30.—Under the title of 'An English Historian on Democracy and Liberty,' Lady Blennerhasset deals with Mr. Lecky's book with the same title, especially the chapters relating to the Irish land question.—Julius Janitsch writes on 'Art Criticism,'—'Edward Zeller's Early Years' contains interesting notices of F. C. Baur, David Strauss, and other leaders of the Tübingen school.—An obituary notice of E. du Bois-Reymond, a review of testimonies to the capability of women for academic life, the usual political letter, and notices of Jonas Lie's new novel, *Dyre Rein*, and of Mr. Spenser Wilkinson's *The Nation's Awakening*, conclude this part.—(March)—The principal articles in this number are entirely biographical. Ottokar Lorenz has a eulogium of Kaiser Wilhelm I., who, he says, would require another Carlyle to portray him.—Reminiscences of Gustav Freytag give interesting glimpses of his circle about the year 1866.—Julius Rodenberg recalls the Berlin of the fifties, and is rich in reminiscences of the musical

world there.—Barras' 'Glück und Ende' is a review of Duruy's edition of his *Memoirs*, Vols. III. and IV.—There is also the first part of an account of Jacobo Zobel de Zangróniz the German-Spanish scholar, who, educated for the oversight of his father's chemical business in Manilla, was full of enthusiasm for antiquity, especially Numismatics. The article is specially interesting just now for the light it throws on the state of the Philippine Islands.—Professor W. Rein's 'School Instruction and the Education of the People,' is very much a discourse on the English statesman's saying, 'We must educate our masters.' Professor Rein was much struck with a student party of working men which he met in Edinburgh Castle, and with the Free Library in the same city. These things explained why the Police moved quietly about the Queen's Park paying no attention to Anarchist speeches, which in Germany would have been suppressed as dangerous.—Other articles discuss China's embarrassments, 'Modern Commercial Policy' in a review of a volume of Essays by the Austrian Economist Dr. Peez, 'Wundt's Psychology,' and 'Trilby,' which has found a German translator. The reviewer says that it may have been a success in the least musical countries of the civilised world, but in Germany the public has too fine an ear.—(April, 1897).—Ossip Schubin's serial, 'Die Heimkehr,' enters upon its third book.—The second part of 'Jacobo Zobel de Zangróniz' describes his life from 1864 to his death in 1896; and contains many interesting glimpses of affairs in the Philippine Islands, and much information on ancient Spanish Numismatics.—The Editor's Reminiscences are carried on to the end of his first years in Berlin. This month he recalls some of the well known Berlin houses in the fifties, Duncker the publisher's, where he saw G. H. Lewes and George Eliot and numerous German writers, Varnhagen's von Ense, the Grimms, and so on.—Prof. Georg Gerland publishes a lecture on the 'Object and Results of Polar Research,' in which he gives a succinct history of North and South Polar expeditions, and shows that over and above its attraction for adventurous spirits (he calls it a form of sport) it promises important scientific results, especially in meteorology.—The first of a series on 'World-Characters,' by Hermann Grimm, treats of Goethe's Iphigeneia. It is based on Goethe's recension of the Roman version of the play which is now deposited in the Goethe-Schiller-Archiv Weimar, and not only gives a charming outline and running commentary on the play and its representation, but traces the changes which the author made in many passages, and the effect which these have on the general effect of the drama. The writer remarks that Goethe repre-

sents a thoroughly modern idea, the lonely woman in Iphigenia.—The remaining papers are 'An Echo of Kaiser Wilhelm's Centenary,' 'The Berlin Theatre,' and the Political and Literary Chronicles.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 2, 1897).—Dr. Carl Clemens opens this number with a long and learned discussion as to the chronology, or chronological order rather, of the chief Pauline Epistles, 'Die Reihenfolge der paulinischen Hauptbriefe.' In a recent work of his on the Chronology of St. Paul's Epistles he advocated the priority of that to the Galatians over that to the Romans; an opinion advanced and advocated by the more radical school of critics of late, many of whom have called in question the authenticity of all the writings attributed to St. Paul. Most German scholars have regarded that to the Galatians as preceding in order of time the Epistles to the Corinthians; while, on the other hand, most English scholars have placed it after them. Its true place must be held to be subject of legitimate debate. The *data* for determining its real position contained in the Epistle itself, are very indefinite, and may lead to diverse conclusions. In a treatise prepared for his Doctor's Degree, Dr. Clemens defended the priority of Galatians to that of Romans, and both his works have naturally been subjected to a somewhat severe criticism. Dr. Clemens here restates his thesis, and sets himself to meet the objections that have been taken to his arguments. He naturally refuses to waste space and time on those critics who have sought to discredit his work by attributing to him, as his inspiring motive, 'Bewusste Tendenz,' and the desire to cut and carve at the Acts of the Apostles merely to suit his purposes. His proofs for the arrangement of the Pauline Epistles which he favours are based chiefly on, and drawn from, the doctrinal developments which he finds, or thinks he finds, in these Epistles. Paul's theology, he says, like his Master's underwent change, growth, development, in the course of time. Dr. Clemens deems it necessary here to defend this affirmation. It is allowed by many, no doubt. But there are not a few objectors, even yet, and in the rank of prominent theologians. Some there are of course who fully concede the doctrine of evolution. But some seem incapable of even understanding it. They persist in representing it as excluding the operation of any factor other than that which they call material. They regard it as the negation of all higher, all spiritual, forces. In no circle of enlightened evolutionists is that averred. Nay, it is repudiated. Most upholders of the doctrine, and all who know it best, proceed on the assumption that there is an intelligent and moral

purpose running through all history, and an intelligent and moral Agent guiding and sustaining all things. So far as concerns Dr. Clemens' contention here, the objections to development in Paul's theology are based mostly on the short time that separates his epistles. But our author contends that the commonly received chronology has really nothing to rest upon. None of the epistles were penned until at least twelve years after St. Paul's conversion. They appeared at intervals after that and covered a space of not less than six years. That period was surely sufficient for considerable changes to take place in the apostle's views and opinions. Von Hartmann, no doubt asserts, that nobody changes his opinions after he is thirty years of age; and Dr. Clemens is at pains to prove that if there is any such rule it has any number of exceptions. And that Paul was one of them he conclusively shows. Paul's opinions regarding the parousia changed vitally. It is evident from 1 Thes. i. 17; 2 Thes. i. 7; 1 Cor. xv. 5; that he looked for it in his own lifetime; but when we come to Phil. i. 23; iii. 11, we find that he expected it after his decease, and that he would be a sharer only in the resurrection of the dead. Development in his opinions is evidenced also in regard to the Person of Christ, 2 Cor. v. 16. Another proof of growth in the Apostle's views is furnished by Gal. v. 2. The objection is here met by our author that time and circumstances often call for a different statement of the same truths. He shows that that explanation meets the case here. He brings out also the change of attitude of Paul towards circumcision, as to the place and office of the Law, as to the doctrine of Justification, and as to the mission and destiny of Israel, etc. It is throughout a very scholarly and interesting article, and merits the careful attention of all students of the New Testament.—The other articles are, 'Die Entstehung von Luthers Wartburgpostille,' by Dr. Bossert; and 'Dionysische Bedenken,' by Dr. J. Draeseke. Professor Köstlin reviews three recent ethical studies, that of J. L. Schultze on 'Julius Müller als Ethiker und die Glaubensfrage mit Bezug auf das Apostolikum;' 'Christliche Ethik,' by Prof. Kubel of Tübingen; and 'Kompendium der theologischen Ethik,' by Dr. C. E. Luthardt.

R U S S I A .

RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW (*Voprosi, Philosophii i Psychologii*, No. 34)—opens with a discussion on the Problems of Art, in which the author says that if we take the various definitions which have been given of Art, they will appear to be very like one another, or at least will be found to differ only in appearance. Various definitions are cited, and the

endeavour is made to show their fundamental agreement. The position of Art as a language is also discussed. In the course of the discussion it is compared with ordinary language, painting and sculpture as modes of expression, and the respective merits and shortcomings of each are indicated.—Succeeding upon this article by M. N. Tsvantzoff, we have a long article on the significance of Descartes in the history of Physical Science. The author, M. N. Umoff, reminds us of the fact, that we are removed by three centuries from Descartes' birthday, and he would embrace the opportunity to contrast the two epochs, in regard to the growth of scientific knowledge. At the end of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth the man who set forth the presentations of thought, claimed that what he set forth were presentations of absolute Truth. The natural philosophy of the ancients delighted in dogmatic statements and opposed authority to freedom of research. The world of ideas seemed thinner than the material world; Ideas could not be confirmed or refuted by facts. The revolution which Descartes wrought was to introduce *may* *ness* into the mixture of Science and Scholasticism *which* *or* *his* *ailed* before his day. He put an end to the carry *Gala-* the psychical relations of man into Nature, the wise *naturally* 'Nature abhorred a vacuum' and such like. He cast *emens* Nature the belief in final causes. Our author, in *ord-* *ections* fully to judge the work of Descartes, which he *names* *are* *mechanical*, introduces the later school of Newton which he names the *dynamic*. The great work of Descartes, the *Principles of Philosophy*, was published in 1644, three years before Newton gave to the world his great discovery of universal gravitation. The latter did not attempt to show whether the causes which ruled in the prevalence of universal gravitation were material or immaterial. Newton too never tried to temporize as Descartes sometimes did as to the relation between the scholasticism which he found in operation, and the more correct views which he himself found it necessary to introduce. Newton sought first of all to formulate with the greatest clearness the forces acting upon bodies at a distance, the one from the other, without attending to the intermediate influences. The complicated enquiries into which Descartes fell, led to all kind of mysterious suppositions about the secret action of bodies. The author refers to a case in point taken from a letter of Descartes. Subsequently he traces as a contrast the influence of the Newtonian school of physics, its greater brilliance and power. In the conclusion we have some references to Hertz and Helmholtz.—Next comes a psycho-sociological study on the self-consciousness of classes

in Social Progress, by M. E. Obolensky. The article opens with a brief preface on methods. This contains a reference to M. C. Bouglé in a small work of his *Les Sciences Sociales en Allemagne*. In the second chapter the author attempts to define his subject in regard to the consciousness of classes. It is simply the consciousness of given classes of individuals or of the majority of them in their generalized interest. In the third chapter the author seeks to work out how factors of sociality serve toward the development of the prevailing element, and indeed in three directions or types, Art, Morality and Science. In working out his views the author makes considerable use of the French thinker Tard in his *Lagique Sociale*. It can scarcely be said that the author in dealing with contemporary art works out his idea into clearness. On the contrary he admits that in Western Europe, in France and Germany, the class self-consciousness is only in its first stage, and the author shrinks from characterising it. In America he informs us, however, that it has reached further stadia. In his fourth chapter our author proceeds to discourse upon the evolution of self-consciousness in its fourth stage in America. In Chicago he finds this development of the fourth stage in syndicates of workers. One of the oldest of these, known as Knights of Labour, goes back to 1869, and has for its motto 'agitate,' 'educate,' 'organize.' It would seem, however, that even in America there has been a force working against these associations. An instance is given of these same Knights of Labour losing 200,000 members in the course of two years.—The article which follows upon this is a continuation of Prince Serge Trubetzkoi's articles on the Foundations of Idealism. The present article is dedicated to a critique of mystical Idealism. It opens with the remark that in these days of the development of critical philosophy and the great success of natural science, there is a return to the type of our ancestor and a protest raised against contemporary science, or there is a plain reversion to coarse purely empirical mysticism in the form of spiritism or occultism, which appeals even to those engaged in the work of research in favour of its claims. There is such a thing as the absolute subject, which is to be found in the depths of our own being, and which is sought for in a variety of ways, European and Eastern. Then we have the Christian mystics such as Meister Eckhardt and Jacob Böhme. After dealing with the Indian forms the Prince, in closing his article comes back to the spiritual element which lies in the depth of our consciousness. In it we are conscious of a reality with which we come into relation to the article suc-

ceeding upon this is by the Russian thinker Wladimir Solovieff. Its title is the 'Moral Organization of Humanity.' He begins by stating that in the natural organization of humanity various human unities and groups are placed by Nature in such necessarily mutual relations that their particular interests are modified or developed in such wise as to tend to the progress of the whole. Thus of old the necessities of shepherds and agriculturists, the warlike spirit of popular leaders, and mercantile undertakings moved by gain, created a culture and moulded the history of the world. This unity, however, is incomplete. It is neither voluntary, nor conscious, but has been brought about by laws over which the constituents of the unity or the aggregates of which it is composed have no knowledge. There is no special determination of the will, simply an unconscious tendency. On the whole our philosopher appears to look upon the early organization of society in the light of Divine providence, watching the ways of man, yet among whom, in the words of Paul to those in Lystra, 'God left Himself not without a witness.' In the 6th chapter of the present article the author refers to the ancestral cult which in its moralizing character, has been so powerfully set forth by Fustel de Coulanges in *La Cité Antique* (Deuxième Edition), in the conquest of egoistic selfishness and the evolution and growth of the family. Finally, as bearing upon the kingdom of God, on which fruitful ideal, it is well known that our Russian philosopher lays great stress, he comes to treat of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, when the first converts were assembled together in one spirit. But this was not a spirit of separation but of unity, and the tongues of fire which sat upon the apostolic community were not divided tongues, but tongues which united them in the common understanding, and the unity of the spirit which joined them together.—The last article in the general part of the journal is by one of the new editors, L. M. Lopatin, on 'The Founder of Modern Philosophy and the Scientific Conception of the World.' He holds that a proper estimate of the place and power of Descartes in modern philosophy has not been fully dealt with and brought to sufficient and general acceptance. All agree that he introduced the first modern philosophical development. He is by birth its earliest leader, he created a new method. All the latest philosophical and scientific methods are derived from him.—The special part of the journal contains a number of articles, the first of which deals with Researches as to the Nervous System, with an appendix in explanation of certain psychical phenomena. In this we are told that of late years our know-

ledge of the nervous system has greatly widened, and that it is in many respects radically changed.—In M. Suxanoff's article we have also a whole series of graphic illustrations.—This is followed by M. Dchivelegoff's article on 'Vico and his System of the Philosophy of History.'—Hereupon follows by M. Serbsky an account of the Fourth International Congress of Anthropology which met in Geneva last August.—This is followed by reviews of books and bibliography.—The 35th number, which completes the seventh year of the journal, opens with a paper from the pen of M. Nicholas Grot, the late editor of the journal, on the 'Life and Personality of Descartes.' Born in Touraine, in France, in March, 1596, a child of very delicate health and weakly constitution, he was allowed by his father to play about and exercise himself in youthful games until his eighth year, when his father took him off to the Jesuit College de la Fleche, founded by Henry IV., where he continued under instruction until he was seventeen years of age. Here also on account of his weak health he was allowed greater freedom, which contributed to the development of his mind in thought and reading. The education which Descartes received in the College de la Fleche was one purely scholastic, that is to say, he was trained in the principles of the scholastic philosophy of that time. He took leave of the College, and counted it one of the best schools of the time. Continuing his studies as became his uncommon abilities, he made great progress, especially in geometry, mathematics, and the other sciences. Yet, at the same time, Descartes looked back upon the scholastic system in which he had been trained with contempt, and one of his biographers says that his education was of the usual character, than which there is no other for the genial man, that is, the education that he gives himself, and which consists principally in the destruction of his first education, on which he has spent so much time. In carrying out the process he settled in Holland, where he lived twenty-five years, and produced those immortal works which bear his name, his *Discours de la Méthode*, *Les Meditations*, etc. Becoming unpopular in Holland, he was compelled to betake himself to Sweden, whither he was invited by Queen Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, and where in 1650 he fell a victim to the severity of the climate, in the 54th year of his age.—Upon this article follows one by M. Serbsky on 'Criminal and Honourable People,' the difference between whom is attributed by Lombroso and others to certain peculiarities of mind and body, which only began to be taken into account two decades ago.—The article following upon this is on 'Folly,' in which the author,

M. A. Tokarsy, says that the determination of what constitutes the conception of folly is of extraordinary psychological interest. There are countless ways of expressing what is named folly, but to investigate its meaning historically would be no easy matter. The author then refers to Erasmus and his book in *Praise of Folly*. He proceeds then to give what might be called the mythology of Folly, and her descent and relations. Her father was Plutos, the god of Riches, and a beautiful nymph, 'Youth or Novelty.' She was born in the Fortunate Isles, nursed by Mētē (Drunkenness) the daughter of Bacchus, and Apedia, the daughter of Pan. The paper, however, soon resolves itself into an appreciation of Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*.—In succession to this we have the conclusion of Vladimir Solovieff's article on the 'Moral Organization of Humanity,' into which the author enters into a consideration of our oneness and holiness in God.—This article is succeeded by the closing article on the 'Foundations of Idealism,' by Prince Serge Tronbetskoi. The heading of the first chapter is, 'On the Concrete Unity of the Knowing Faculties.' Then he comes to the examination of the 'Universal Law of the Causal Relation.' 'Concerning it, testifies,' says our author, 'our sensuous experience in the universal forms of Space and Time.' 'Concerning it, testifies our thought in its formal universality,' *i.e.*, the universal, which comprehends all inseparably; and, concerning it, testifies our unshaken faith in the real existence of the world, with which we are inseparably bound up. This causal relation, as known by us, demands explanation as to how far is bound up in it the contradiction between Nature and Spirit, between the Ego and the non-Ego. And between these neither Empiricism nor Rationalism, nor Mysticism, not only do not give a sufficient explanation, but not seldom their attempted answer is a direct contradiction of it, or a denial rather of its universal character, or a visionary and imaginative explanation. Following upon this we have many pages of abstract thought on the *concrete determination of the absolute*. To abridge this within convenient limits is impossible. The author is compelled himself to leave his speculation incomplete.—Hereupon follows in the special part of the journal a paper giving, in continuance, an account of the fourth International Congress for Criminal Anthropology in Geneva.—Besides several papers, we have also an account of the Third International Psychological Congress in Munich from the 4th to the 7th August, 1896.—This is followed by the reviews of books and bibliography.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (January 1).—In this number Professor Graf commences a series of essays on the pre-Rafaelites, giving a detailed account of their principles and modes of art, the reasons which led to their poetic symbolism, and the means adopted. The article is concluded in the following number.—Ernesto Masi, under the title of ‘A Roman Princess of the 17th Century,’ gives an interesting account of the life and romantic adventures of Maria Mancini Colonna, who was so beloved by Louis XIII. that he wished to make her his wife and queen of France.—A statistical paper on ‘Labour and Insurance’ is commenced by C. F. Ferraris, and concluded in next number.—A. Alonzi contributes a valuable article on ‘Police and Crime in Italy.’—(January 16).—G. Garda gives details, gathered from unpublished political documents of 1866-67, about the arrest of Garibaldi at Sinalunga, on the 24th September, while on his way to Perugia, where an enthusiastic crowd was waiting to receive him with the cry of ‘Rome or death!’ There was great difficulty in preventing a revolt when the people heard that their idol had been arrested.—F. d’Ovidio has a long and learned article on ‘Dante and St. Paul.’—V. Fionni relates the ‘Origin of the Italian Tricolour.’—Paolo Liroy introduces the reader to Fòntega, the small remains of a larger lake near Vicenza, where were found five strange, small boats or machines of the ‘lake-period,’ the use of which has been, and still is, a puzzle to archæologists.—(February 1).—Ferdinand Martini commences here a series of papers on ‘Italian Comedy Writers,’ with Tommaso Gherardi, a disciple of Goldoni.—F. Benedetti contributes a paper on ‘Italian Tramways and Railways,’ and A. Venturi on the ‘Arch of Constantine.’—C. Segie reviews at length E. Zanoni’s *Public Life of Francesco Guicciardini, with New Documents*.—O. L. Biauco resumes the results of the latest discoveries concerning the planet Venus.—Gino Monaldo writes a clever criticism on Verdi’s ‘Falstaff,’ which he thinks will, in the far future, be regarded as a marvellous work of art.—(February 16).—Professor Villari contributes a short paper on ‘The Disturbances at the University in Rome, and other Colleges.’—D. Gnoli writes some valuable comments on ‘Art and Nationality,’ advocating the revival of a conscious and material personality, which would produce the sole conditions in which art can be really original and sincere.—V. Malamani contributes an amusing and interesting paper on ‘Dramatic Art and Marionettes in Venice in the last Century.’ G. Ricca Salerno has a careful statistical paper on the ‘Results

of the Tributary Reform in Prussia.'—Professor Mariano sends the first instalment of 'Chapters on the Historical Antecedents of Christianity;' the present one is called 'Judaism.'—(March 1).—'Crete,' by E. Catellani, who relates the history of the island, and warmly advocates its annexation, or rather restoration, to Greece.—'The New Religious Evolution of Socialism' is a thoughtful paper by A. Chiaparelli.—'Leopardi and Rameri,' by F. d'Ovidio.—'The Agro Romano, and the Tavoliere of Puglia,' is by Raffaele de Cesare, who writes on the possibility of deriving rich produce, under proper cultivation, of the above-mentioned lands.—'Enchantment,' the novel, is concluded, and the 'Dramatic Venetian Theatres of the 18th Century,' is continued.—Piero Cantalupi writes on the 'Acquisition and Legitimacy of Colonies.'—I. Voletta criticizes with praise the new opera by Giordano, 'Andrea Chenier.'

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Feb. 1st).—Here are two short articles, one by G. Larini, giving a short biography of the late Cardinal Archbishop of Naples; the other by G. B. Prunai, an appreciative notice of the chief works of Antonio Foggazzaro.—Professor Del Gaizo writes an interesting paper on the scholastic and scientific work of the late Professor Palmieri of Vesuvian fame. The illustrious professor began to turn his attention to the Neapolitan volcano in 1850, after having studied telluric electricity for some time. During his repeated visits to Vesuvius, both before and after founding the Meteorological Station, Professor Palmieri risked his life three times. In May 1858 he was on the mountain in a place where the earth suddenly cracked and flames issued. In December 1861, when the town of Torre del Greco was deserted because of the mephitic fumes arising everywhere, Professor Palmieri wandered through the silent streets, holding a lighted lantern that its sinking flame might warn him when the air was growing deadly. The third time was when he bravely remained at his post in the observatory during the famous eruption of 1872.—L. Grottanelli contributes an account of the last princes of the House of Medici, and the end of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.—E. A. Foperti reviews Cicala's *Life and Times of General Dabormida*.—Eleonora Merlo begins a story entitled 'Love in the Mountains.'—(Feb. 16).—A. A. di Pesaro writes on 'Mystifiers and Freemasons,' advocating a system of religious defence against the latter body.—G. Marcotti contributes a rapid survey of Latin civilization and Italian art in Southern France.—A. Pestalozzi reviews Ollé-Laprune's *Le prix de la vie*.—The other papers are continuations.—(March 1st).—Here are two articles

on multiple votes, and on general elections, by R. Corniani and Regulus.—A. Liomonaco ends his account of a voyage to New Orleans.—X. describes the progress of the new Palace of Justice in Rome, blaming the vanity which has led to large expense and consequent delay in the completion of the building. It is now about twenty years since it was found that new law-courts for Rome were absolutely necessary, and yet the edifice has only just risen above its foundations. In 1883 the first competition for the plan of the building which was not to exceed the sum of eight million francs was made, and resulted unsatisfactorily. At the second competition the plan of Signor Galderini of Perugia was accepted, subject to modifications. The altered plan was presented in 1888, and obtained the Royal approval and that of the Artistic Committee. The architectural effect of the building is imposing, but is so at the expense of simplicity and correctness of outline. Among the chief features of the plan were splendid staircases, groups of statuary, a grand courtyard of honour, two fountains, immense halls and saloons, and the building was to be three storeys high, not counting the ground floor. The whole was to occupy an area of 28,100 square metres, and the three storeys were to contain in all 600 rooms and halls of different sizes. But one storey was suppressed on account of the enormous expense, and the building has now a truncated appearance, and will be another example of the many incomplete new works found in Italy. In 1894 it was found that the plan, if fully carried out, with all its decorations would cost 37 million francs instead of 8 million! After the alterations had been approved, the first stone of the now rising edifice was laid with great ceremony in 1889. In 1891 the whole of the technical direction passed into the hands of the Ministry of Public Works, and when the claims of the previous contractors were settled there was not a penny left to continue the works. Endless financial difficulties hindered the prosecution, until the young Director of Public Works found an expedient, postponing the less necessary work, and providing funds to finish the edifice in a modified manner within the next four years. It is now expected to be finished and opened in the year 1900.—L. Grottanelli continues his interesting paper on the 'Last Princes of the House of Medici.'—F. Massimo sends a poem entitled 'Jesus.'—G. Grabinsky reviews the *Cosmopolis*, giving that magazine high praise, and adding the hope that it may go on on lines of thorough liberalism, opening its pages to all questions of the time and avoiding party spirit.—(March 16th)—commences with a review by R. Fornaciari of Del Lungo's *Florentia*.—F. Lampertico contri-

butes a paper on Antonio Rosmini, or the relation between thought and speech.—Eleonora Merlo's story 'Love in the Mountains' is concluded.—A. F. Vecchi writes on Admiral Aminjon.—E. Pistelli has a short paper on public lectures held in Florence.—G. Pagani writes of Pico della Mirandola and Dr. Pastor.—F. Pastonchi contributes verses entitled 'The Bride of Christ.'—P. M. Del Rosso sends some inedited letters by Don Camillo Gonzago.—'Elections: Cisalpine and Transalpine Logic,' is a paper by Eleutero.—Senator A. Rossi sends some 'Economic Notes,' and N. Marzotto a paper on political education and the Agrarian party.

LA CULTURA (January 1st, 1897): contains a review of Armstrong's 'Heroes of the Nations: Lorenzo de Medici,' in which the critic finds two mistakes in the title of the book; he does not consider Florence as a 'nation,' nor does he regard Lorenzo as a 'hero.' The critic goes on to say that the book contains little or nothing that was not known already; that it is neither a work of erudition, nor a clever specimen of historic psychology; that it is superficial, and that the author fails to discern the psychological base of Lorenzo's character, and to understand the life of the period. In comparing the Italians of the nineteenth century with those of the fifteenth, the author is also inexact in his conclusions. Still the critic admits that the book is brightly written and, as far as he has seen, contains no error of fact.—Among English books reviewed in this number is the Syrian text edited by E. A. Wallis Budge.—There is also an article by A. Venturi, on 'The Art of Jacopo Bellini.'—(February 1st.)—Here is a laudatory review of W. S. M'Kechnie's 'The State and the Individual,' and several reviews of German books.—(February 15th.)—Has an able review of Labriola's 'The University and the Liberty of Science,' one of Klughardts' 'The Plastic Arts in connection with Geographical Instruction;' and one of de Grandmaison's '*Napoléon et ses recents historiens.*'

GIORNALE DANTESCUE (Year 4, Nos. 7, 8, 9,) contain:—Apropos of 'Sardello,' by F. Torraca.—The 'Tesoro' in Dante's works, by A. Dobelli.—'Dantesque Fragments,' by M. Pelacy.—'Dante in his Generation,' by G. Bovio, by S. Scaletta.—'The Vatican Dante,' by M. Pelacy.—'The Defence of Petrarch,' by G. Melodia.—'Letters from Dante,' etc., by A. Frammazzi.—'The Critical edition of De Vulgari,' by M. Pelacy.

LA CIVILTA CATTOLICA (January 2, and March 6)—contain the following articles: 'Europe at the Beginning of 1897;' 'The Natural History of Plants in the 19th Century;' 'The

Condemnation of the Anglican Orders; 'German Pedagogy;' 'Christmas Night—A Sicilian Sketch;' Catholic Re-action and Unconscious Socialism;' 'The Lauretan Litanies;' 'Modern Pedagogy in Practice;' and a review of Archdeacon Gibbons' *The Ambassador of Christ*.

EMPORIUM (Christmas Number)—contains: 'Contemporary Artists: James Tissot,' by P. Bettoli; 'The Great Modern Capitals: Berlin,' by A. Galante; 'The Four Seasons,' designs by Sir Edward Burne-Jones; 'Retrospective Art: G. B. Tiepolo,' by L. Beltram; 'Italian Painting at Chantilly,' by S. di G.; 'Santa Maria di Vezzolano,' by E. Bracco; 'Bethlemme,' by P. B.; 'Jules-Ker,' by G. Roncagli, all copiously illustrated.—(January, 1897)—contains: 'Genius and Madness as Exemplified in the Works of the Painter Wiertz,' by Professor Lombroso; 'Luigi Conconi,' by G. Martinelli; 'Contemporaneous Literature: Maurice Barrès,' by V. Pica; 'French Journalism,' by G. Berri; 'The Coast of Somali-land,' by C. Bonaschi. —'Carlo Magenta and his Posthumous Opera, the "Certosa di Pavia,"' by P. Ferrieri; 'The Day of Sarah Bernhardt,' by P. Z.—(February)—'The Holy Places of Mecca'; 'Albums and Illustrated Posters,' by Vittorio Pica; 'Porticoes in North Italy,' by H. E. Tidmarsh; 'Renata di Francia, Duchess of Ferrara,' by F. P. Frassini; 'The Most Marvellous Tunnel in the World,' by J. M. Bullock; 'The Sword in the Legends of the Round Table,' by Dr. Cougnet; 'The Venus of Milo.'

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1896).—'La religion et les origines du droit pénal d'après un livre récent,' is the title of the first article in this number. Its author is M. M. Mauss. The book of which it gives a very full analysis is Herr R. Steinmetz' *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*. M. Mauss regards the work as of first importance, and proposes here to lay very fully before the readers of this *Revue* its discussions on all the questions it raises. The summary of the work is not completed here, but, so far as it goes, it seems to justify the high praise given to it.—The French translation of Herr L. Knappert's 'Christendom en Heidendom in de Kerkgeschiedenis van Bede den Eerwaardige' is here continued and concluded. In this section attention is directed to what Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* incidentally reveals as to the paganism of his time, and the influence it exercised upon the nascent Christianity of period. We know that paganism sheltered itself

under the official forms of the new faith. It had in many instances to accommodate itself to these new institutions, externally at least, but under these it continued to live on. Bede does not willingly aid us in learning about the paganism of his day. His references to it are as few as possible. To him it was a thing accursed, and unworthy of attention. His allusions to it are nevertheless instructive and interesting. He shows us how very slender was the hold which Christianity had on the real faith or life of the people. A famine or a plague was sufficient to make a king and his subjects relapse into their former beliefs; restore their old shrines; and pay court again to their recently discarded idols. We learn from Bede that this was the case in East Saxony in 665. After the death of Edwin of Northumbria, his successors, we find, relapsed to the old faith. The Bishop of London, Melitus, was driven from his diocese in one of those sudden outbursts of pagan revivalism. Numerous proofs are furnished us which shows us that an intermittent war was for long waged between the partizans of the old and new régime.—The third article here is, 'Le Bouddhisme dans son plein développement, d'après les Vinayas.' It is the translation of a paper contained in a volume published in St. Petersburg by the Faculty of Oriental Languages there, as a contribution to the Oriental Congress at Paris. The redactors desire in this way to make it more widely known, though on some points the translator, and doubtless also the redactors, hesitate to identify themselves with all the views expressed by the author of the paper, M. W. Wassilief.—M. A. Audollent furnishes the 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion romaine' for 1895. In it he gives a summary of the excavations made in Rome, and elsewhere on Italian soil, by the various Archæological Societies at work there, in so far at least as their discoveries bear on the religious cults of the past. The various reports of these Societies, and monographs of individual workers are also drawn upon, in order to give as full an account of the results of the year's labours as may prove interesting and helpful to all those readers of this *Revue* who wish to keep themselves *en rapport* with such discoveries. Special attention is of course directed to the most important 'finds,' and their value appraised. In the section, 'Analyses et Comptes Rendus,' several English and American books are more or less fully noticed. Among them we may mention Mr. Henry Clarke Warren's *Buddhism in Translations*; the two latest additions to the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, viz., *The Fourth Book of Ezra* and *Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*; Mr. W. R. Morfill's *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*; the last addition to the

Anecdota Oxoniensia (Semitic Series), viz., *Biblical and Patriotic Relics of the Palestinian-Syriac Literature*; Mr. A. E. Burn's *The Athanasian Creed and its early Commentaries*; and Mr. F. C. Burkitt's *The old Latin and the Italia* are also reviewed favourably.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1896.)—M. l'Abbe Loisy carries forward here his critical comparison of the Synoptic Gospels. Taking St. Mark's Gospel as the first of the three in order of time, and as having been known to and forming one of the sources of the other two Evangelists, he gives preference to the text of St. Mark. Where the same incidents are narrated in Matthew and Luke, or in either, their versions are given here in parallel columns; their variations from Mark are carefully noted, and the probable causes of the variations are discussed. The narratives brought under notice here are those contained in Mark vii. 24 to viii. 33, and embrace the incidents of the Canaanite woman and her demoniac daughter; the curing of the deaf mute; and of the blind man at Bethesda; and, finally, the confession of Peter. Each of these incidents as detailed in Mark is compared closely with the version of it given in Matthew or in Luke, or in both, if narrated in both. Where these Evangelists differ from Mark's version, the more primitive Gospel (Mark's) is taken to be the truer to history. The variation is accounted for by the special object which the other Evangelists had in view. The three Gospels are therefore in some instances supplementary to, while occasionally they are at hopeless variance with each other. This is, however, only in matters of unimportant detail. If, *e.g.*, we had only Mark's Gospel to rely on we should have concluded that Jesus was on Syrophenician territory, and had there entered into a house to seek rest after the fatigues of his journey, when the Canaanite woman forced herself in upon his seclusion with her clamant entreaties regarding her daughter. On the other hand, if we had only Matthew's Gospel, we should have assumed that the woman had presented herself to Jesus *before* he had crossed the frontier of Syrophenicia, and that her appeals were addressed to him in the open country. M. Loisy thinks that the divergence between the two narratives is due to Matthew's reluctance to allow that the miracle was performed, so far as the act of Jesus was concerned, on non-Israelitic soil. 'On dirait,' he says, 'que le rédacteur du premier Evangile a eu sur ce point quelque hésitation; il a évité de dire expressément que Jésus était entré sur le territoire de Tyr, et y avait fait un miracle; on peut croire, si l'on veut, que la rencontre a eu

lieu sur la territoire Israélite.' Such a concession as that will perhaps surprise readers seeing it comes from the source it does. It is noted by us here as showing the critical spirit in which the distinguished Abbé deals with the Gospels.—M. A. Lindet follows with an article on the Vedic Pantheon, 'Le Pantheon Vedique.' The collective name of 'Adityas' is, in the Vedas, given to the principal deities. They form groups whose numbers are variable; now they form a trinity, now a heptade, now a duodecade. In the Rig-Veda the name 'Asuras' is also given to the most exalted divinities. But, later on, Brahmanism gave this name to the enemies of the gods. This fact can only be accounted for if the name signified at first any divine beings, gods or demons. Female deities as well as male were recognised, but in the Vedas they are somewhat shadowy and undefined. In later Brahmanism they assume more distinct forms and appear as endowed with more distinct attributes, and are assigned special functions. M. L. goes over the list of Vedic divinities, and describes their character and offices. M. Delord briefly discusses the three Mythological Schools in vogue at present: the Philological, the Meteorological, and the Ethnological or Anthropological. He mentions the leading representatives of each, and sketches their systems. The Meteorological he regards as already dead, or as in the throes of death. As for the other two they divide the honours of explaining the origin of myths pretty equally between them. Each at least furnishes its contribution to the solution of the problem.—We learn with regret that M. l'Abbé Peissou, the director of this *Revue*, has had, owing to failing health, to abandon the conduct of the *Revue*, and that it will cease after this number to appear as a separate journal. It will now be incorporated with *Le Museon*, a Catholic magazine which is edited by Mnsgr. C. de Harlez, the distinguished Oriental scholar, and the Professor of Oriental Languages in the Catholic University of Louvain. Under his able guidance there is little fear but that the rich promise of the *Revue des Religions* will be yet fulfilled.

LE MUSEON ET LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS; ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES, ETHNOLOGIQUES, ET RELIGIEUSES (No. 1, 1897).—With this number *Le Museon* begins a new series, and incorporates with it the *Revue des Religions*. The first place is taken by Monseigneur C. de Harlez, the redactor of it. His article bears the title 'La plus ancienne psychologie connue.' The psychologist whose speculations are here introduced to us was one Kuan-Yin-Tze, a Chinese philosopher, contemporary with Lao-tze, and who, like him, sick at heart with the political

and social conflicts of his times, betook himself to a lonely retreat to carry on his meditations as to the human mind and the processes of thought, and to formulate his system. The volume in which he embodied these speculations has come down to us, but though known to Chinese scholars, little attention has been paid to it. Dr. de Harlez wishes to call attention to it, and does so here in an elaborate summary of its leading positions. It consists of nine sections, and embraces Kuan-Yin's views on many things. It lacks order sadly in its arrangements, but Dr. de Harlez selects the author's teaching from wherever it appears throughout the work, and brings it under its special head. The work is substantially that of its original author, though interpolations have been inserted here and there by later editors, anxious to give their own opinions the *éclat* of antiquity, or the authority of a revered master. These are, however, easily detected and are here discounted.—M. le comte de Charencey gives a short summary of the History of the Mexicans, which was written by Bernardino de Sahagun, a Spanish priest, who settled in Mexico shortly after its conquest. He set himself to trace the origin of the native races, and to describe their religious beliefs and rites. His work was for long suppressed by the Spanish authorities, who feared that it might retard the conversion of the natives, or tend to make them relapse into their former idolatry. A copy of it was found in the Franciscan convent in Tolosa, and was published in Mexico in 1829, and in London in 1830.—M. A. M. P. Madan in a short paper, under the title 'Les Fravashis,' furnishes a few additional proofs of the correctness of the views he expressed in a contribution of his, read at the 8th Oriental Congress as to the meaning and usage of the term 'fravashi.' These proofs are in the form of quotations from the *Yaçna*.—An interesting article follows on an ancient Christian 'Symbol' discovered in Mongolia. The discovery was made by a missionary there, Van Damme. He had in the course of his missionary labours heard of a religious sect that had its habitat in some secluded dales, and who carefully avoided mixing with the general population around them. Finding them out he discovered to his surprise that they were a Christian sect, and he got from them a document which he at once saw was an ancient creed, containing all the essential verities of the Christian Faith. It consists of twelve lines, and in each of these lines one of the cardinal doctrines of the Church is unmistakably expressed. The creed is here given, and the question is discussed as to its origin and age. The people themselves can give no other account of it than it has been their creed from time immemorial. Two opinions

have been ventured, viz., that the sect is of Nestorian origin, or that they are the descendants of some of the converts to Christianity of the missionaries who first settled in or visited Mongolia, after the discovery of those regions in the 16th century. The author of this paper favours the second of these views.—‘La superstition dans le Highland écossais’ is the title of the article that follows. It is a chapter of ancient history, however, and has little or nothing to do with modern life: it belongs rather to Folk-Lore than to present-day history.—Dr. E. Tachella gives the first part of a sketch of the history of the Paulicians of Philippopoli, from whom the Catholics of Bulgaria are descended.—M. A. Hebbelynck discourses on ‘The Coptic versions of the Bible,’ and M. P. Ladeuze on ‘The Discoveries of M. Nicolas Notovitch,’ the celebrated Russian traveller. The book reviews are few, but the *chronique* is comprehensive and interesting.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (No. 4, 1896).—The first article here bears the title ‘*Rigla, Riglé, Schabbata Derigla,*’ and under it M. L. Bank seeks to determine the meaning and origin of these terms and to explain the institutions they designate. He first gives the opinions offered or entertained as to these points by certain respected authorities, and criticises them. According to one authority the *Rigla* was the anniversary of the death of any celebrated Rabbi, when his pupils, and the scholarly generally, found their way to his tomb and there studied the Law in honour of him. M. Bank in refuting this view takes occasion to refer to the custom of placing a Scroll of the Law on the coffin of a celebrated Rabbi, when it was being conveyed to the grave, or, as in other cases, carrying a Scroll of the Law before the bier. By some ingenious rabbis this custom is traced back to the days of mourning for the good king Hezekiah. According to another authority the *Rigla* was the name given to the Saturday preceding the feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. According to still another *Riglé* was the name given to all the Saturdays within thirty days of these feasts. This same authority, Raschi, tells us also that the *day* of Kalla is the Saturday preceding each of these feasts, and the *days* of Kalla are the thirty days preceding the feasts. M. Bank sets himself to refute these opinions. It was certainly the custom, he shows, for the rabbis to assemble during these feasts at Babylon, or, as the case might be, at Jabné, to confer together, under the presidency of their ecclesiastical head, on any knotty or casuistical point that had proved too hard for the provincial rabbis, or which were then brought before them at

that time by any individual. After conferring together, an authoritative decision was given. These meetings were open to the public. Occasion was taken at these gatherings by the provincial rabbis to offer their homage to their ecclesiastical chief. It was these days that were called *Riglé*. The days of Kalla, however, fell in the months of Adar and Ellul, and were the days on which pupils resorted to the great centres of learning to be examined on certain previously prescribed Tractates of the Talmud. As to the origin of the *Riglé*, M. B. decides for the period of Hanania, nephew of Rabbi Josua, in the second century of our era; and to him he attributes the institution of these days for the purpose stated. *Schabbata Derigla* was the Saturday (the Sabbath) falling in the week of the Festival. M. Bank next discusses the importance of these *Riglé* on the editing of the Talmud.—M. W. Bacher follows with a short paper on 'Rome in the Talmud and in the Midrash.' He first deals with the names under which Rome appears in the Talmudic literature, and repels the notion that Constantinople is the city so designated. He then quotes from that literature those references to Rome, and comments on them.—M. S. Poznanski continues and concludes his interesting study on 'Aboul Faradj Haroun ben Al-Faradj,' the celebrated grammarian of Jerusalem.—M. Kaufmann continues his 'Contributions to the History of the Jews in Corfu;' and M. Israel Levi his 'Un recueil de contes juifs inédits.'—M. A. Danon continues and concludes his 'Recueil de romances judéo-espagnolés chantées en Turquie.' In each selection the Spanish text is given and the translation in French. This selection seems to have been forwarded to this *Revue* by M. le comte de Puymaigre, and some notes of his are appended. M.M. Schwab takes us back to the charge of ritual murder made against the Jews in Puy in 1320 A.D., and the massacres which followed on it, instigated by the desire for revenge. There are no historical documents of the period to furnish us with trustworthy *data* for judging as to the truth or falsehood of the charge. The earliest written accounts of it are about three centuries later, and some of them are produced here to show the kind of evidence on which such charges were then made.—M. S. Kahn treats of the Jews of Montpellier in the 18th century, giving a series of 'pièces justificatives' as an appendix.—Professor Streane's recent work, 'The double text of Jeremiah' is reviewed by M.M. Lambert, who says of it, that it is 'un repertoire utile a consulter pour le texte grec de Jeremie.'

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 1, 1897)—M. J. Halevy, in his 'Recherches Bibliques,' here carries forward his critical examination of the Book of Genesis from chapter xlvi. to l. The critical analysis, at least, embraces the text of these chapters, though the comment only reaches to the 27th verse of chap. xlvii. In the critical analysis several emendations are suggested, which, if adopted, certainly render the text more lucid, and make the narrative more consistent. Some of them are in appearance very slight, a change of one guttural for another, a *yod* for a final *nun*, or the transference of an initial *mem* from its place, there to become a final suffix of the word preceding it. Such mistakes on the part of copyists of the Hebrew text were, it is well known, common enough, and the changes suggested are both reasonable and plausible, while they vastly improve the text. In chap. xlviii. 15, he suggests, *e.g.*, the insertion of *beni* between the word 'blessed' and the word 'Joseph.' In chap. xlix. 4, he suggests *pochez* instead of *pachaz*, and reads 'O thou who art unstable,' etc. His notes on, and the changes he recommends in, verses 19, 24, 25, and 26, well deserve the careful attention of scholars. Only it may be said that all his proposed modifications of the received text are equally worthy of such attention, based as they are on a thorough mastery of the minutest technicalities of the Semitic tongues. His 'observations critiques' are, as usual, directed to show the unity of the text as against the modern critical school, which portions it out to different authors. The scheme and arguments of Dillmann are taken as representative of the school, though the observations of others are also carefully considered when there is need for so doing. We have given from time to time in these summaries examples of M. Halevy's mode of dealing with the pleas of that school, but it must be remembered that his arguments have a cumulative as well as an individual force. They should be studied as a whole. This becomes all the easier now that they are appearing in volume form. The first volume was published some months ago, and the second will appear very soon. In the section before us here, the pleadings of Dillmann are taken up *seriatim* from chap. xlvi. 1, up to xlvii. 27. The grounds on which these pleadings rest are scrutinised, and the source of Dillmann's and the school's misapprehension of the meaning and drift of the narratives is in each case pointed out. The next section of his 'Recherches Bibliques' is devoted to the Psalms. M. Halevy's 'Notes' here embrace Psalms lxxiv. to lxxvi. Each psalm is in turn critically analysed; its text amended where emendation seems required; obscure words

are explained, and then the emended text is translated. The period of its origin is fully discussed in the light of such allusions in it as mention public events. Psalm lxxiv., *e.g.*, refers to the destruction of the Temple by fire, but makes no mention of religious persecutions. The inference is that the psalm belongs to the period succeeding the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians under Nebuchodonoser. The verses 13, 14, 16, 17, are shown to have no connection with this psalm, and so must have belonged originally to another. Psalm lxxv. is a Maccabean psalm, for it portrays exactly the sentiments that animated the Jewish patriots after the first victories won in these wars. Psalm lxxvi. alludes to the destruction of a large army, consisting in great part of cavalry, on Judæan territory. This can only apply to the Assyrian army under Sennacherib. But other allusions in it seem to be to Maccabean times. The date of this psalm, therefore, cannot be determined with any certainty. M. Halevy's next article is titled, 'Le profit historique des Tablettes d'el Amarna.' It is the first instalment of a careful re-examination of his labours in connection with the Tell-el-Amarna Correspondence. That re-examination has led him to alter his opinions on some points, and he thinks it better to enter more fully into the justification of his new views in this way than to merely give a list of them in an appendix to the volume about to be published. He is now convinced, *e.g.*, that the great bulk of the correspondence was addressed not to Amenophis IV., but to his father, Amenophis III. This involves other corrections of the text of the letters already published in the pages of this *Revue*, and so the volume will be delayed until this re-examination of the Correspondence is completed. Here we have a brief *resumé* of the outstanding events in Egyptian history leading up to the reigns of Amenophis III. This forms an introduction to the proposed series of articles which are to appear first here. The form they are to take is that of a brief *resumé* of the letters, in which the alterations will be duly noted.—Another article from his pen is titled, 'L'origine des écritures cunéiforme et phénicienne.'—The other articles are 'Le Galet A d'Eanadou,' by M. F. T. Dangin, who contributes also 'Note pour servir à la chronologie de la seconde dynastie d'Our;' and M. J. Peruchon continues his 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (January, 1897).—'Economique et Morale, by A. Naville. The writer concludes that Economics is not a moral science. It deals with the laws of wealth and poverty, and the terms morality and immorality are no more

applicable to it than are, *e.g.*, beauty and ugliness to mathematics. As to the objection that riches is a good and poverty an evil, he replies that it is of no more validity than the analogous objection which can be raised in connection with medicine or aesthetics. Their precepts are only conditional, and do not deal with the needs of life. These latter are the business of morals, while economics and other sciences of natural law have to do only with the means to these.—B. Bourdon 'Experiences sur la Perception visuelle de la Profondeur,' dealing mainly with monocular vision, the importance of convergence in estimating distance, and the limit and form of perceptible distance.—'Les Lois de la Nature' is a study by F. Pillon of M. Boutraux' theory of contingency.—Among the books noticed is Prof. Jas. Seth's 'Study of Ethical Principles.—(February, 1897).—Dr. Pierre Janet discusses 'L'Influence somnambulique et le besoin de Direction,' and draws special attention to the phenomena following hypnotic sleep. These are generally (1), a period of depression; (2), a period during which the hypnotic influence continues in the form of relief from the malady for which the patient has been treated, and obedience to any commands given him during the sleep; and (3), a period in which this influence passes off, and the need for its renewal is felt. The writer gives many instances of the way in which the personal influence of the hypnotiser is confessed. He remarks that the hypnotic influence and the need for such direction are simply extreme instances of personal influence. The craving of some people for society and their inability to be happy when alone is a sign of an imperfectly balanced mind.—G. Tarde 'L'Idée d'opposition.' In this article, which is continued from last number, the author discusses an idea which, as he remarks, although much used by philosophers, has not been thoroughly examined by any of them except Aristotle. After hinting at the development of the idea, he shows that opposition is possible only between similar things. The opposition between two terms of a series, or two objects of a class is purely subjective; in passing and re-passing from one to the other the mind performs two opposite actions separated by a state of inaction. In a really objective opposition—as of concave and convex—on the other hand the passage can only be effected through zero. He accordingly defines opposition: 'when two variable terms are such that one cannot be conceived as becoming the other except on condition of passing through a series of changes which end in a state of zero and of reascending the same series of variations previously descended, these terms are in opposition.' He lays stress on the importance of zero. It, like the infinite,

is intelligible only in a relative sense. Thus taken it is stability, equilibrium, it is conservative not creative. In the second part the author classifies oppositions, and shows some of their workings, especially in an interesting passage on controversies (p. 165). Both time and space enter into the idea: but if space had, like time, only one direction, and mind could only be directed in one way, the result would be the cessation of all struggle; there would be acts, powers, and dynamic phenomena but no opposition. — ‘L’Idealisme Scientifique: M. Durand le Gros,’ by Parodi.—(March 1897).—The first of a series of articles by M. F. Pillon, on ‘The Philosophy of Secrétan,’ deals with his metaphysics and theodicy. M. Secrétan’s system may be described as a philosophy of liberty. The highest being one can imagine, the Absolute, must be that which is what it wills, ‘causa sui’ in the deepest sense. M. Secrétan distinguishes the absolute in its essence, from the absolute in act: the first is the unfathomable abyss of pure liberty; the second is ‘a fact;’ to it alone the name of God properly belongs. The absolute will in act has power to will what it chooses. We can only say that from these premises our philosopher develops his explanations of creation, redemption, of divine prescience and human liberty.—‘The principle of Non-Contradiction,’ by L. Weber, starts from the alleged contradiction in the formula A is A , where we distinguish subject from predicate, and yet affirm their identity. He shows that to treat this contradiction as real, and to attempt to evolve a dialectic from its constant positing and reconciliation is to land in never ending scepticism. Judgment is a primary act, which unites the two distinct affirmations ‘ A is,’ ‘ B is,’ in one judgment ‘ A is B .’ We have to distinguish between the relation of affirmations in judgment, and the relations of objects to each other. The principle of non-contradiction can tell us only if a judgment is compatible with another, but not whether either or both be true. ‘The alleged fundamental contradiction in judgment is due to the fact that we [erroneously] attribute to distinct judgments the power of modifying one another, and that we confound pure identity with identity of relation.’ ‘The apparent identity of being and non-being is nothing but the identity of two concepts, the sole determination of which is the total absence of determination.’ They correspond to the ‘yes’ and ‘no’ of speech: but no one ever did or will dream of identifying ‘yes’ and ‘no.’ The production of this evidence closes the discussion. It alone should be sufficient to show that although the principle of non-contradiction is the necessary auxiliary of dialectic, it cannot be its generative principle.’—M. Parodi concludes his exposition of ‘Scientific

Idealism' as represented by M. Durand le Gros. This thinker has not hitherto received the attention which he deserves, partly owing to his want of connexions in France, the personal tone of his writings, and his weakness for occult pursuits. Below these superficial blemishes lies a genuine and original pursuit of science and philosophy. According to M. Parodi, his discoveries in hypnotism are prior to and have been but little advanced on by those commonly known as authorities on the subject. M. Durand le Gros seeks a universal synthesis, which may be compared with Mr. Spencer's, but is totally different. He attacks the problem of being through that of life; we may remark here that he is identified with the hypothesis of poly-psychism, *i.e.*, that just as the body is a collection of organisms or cells, so in the person there are many souls with centres in the various ganglia. While this hypothesis may serve to explain the action of the involuntary organs, etc., it is somewhat hard to reconcile with M. Durand le Gros's theory which identifies soul and atom, as similar and the ultimate eternal elements of things. It leaves us with a contradiction between the unity of the soul, and a multiple soul which has only a material, an aggregate unity. In spite of its difficulties his philosophy is a valuable protest against the narrow conception of science which mutilates or dethrones reason. 'The future, more just than his contemporaries, will reckon M. Durand le Gros among the most notable representatives of idealism in the nineteenth century.'—Reviews.—Notes and documents. (April, 1897).—M. Le Dantec contributes the first part of a paper on 'Why We Grow Old.'—The second instalment of M. Pillon's account of M. Secrétan's philosophy deals with his ethics, not the least interesting subject of a system which finds its basis in the Will.—'La Thermométrie Cérébrale,' by J. Soury, refers principally to the Italian savant Mosso's recent researches.—Dugas 'La Sommeil et la Cérébration inconsciente.'—Among the books noticed are the translation of Mr. Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth*, and a German monograph on Hobbes by Prof. Tönnies.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January, February, March).—In the first of the six numbers for this quarter Count Benedetti devotes a long article to the Eastern Question. At the present moment, it is scarcely up to date; but, although it necessarily contains no special reference to Crete, nor indeed, to the more recent complications, it will be found very useful for a clear understanding of the various circumstances that have led up to the present crisis. In the first place, he brings out very clearly all the considerations which have led to the adoption

of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as one of the axioms of European diplomacy. He shows how the jealousies and the conflicts which the dismemberment of that Empire would provoke, have produced the European Concert; but at the same time he points out that that same Concert did not prevent the cession of two provinces—Bosnia and the Herzegovina—to Austria; and of an island to England. Count Beneditti also examines what success has attended the efforts of the Powers to get certain reforms carried out in the Turkish Empire. That it has not, so far, been brilliant, he acknowledges; and he gives as a cause, that same jealousy which has led to the establishment of the Concert. In the case of Armenia, for example, he believes that the atrocities could have been prevented if the other Powers had induced or allowed Russia to interfere and to send an army corps across the frontier; but he adds very suggestively it is known in England, better than anywhere else, that when the occupation of a country is sanctioned, there is very great risk that the evacuation will be indefinitely postponed. He suggests, as a measure that might be productive of some good, if the Sultan were left at liberty by his own turbulent subjects to sanction it, the occupation by two European Powers, of two different parts of the Empire, one in Europe, another in Asia. On the whole, however, he is not very optimistic; and concludes with the admission, that, it is easier to wish than to hope.—An article of considerable literary interest is that which contains a number of hitherto unpublished letters from Alfred de Vigny to his cousin, Madame du Plessis. They range from 1846 to 1863. As regards their matter they do not, it is true, contain anything of much importance, even from the biographical point of view; but they show us De Vigny in as much deshabillé as he ever indulged in, and are altogether very interesting reading.—M. Pierre Feroy-Beaulieu devotes a long article to the question of Colonial Federation. The conclusion to which he arrives is that the federation of her colonies might easily diminish Great Britain's influence over them; and that on the whole the present constitution of the British Empire is perhaps that which is likeliest to insure its duration.—In the second of the January numbers, M. Emile Olivier continues the series of articles which he is devoting to the career of Prince Louis-Napoleon; and M. Art Roë contributes his impressions of Moscow.—The most important article, however, is that in which M. Alfred Fouillée deals with the difficult question of juvenile delinquency. After producing a number of very startling figures, which show the immense increase of criminality in France, and after pointing

out the remarkable coincidence that it corresponds with the introduction of obligatory education, he examines what truth there is in the theory that education is responsible for crime. Whilst rejecting that theory in its crude form, he admits that the kind of education supplied—an education which excludes moral training—has much to answer for. On the Press he is very severe, and pleads very earnestly for the restriction, not of its liberty, but of the licence which disgraces a certain section of it.—In the number for the 1st of February, M. le Comte d'Haussonville begins an interesting historical essay on the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV. The present instalment deals only with his birth and earliest childhood.—To those who would thoroughly understand the Cuban question, about which so much has been heard for the last two years, the article which M. Benoist devotes to Spain and her colonial crisis may be recommended. It is a very lucid and temperate exposition of the rights and the wrongs of both sides—for he does not allow that all the blame attaches to one party only—and an able narrative of all that has been done both by the Spanish troops and by the insurgents. What he brings out most forcibly is that the mother-country is thoroughly in earnest, that she will make every sacrifice of men and money rather than relinquish Cuba, and that her determination is likely to prevail if the United States do not interfere—a point which the author leaves for future treatment.—*Un Romancier Oublié*, this forgotten novelist, of whose life and works M. André Le Breton gives a most interesting sketch, is Gatien Courtilz de Sandras. To the majority of readers he is absolutely unknown, but there is presumably not one in ten but is familiar with the work which a novel of his inspired—*The Three Musketeers*—which Dumas based upon or drew from his *Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan*. If this circumstance should not be thought sufficient justification for a special study of the otherwise not very important writer, M. Le Breton may be content to let his essay stand on its own merits, for it is admirably written.—In the earlier of the March numbers, M. le Comte E. Lefebvre de Béhaine gives a first instalment of an article in which he purposes to record the negotiations between Pope Leo XIII. and Prince Bismarck on the subject of the abrogation of the famous 'May laws.' This very interesting chapter of contemporary Church history does not, however, come further forward, as yet, than 1880.—The manufacture of matches is dealt with by M. E. Magitot in an article which seems to be the first of a series devoted to 'Unhealthy Industries.' Besides giving some very interesting and instructive details with regard to the production of the familiar but use-

ful article mentioned in the title, Dr. Nagitot also suggests the various precautions which should be taken with a view to minimising the danger to which the workers are exposed.—M. Art Roë's 'Impressions of Russia' are continued in the number for March 15. This time they are devoted to the army, of which the author writes with easily explicable admiration and sympathy.—Throughout the whole quarter, M. Robert de la Sizeranne continues his study of John Ruskin, entitled the 'Religion of Beauty.'

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier, 1897) opens with a learned and attractive article by M. S. Reinach, under the title 'Les Vierges de Sena,' in which he discusses the whole question of the existence of priestesses among the Druids. He enters into a full examination of the statements made by M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville and the authorities on which they are based, and comes to the conclusion that no Druid priestess ever existed.—Dr. Whitley Stokes continues his transcript and translation of the Annals of Tigernach from Rawl. B. In this number the years A.D. 1088–A.D. 1178 are covered.—Under the title 'Nimptha en vieil-irlandais,' M. J. Loth discusses the Pronominal Suffix of the first person in Gaelic and Breton, with special reference to a remark made by M. F. Sommer in reference to presence of *p* after *m* in the word 'nimptha.'—After devoting eleven closely-printed pages to pointing out the errors in the text and translation of Dr. MacCarthy's volumes of *The Annals of Ulster*, Dr. Whitley Stokes concludes: 'It is hardly too much to say that the volumes here noticed are worse than worthless, as their existence will for years, perhaps for ever, preclude the publication of an accurate edition of one of the best documentary sources of the history of Ireland.'—M. Mowat devotes a short article to two new names of villages, occurring in a couple of inscriptions recently found at Rennes.—The 'Chronique,' from the pen of M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, the editor, is unusually full in this number and contains many interesting particulars.—The same may be said of the 'Périodiques,' which, with the exception of one article, is from the same pen.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (January, February, March, April).—In addition to the Fiction, which here always occupies a prominent place, and is represented in the numbers for the four first months of the year chiefly by E. Pardo's continuation of 'El saludo de las brujas,' a couple of articles by Echegaray, and a translation from Tur

'The Adventures and Misfortunes of an Old Soldier,' which runs through the whole of the four numbers, and is not yet completed, an excellent article in the January number from the pen of José Maria Asensio on the dramatic writer, Don Manuel Breton de los Herreros. The article is written with reference to Breton's centenary, and praises him for his lofty conceptions, and for having added to the literature of Spain a number of admirable comedies.—The *International Chronicle*, by E. Castilar, treats the first of the months of the relations between France and Russia, the economic condition of Turkey, the opposition of United Germany to the Prussian Ministry, the Conquest of Alsace and Lorraine, which the author deems to have been a mistake; the death of Maceo, and Mr. Cleveland's famous Message to Congress.—There is also in the January number a brief article on 'American Millionaires.'—In the February number, in addition to the continued papers, we have under the title, 'Letters from Distant Lands,' an article descriptive of Aden.—This is followed by a paper on the recent biography of the Abbé Marchena by M. Menéndez y Pelayo.—Senor Castellar contributes the '*International Chronicle*,' and writes on the Christian democratic movement, on the Transvaal question, on the Egyptian problem, on the Constitutional party at Constantinople, and on other matters.—The same distinguished author contributes the '*Chronicle*' in the March number, where he discourses chiefly on the Eastern Question and Islam.—The two articles in this number which are likely to attract attention are one with the signature, Joaquín Olmedilla y Puig, on 'The History of Bread,' and the other by M. Posada on the 'Progress of Women.'—In the April number there is little of note beyond the continuations.—Professor Dorado of Salamanca writes on the 'Mission of Justice in the Future,' and there is a short article on 'Women at the University of Zurich.'—In the '*International Chronicle*' Castellar takes for his topic the Free Masons and the Jesuits, the state of affairs in Cuba and in the Philippines, the new President of the United States, Crete and other subjects.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (February).—A. G. van Hamel opens this present number with 'The *Ædipus* of the French Classics,' showing how meagrely Corneille and Voltaire entered into the tragic depths of Sophocles, and yet how, in the uncongenial atmosphere of their time, the tragedy took hold of them and their audiences.—'Work and Bread,' by Frederik van Eeden, is a plea in the name of justice to the starving, overworked, and workless poor, for State

such terminations as '-idês' and '-eidês' was forgotten, and they were used indiscriminately, so that we find Tyndaridai side by side with Tyndareidai, or Apameitai and Apamitai. Besides, the stem-name had often different forms, e.g., Chalkê, Chalkia, or Chalkia, from which different adjectival forms may be derived.—'On Ij and Epenthesis' by the same writer.—Proceedings, Indexes, etc.

ΕΙΗΘΗΣ, "Eros d. (Athens, the Parnassos Society, 1897.)—This annual contains the Reports of the above society for the years 1892-1896, and a selection from the papers read at its meetings. The greater part of them deal with history and archaeology.—M. Chrysochoos describes the barrows (τοῦμαι) of Thessaly and Macedonia. He observes that those in Thessaly are mainly centred about Larissa, on thoroughfares which radiate to other cities, and are placed at equal intervals. In Macedonia they radiate from Thessalonica. Formerly they were regarded as burial places: but from their disposition and construction it would appear that they were places of defence. One at Pella which the writer examined has an elaborate series of six chambers in the interior solidly built. The same writer gives a description of Amatova, the ancient Amydon, and the spring Aia, supporting Strabo's reading of *Iliad* II., 850.—B. D. Paloumbos tells of his visit to the Greek community in Salento, and gives specimens of its dialect.—Stanislas Prato deals with the Singing Bone so common in popular lore, and gives an exhaustive list of the tales and songs in which it occurs.—J. P. Lambros discusses some Cretan coins.—N. G. Polites examines two passages in Pausanias which refer to the decoration of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. As to the first, Herakles waiting to receive the burden of Atlas, he defends Pausanias against the criticisms of Curtius and other recent writers. The second deals with the throne of Zeus, and gives him occasion for a lengthy examination of the views lately advanced by Messrs. Murray and Gardner.—N. K. Apostolides reprints Wagner's text of the Poulologos, a fifteenth century poem in the popular language describing a marriage feast in the court of the eagle at which the birds begin to abuse one another. The writer identifies the various birds mentioned, and also describes a MS. in the Hellenic National Library which contains pictures of the birds, for the most part valueless, accompanied by quotations from the poem.—D. Philios in an essay on the Eleusinian Mysteries, combats Foucart's view of their Egyptian origin. In his opinion they were a native origin, originally a local or family cult of Eleusis. While the Orphic mysteries may have bor-

rowed much from Egypt, we have no warrant for supposing a similar influence on those of Eleusis. At the same time the writer acknowledges the high value of Foucart's book.—The editor, N. G. Polites, writes on the Place-names of Attica and the Albanian settlement there. He gives some amusing instances of erroneous derivations which seem to be as common in Greece as elsewhere. One explains Myzithrās as a corruption of the French 'maison du trône.' A remarkable feature in modern place names is the number of genitives of owner's names applied to properties. The greater part of the paper deals with the date of the Albanian settlements in Attica. Fallmerayer put it as early as between 1373 and 1382, basing his argument on a strange perversion of Chalkokondyles. Mr. Polites examines the whole question and concludes that neither Chalkokondyles nor the Spanish historian Zuritsa mentions Albanians in connection with the events of 1382 at Athens. While many are mentioned in Thessaly and Negropont, there is no definite record of them in Attica until 1425, when some three hundred Albanian families went thence to Negropont and were permitted to settle. We find place names in Attica incontestably derived from the names Liosa, Spata, and Boua, families which figure in the events of the second decade of the fifteenth century. The conclusion seems to be that while there may have been occasional arrivals from 1382 onwards, the principal Albanian settlements occurred after 1418, when Karolos Tokkos possessed himself of Epirus.—Mr. Polites also contributes a number of proverbs occurring in mediæval Greek poems, and adds present day parallels.—Among the scientific papers we may mention an account of a tame praying-mantis, an interesting pendant to Sir John Lubbock's well known book on Wasps and Ants; an account of red rain, which is here ascribed to an exudation from the butterfly *Vanessa Cardui*; a discussion on the herb Parthenion, which Plutarch in his life of Perikles tells us was revealed by Athene to cure a workman who had fallen from the Parthenon during its construction. It has usually been identified with the *Pyrethrum Parthenium* (Linn); but the writer, M. Heldreich shows good ground for identifying it with pellitory (*Parietaria Judaica*, Linn,) which is very abundant on the Akropolis, and is still called *περδικιον*, the name which Pliny gave to the plant.—N. Germanos has a long paper on the *Octocorallia*. The remaining half of the annual is occupied with reports principally on the evening schools conducted by the Society.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (Février-Avril).—An instalment of M. M. Delines' 'Sakhaline, l'île du baigne' finds a place in each of these numbers, and is concluded in the last. The papers are interesting, though often painful reading, and contain a large amount of information which is far from being very accessible to the ordinary reader.—Over the name of M. Jules Roche is an article in the February number which will attract attention in several quarters. It is entitled 'The Bank of France and the State Bank.' M. Roche is not a Socialist and argues strongly against the proposed State Banks.—The same number contains the second and concluding part of M. N. Droz's article on 'Political Economy and the National Idea.'—Another continuation in the same number, but of an entirely different character, is the remaining instalment of Mme. Mary Bigot's 'Excursions d'une profane.' The narrative this time leads the reader to Delphi.—In the March number, in addition to the continued articles, is one by the Editor, M. Ed. Tallichet, in which he propounds 'A Solution of the Eastern Question' and another on 'Statism in Italy;' but the most attractive, and in all probability the most popular, in this or in any of the three numbers is from the pen of M. Maurice Muret, under the title 'La littérature populaire des nègres,' in which, taking for his text a number of recent publications, he conveys a considerable amount of information respecting the folklore of the Negro on the Continent of Africa. Referring to the negro himself, he says: 'The explorers of "the soul" of Africa who have devoted themselves to this immense labour are entitled to our gratitude just as are those courageous travellers who have ventured into the interior of the continent. Thanks to these labours the prejudice which led Europeans to regard the black as a being but little higher than the brute, is being dissipated. In the negro of Africa we see now a distant brother, inferior to members of the white race, it is true, but none the less is it incontestible that he is susceptible of development. Subjected to a series of historic fatalities and to defective climatological conditions the African has remained in a sort of intellectual minority, but there is nothing whatever to indicate that he will not one day emerge from it. A rapid examination of his literature shows that the passions which stir his childlike soul are evidently the same as those which beat in the hearts of a people belonging to the white race. The moral structure of primitive man, like his physical form, is almost identical under all latitudes: it is only in matters superficial, the sounds of

his language or the colour of his skin that any appreciable differences are seen.' Folklorists in Africa, M. Muret tells us, have been brought into contact by their researches with all kinds of popular literature. They have collected proverbs, riddles, songs, national legends, religious traditions, fables or stories about animals. All they have collected, he says, is not of the same value. The literary value of any of it indeed is small, but it is valuable as revealing certain curious features in the negro character. The article is well illustrated with extracts from the volumes cited at the beginning of it, and will repay perusal.—The two most interesting articles in the April number are those by M. E. Murisier and M. Aug. Glardon, the first of whom writes on 'The Education of the Memory,' and the second on Mr. Barrie's new book.—The 'Chroniques,' which occupy considerable space in this *Revue*, are as usual full of information.

A M E R I C A .

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (Vol. II., No. 2).—The first place is given to an article by W. N. Neilson, entitled 'Boon-Services on the Estates of Ramsey Abbey.' The Abbey of Ramsey was founded in the time of Edgar and continued down to the time of the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. It was richly endowed, and in the thirteenth century possessed some fifty or sixty manors, spread over no fewer than eight counties. Recently the third volume of its chartulary has been published containing valuable extents or customaries—inquisitions into the services and customs of the tenantry, and by a detailed consideration of these Mr. Neilson hopes that a number of facts will be elicited which will help to explain some of the social problems now troubling students of economic history. Boon-services (*precariae*) were services which, where the week-work was insufficient to cultivate the demesne, the tenants were obliged to render over and above the ordinary week-service, and references to them occur in almost all the Ramsey extents. In essential characteristics they differed in different manors; but in all cases the most important were those required to complete the ploughing of the demesne, and those required at harvest to gather in the crop. The description of the harvest-boons, Mr. Wilson points out, are full and exact, while the ploughing boons are, as a rule, referred to in a very cursory manner, so that it is difficult to define them with certainty. Mr. Neilson then proceeds to give an elaborate description of the boon-ploughing (*precariae carucarum*), and of the harvest-boons (*precariae autumni*),

and communicates a large amount of interesting information. He draws no conclusions, being anxious to state the facts alone.—Mr. C. H. Lincoln treats of the cahiers of 1789 as an evidence of a spirit of compromise.—‘The case of *Frost v. Leighton*,’ by Mr. A. M. F. Davis, goes back to the first half of last century, but is here discussed in relation to the powers of the Supreme Courts of Judicature in the United States.—Mr. G. Hunt’s article on ‘Office-seeking during the Administration of John Adams,’ is one, we should say, which will be read at the present moment with considerable interest.—The remaining articles in this section are by Mr. Joseph Walton and Mr. Frederick W. More, who write respectively upon ‘Nomination Conventions in Pennsylvania,’ and ‘Representation in the National Congress from the Seceding States, 1861-65.’—Original documents here printed are Letters of John Marshall when Envoy to France in the years 1797-98, and ten letters written by Cobden to Charles Sumner in the years 1862-65.—Among the books reviewed are Ratzel’s *History of Mankind*, the second volume of Flinders Petrie’s *Egypt*, Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids’ *Buddhism*, Mr. Plummer’s recent edition of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, and Bishop Creighton’s *Queen Elizabeth*.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Clue to the Ages. Part I. Creation by Principle. By
ERNEST JUDSON PAGE. London: Baptist Tract and Book
Society.

The title Mr. Page has here chosen rather awakens than satisfies curiosity as to its nature and purpose. But he does not leave his readers long in suspense as to either. He is dissatisfied with the Evolutionary Hypothesis as an explanation of the facts and laws of development, even in the lower, but especially in the higher reaches of life; and so he ventures to offer a different theory which he thinks will satisfy all the necessities of the problem awaiting to be solved. The old hypothesis, which held the field for so many centuries, that, viz., of Creation by Special Acts, had become, in the presence of the scientifically gained results of modern investigation, wholly untenable; and that of Evolution was substituted for it. But as inquiry has advanced, that theory has also in turn been found inadequate, and more especially when it is looked to to explain the pressing problems of mental, moral, and spiritual manifestations. It has become necessary, therefore, to seek for a more sufficient hypothesis—one that will account for the higher as well as for the lower phenomena—for mental and moral, for social and religious and political, etc., facts, as well as for structural changes. The largeness of the field to be surveyed here, and the multiplicity and variety of the facts to be explained by any sufficient theory, are well pointed out by Mr. Page. The earliest beginnings of life, together with its highest manifestations, as seen in the social and religious problems of man, must alike be embraced within the scope of any satisfactory theory; and again, 'it must be applicable to the inorganic forces of electricity, light, and heat, and so forth, as well as to the problems of human life.' Not only the largeness but the complexity of the problem to be solved by any sufficient hypothesis is excellently brought out by Mr. Page here; but space does not permit us to dwell further on this part of the work. We can only refer our readers to it. Chapter VI. is devoted to a criticism of the doctrine of Evolution, as presented by Darwin; and then we come to our author's own theory, *Creation by Principle*. Beneath and behind matter there is, he argues, a something unexplained, unaccounted for, by the theory of evolution. It slumbers in the seed germ, and, if awakened into life by the material conditions surrounding the germ or ovum, it is not produced by these material environments. It is there prior to them, and no number of the most favourable conditions can produce it if it is wanting in the germ. We call it, for want of a better name, the principle of life. In all character and in all conduct there is a something which influences, directs, creates it, apart from the material surroundings that play so large a part in their evolution. We call it, for want again of a better name, the principle of this or of that, the principle of liberty, of justice, of benevolence, or somewhat else. The differences in the lives of human beings and institutions, social, religious, political, are created by the different principles that have been the productive and formative forces in them. Mr. Page amply illustrates this from a variety of sources. 'In the early Christian centuries the principles of the New Testament created the life characteristics of those centuries. Later on, other principles became predominant, creating another type of life, originating a new species of human character and development.

Through the centuries there has been continual conflict and struggle of principle, and the varied life of the centuries, with all their complexity and confusion, their strange admixture of evil and good, of base passion and pure desire, of narrow self-interests and lofty ideals, of warring parties and jarring creeds, become explicable if one remembers the antagonistic, or subsidiary, or complementary, principles at work creating the life recorded in history.' The secret of all this incessant play of immaterial principle, or what has to be called by that name, is ultimately, by our author, traced back or up to the everywhere indwelling, purposive 'Principle,' the Originator and Director of all things—God. It were perhaps unfair to enter on a criticism of this theory at present, even if we had the necessary space at command to do so, for this is only one of three parts of which this work is to be composed, and in which the argument is to be wrought out. We have, however, sufficiently indicated, we think, the suggestive character of this book, and the few quotations we have made from it, will have given our readers some idea of the high literary quality of it. Here we are compelled to leave it, but we cherish the hope that the reception it may get from the public may be sufficient to encourage Mr. Page to continue and complete his work.

Guesses at the Riddle of Existence and other Essays on Kindred Subjects. By GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

The Essays in this volume have for the most part seen the light before and are here reprinted in a permanent form, we are told, because some of them have been asked for. That they contain much that is new or indeed of much permanent value can scarcely be maintained. The arguments are such as one has met with before, not once or twice, but often, while the 'guesses' are for the most part such as we have been made familiar with in the publications the author has used as the texts for his Essays. His own 'guesses,' at least of the positive kind, are few and far between. From beginning to end he is occupied chiefly with criticisms, which are for the most part of the destructive order. Indeed, he makes no secret that his main purpose is to set the traditional or popular belief aside and to remove 'the wreck of that upon which we can found our faith, no more.' In Mr. Smith's opinion this latter is very extensive, and very little is left in which men may surely believe. Work of this sort, we should say, is a little belated. No doubt it is set off with great literary skill, still what is wanted in the present is work of a more constructive kind. It is only fair to say, however, that when Mr. Smith confines himself to literary criticism or to criticising the authors he professes to review he does excellent work. In the first essay he has some very trenchant remarks on the speculations of the late Professor Drummond in the *Ascent of Man*, on Mr. Kidd's book on *Social Evolution*, and on Mr. Arthur Balfour's recent work. Theology and Biblical criticism are scarcely in Mr. Smith's way, and he will probably not be surprised if some theologians believe that in attempting to deal with such topics as the 'Church and the Old Testament' and the 'Miraculous Element in Christianity,' he is going a little beyond his depth. In the essay on 'Is there another Life?' Mr. Smith seems to have taken Dr. Salmond's recent work on the *Christian Doctrine of Immortality* as his text; but has comparatively little to say about it. He deals with the subject from a different point of view and criticises the doctrine of the Positivists adversely. This together with the last essay, which has for its title 'Morality and Theism,' contains most of what the author has to say towards a solution of the Riddle of Existence.

Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics. By Dr. E. ZELLER. Translated from the German by B. F. C. COSTELLOE, M.A., and J. H. MUIRHEAD, M.A. 2 Vols. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1897.

These two volumes complete the translation which Messrs. Longmans have so long had in hand, of Dr. Zeller's great work on the *Philosophy of the Greeks in its Historical Development*. That work is so well known among students, and so highly prized by those who have had occasion to use it, that it is not necessary to say anything here in commendation of it. The volumes before us contain one of the best works on Aristotle and his earlier followers which have ever appeared in our language whether by translation or otherwise, and to all students of philosophy, or of the history of philosophy, cannot fail to be acceptable. Whether from a philosophical, exegetical, or bibliographical point of view, it is excellent. In respect to its bibliographical value, it is probably unequalled. Dr. Zeller seems to have read everything, or everything worth reading, in connection with the great Stagyrite and his philosophy. As an exponent of philosophical doctrine he is unsurpassed, and we have here the same clear and forcible interpretation as elsewhere in the work. The notes are, as usual, full, almost to overflowing, and the translators have here and there exercised a wise discretion in curtailing some of them, though without affecting their value. The lists of errata and emendations attached to the volumes are at first sight somewhat alarming, but their appearance is satisfactorily accounted for. The translators have unquestionably done an excellent piece of work, and made a contribution of the first importance to our philosophical literature.

Glasgow: Its Municipal Organization and Administration. By Sir JAMES BELL, Bart., and JAMES PATON, F.L.S. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1896.

The City of Glasgow has for some time enjoyed a very considerable reputation for the excellence of its municipal institutions. In some quarters they are looked upon as models which deserved to be followed by other municipalities. Whether they are or are not is not for us to say, but there can be no doubt that a very great amount of care and labour has been bestowed upon them, and that those who have had the making and controlling of them have spared no efforts to make them as complete as possible. Quite recently, by the incorporation of a number of outlying and adjacent burghs and urban districts, the area of the modern city of Glasgow has been more than doubled; the city has also been raised to the dignity of a county, and may be said indeed to have entered upon a new era in its existence. Sir James Bell, who has twice occupied the chair of the Lord Provost, and during whose rule these changes have taken place, has deemed the present a fitting opportunity for setting down for the information of his fellow-citizens and those who are interested in the working of municipal institutions 'a comprehensive view of the various means through and by which the complex work of a great corporation is carried on, and the intimate relation in which these and their result stand to the health, happiness and prosperity of the citizens.' Every reader of the handsome volume before us will feel indebted to him. It contains a vast amount of information, much of which has been gathered from official sources, and is therefore perfectly reliable. In the preparation of the work Sir James Bell has had the assistance of Mr. James Paton, the Curator of the Corporation Galleries and Museum, to whom, he says, 'I

am indebted for bringing the material into its present literary form ; 'and I cannot,' he goes on to add, 'bear too cordial testimony to the care, zeal, and ability which he has displayed in carrying out a work of considerable difficulty and complexity.' The work is very far from being a mere collection of statistics ; from beginning to end the present is connected with the past, and though dealing only with municipal action, it deserves to be regarded as an extremely valuable contribution to the history of burghal institutions as well as to the history of one of the largest and most flourishing cities of modern times. In the beginning of the volume are chapters both on the burghal history of Glasgow and on the origin and constitution of ancient Scottish burghs. On the whole they are satisfactory ; but the difficulties connected with some of the questions involved do not seem to have been sufficiently realized. It is quite true, for instance, that 'it does not appear that it was an original and fundamental condition in the erection' of a royal burgh, that the burghesses had the unfettered right to elect their own magistrates, but it is quite as true that there is nothing to prove that it was not. So far as documentary evidence is available, it would almost seem to justify the conclusion that it was. In 1398 the burghesses of Aberdeen both enjoyed and exercised the right, and according to the *Ancient Laws and Customs* it was a right exercised by all the royal burghs as early as the eleventh century. In fact there is nothing to show that the right did not go along with the erection. At the same time there is nothing to show that it did. The opinion that it did is not without its adherents, and a good deal may be said in its favour. At any rate, the right seems to be immemorial. Again the statement that the *ballivus regis* first acted both as magistrate and collector while in the main correct, takes a good deal for granted. That he represented the king to some extent is certain ; but was he appointed by royal authority, or was he elected ? The curious thing is he took the oath both to the king and to the burghesses. Then again, was he originally a magistrate in the same sense as the *prepositus*, and exercising the same judicial functions, or were his duties originally purely fiscal ? It is a mistake to say that 'class distinctions appear among the burghesses as early as the reign of William the Lion' in the sense, as is evidently intended, that they appear then for the first time. The *Ancient Laws and Customs* show that they had begun to appear several centuries earlier. In the chapter on the burghal history of the city, in which the narrative is brought down to the seventeenth century, many interesting facts are brought out, and the history of the city from its beginning as an insignificant village down through its early struggles and difficulties, the oppressions it suffered at the hands of the royal burghs of Rutherglen, Renfrew and Dumbarton, and its ultimate triumph over them, is related. As for the rest of the volume it is taken up with a detailed history of the separate organizations and institutions of the city. It is for this mainly that the book exists. The history is long to tell ; but it must suffice to say that the narrative is well written, and that for those who are interested in these matters the volume has many attractions.

1. *Maria Theresa*. By Rev. J. FRANCK BRIGHT, D.D. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1897.
2. *Joseph II*. Same Author and same Publishers.

From the point of view of politics or statesmanship, these volumes, which appear in Messrs. Macmillan's 'Foreign Statesmen' Series form one book. For fifteen years Joseph II. was joint-ruler of the Austrian Empire with his mother, Maria Theresa ; their domestic and

policies were the same, and both of them were guided by the counsels of the same minister, who for fifty years was regarded as the chief support of the State. Dr. Bright has acted wisely, therefore, in refusing to separate them. Few princes ever ascended the throne at a more critical juncture, or under more disadvantageous circumstance than Maria Theresa. Young and inexperienced, she found herself without allies, and had to begin her reign by fighting for her throne. On the one hand she had to meet France and Bavaria, and on the other Prussia. For some time the only question was as to the quarter from which the first blow would be struck. A less brave or capable woman would have been overwhelmed. Maria Theresa neither lost heart nor quailed. She held her own with a courage which, to say the least, was admirable, and proved herself a match in diplomacy for the not too scrupulous diplomatists against whom she found herself pitted. Dr. Bright has done ample justice to her singlemindedness, her tact, and her skill, as well as her clear-sightedness. The reforms she introduced in the internal affairs of her vast but ill-knit together dominions entitle her to rank high among those who have played the part of statesmen, not less than the ability with which she conducted her foreign policy. Doubtless she was much indebted to Haugwitz, Kaunitz, and Rudolf Chotek, especially to the second, but her own sagacity always stood her in good stead. She had the wisdom to know when advice was good and the still rarer wisdom to take it. The one great want she experienced was that of good generals. With these, her fortunes would have been considerable altered. It has of late years been customary to vindicate the justice of Frederick's attack on Silesia, but Dr. Bright puts it in its right light when he says, 'It is hardly possible to read the frank avowal of his own motives with which he has himself furnished us, and still to take as serious the obsolete claims which he put forward as his pretext. He owns that his leading motives were the love of fame, and the desire to rise above the contempt which had, as he thought, attended the policy of neutrality adopted by his father. He looked around to discover the most favourable field on which to display his activity. He had claims upon the duchy of Berg, but its proximity to France, and its distance from his own capital, threw doubts upon the probability of his success in that direction. The duchy was, moreover, so small, that its possession would add but little grandeur to his throne. Moved by these reflections, he turned his thoughts towards Austria, recognised its weakness, "with a youthful, inexperienced princess at the head of the Government," and easily came to the conclusion that the appropriation of Silesia, in immediate juxtaposition to his own central dominions, would be the best step he could take to satisfy the cravings of his active love of fame.' 'The blow,' as Dr. Bright further remarks, 'was well timed.' If it was 'the fruit of clear sighted and practical statesmanship,' it was also utterly without honesty and without chivalrous feeling. 'No wonder that the 'young and inexperienced Princess' never forgot it, and never forgave the man who struck it. Joseph II. had more than his mother's activity, but was on the whole less prudent. He had high ideals, but was too impatient. The reforms he meditated, and not less those he effected, though not always popular, were well intended, and entitle him to be reckoned one of the most enlightened rulers of his day. For the time they were remarkable, and, together with those introduced by Maria Theresa, which indeed prepared the way for many of them, they may be said to have contributed to the maintenance of the monarchy, and to have preserved the empire from the fate which afterwards befell France. Dr. Bright's narrative may be commended for its lucidity. One has no difficulty in following him either when he is describing the great wars in which

Austria was involved during the two reigns, or when he is relating the somewhat crooked ways of diplomatists or intriguing ministers. The two volumes are excellent additions to the series.

Canada. By J. C. BOURINOT, G.C.M., LL.D., D.C.L. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: G. P. Putnam's & Sons. 1897.

The history of Canada is full of striking episodes, and in its earlier pages reads like a romance. In the hands of Dr. Bourinot, the accomplished Clerk of the Dominion House of Commons, it loses none of its attractiveness. It is doubtful whether any more competent writer could have been found to take his place or to supply this volume to the 'Story of the Nation' Series. In the constitutional history of the country he is an acknowledged authority, and here he proves himself to be equally well acquainted with its political, social, and religious history. His familiarity with the various historic localities enables him to add many luminous touches to his narrative which, to an author writing merely from books or documents, are scarcely possible. The period which his story covers cannot at all be compared with that covered by the narratives in many of the volumes in the series to which it belongs. It can go no further back than the fifteenth, or at most, the eleventh century. Still Dr. Bourinot goes back as far as he can, and probably identifies with sufficient accuracy the points touched at according to the Saga by Leif Ericson in his adventurous voyage. The discoveries of subsequent voyagers are related in considerable detail. Sufficient space is given to the story of the colonisation of the country and the doings of Cartier and Champlain are told with commendable brevity. Chapters are devoted to the natives and their ways, and to the noble efforts made by the Jesuits and others for their conversion. The struggles of the French to found a New France and the story of British conquest are told by Dr. Bourinot in chapters which are singularly attractive. Coming down to later times, we have excellent chapters on the troubles which led to the passing, first of the Constitutional Act of 1791, then of the Union Act of 1840, and subsequently of the British North America Act of 1867, by which the various provinces of British North America have since been formed into a single federal structure. In a couple of concluding chapters Dr. Bourinot deals with the development of the Canadian nation and Canadian literature. The volume has the advantage of a series of valuable illustrations, and, as a brief history of the country, deserves the highest praise.

The History of Greece from its Commencement to the Close of the Independence of the Greek Nation. By ADOLPH HOLM. Translated from the German. Vol. 3. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

In this volume Dr. Holm takes up the story of the Greek nation at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., and carries it on to the death of Alexander the Great. The period is one of surpassing interest, and of the three volumes of the history which have appeared, the one now before us is likely to attract the largest amount of attention. It covers such episodes as the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, the Social and Sacred Wars, and the conquests of Philip of Macedon and of his greater son. The great names which figure upon its pages are of course numerous. As military commanders, besides those already mentioned, are those of Xenophon, Epaminondas, Agesilaus, Iphicrates, Pelopidas, and Eubulus, while in

literature and philosophy are Socrates, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Aeschines, and Demosthenes. As might be expected, war and diplomacy, which is often little better than intrigue, and at times is mixed up with treachery, occupy a large part of the volume, while literature and the social life of the people are by no means neglected. The chapters on literature and civilisation are, if anything, too brief. The notes appended to them, however, to a certain extent supply what is lacking in them. Of particular interest is the description given of the part played by the logographers, as is also the effect which the writing of dialogues had in bringing about the decadence of the Greek drama. In the Notes much use is made of the coinage of the period, and, as in the other volumes, there is here a plentiful array of authorities, with frequent discussions as to the sources whence they derived their information. The translation continues to be clear and idiomatic, and deserving of the highest praise.

The Growth of the French Nation. By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS. London: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

The demand for short histories continues and is apparently on the increase. Among the attempts to supply it, Mr. Adams' *Growth of the French Nation* will occupy a very respectable place. It is condensed and lucid, and tells the story in a forcible and interesting way, though here and there its pages are marred by Americanisms in spelling and by a somewhat too colloquial style. Most of the really salient points in the growth of the French nation are seized upon, and so much information as the limited space will allow is given about them. Political and constitutional history receive the greatest attention. Here and there we have a reference to the economic development of the nation, but for some reason or other literature receives but scant treatment. Indeed, judging from Mr. Adams' pages, one might almost suppose either that France had produced very little, or that in the growth or development of a nation literature is of but slight account. Perhaps it is as well, however, that Mr. Adams has not much to say in this department of the nation's life. When he calls Calvin's *Institutes* 'the most profound work of Protestant theology, and one of the greatest in the philosophical history of the world,' one is not a little disposed to question his title to be heard. The weakest part of the volume is the first. Mr. Adams rightly recognises the Celtic as forming the largest element in the population of France, but he is in error when he affirms that even Celtic names have disappeared, and that the Celtic religion went down completely before the civilisation of Rome. The results of recent researches in these directions seem to be unknown to him. The statements on pages 11 and 28, in respect to the Frankish element in the population, scarcely agree.

A History of Greek Art, with an Introductory Chapter on Art in Egypt and Mesopotamia. By F. B. TARBELL. London: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

As a brief history of Greek art, Mr. Tarbell's volume may be highly commended. It will not take the place of the larger histories, still less can it be taken as a substitute for any of the elaborate monographs on the various branches of Greek art, but as an introduction to the subject it will serve admirably. The addition of the introductory chapter on Art in Egypt and Mesopotamia is a distinct advantage, and will enable those who are just beginning the study of the subject to see to what extent Greek art was dependent upon that of foreign parts, and how vastly superior the

artistic instinct among the Greeks was to that of the peoples with whom they were brought into contact. The chapters on Greek Architecture and Sculpture are, considering the space at the author's disposal, particularly well done. Both go back to the earliest period. The narrative, while succinct, is lucid. The criticisms interspersed are sound, and will be found helpful to the student as well as to the reader who desires to obtain some knowledge of Greek art, and to become acquainted with its characteristic features. Mr. Tarbell has made good use of Schliemann's discoveries, and of the publications based upon them. The illustrations are numerous, and help to make the text more attractive and instructive.

Mother Lodge, Kilwinning. Discussion of an Historical Question.
By Rev. W. LEE KER, M.A. Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner. 1896.

To members of the Craft this work will be of very special interest. But its interest will not be confined to them, for the question it is chiefly concerned with, and those it incidentally raises, are questions bearing on Scottish History of larger import than itself. The Rev. W. Lee Ker may well claim to be, as he is acknowledged to be, an authority of the first rank on the point here in dispute; for not only as the minister of the parish in which the Lodge has its home, but as the Chaplain of the Lodge itself, he long ago felt it to be his duty to master all the details of its history, and his natural love for the Craft added its stimulus to the task. He is justly proud of his Lodge, and his Lodge is as justly proud of its chaplain. It has found in him, whenever need has arisen, an able and ready champion, and now in this book a powerful advocate of its claim to be the first Lodge of Free Masons (and for long the only one) in Scotland, and the parent of the others in direct or indirect descent. This claim has been once or twice disputed, or denied; but she has always found some of her sons resolute in their defence of her claim. Mr. Lee Ker champions her claim here most effectually. He may be said to have won here an easy victory. But the victory has been won only because he had fully equipped himself for the battle. The proofs for the honour of his Lodge's priority and maternity are produced and marshalled in a most conclusive manner. They are simply overwhelming. Surely after this the old lady may be left in peace in the enjoyment of the respect and veneration which are due to her. But Mr. Lee Ker has not been content to prove his case and demonstrate the antiquity and fertility of the 'Muther Lodge' of Scotland (though it is admitted that she began, as the saying runs, 'late in life'); he assails the strongholds of her adversaries and completely demolishes them. The most imposing of them he simply riddles with the small shot of his raillery (see page 36) and shows us of what flimsy materials it has all along been composed. The author is to be congratulated on the skill and ability he has displayed in the marshalling of his arguments, and on the completeness of victory.

Epic and Romance: Essays in Medieval Literature. By W. P. KER, Professor of English Literature in University College, London. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

These essays, the author informs us, are intended as a general description of some of the forms of narrative literature in the Middle Ages as a review of some of the more interesting works of each] *id.*] are neither antiquarian, bibliographical, nor philological.

course an element of history in them, but they are for the most part literary and critical and may be taken as good examples of literary criticism. The whole field of medieval literature they do not cover. As the author tells us, there are 'whole tracts of it which are barely touched;' there are others, too, which are not touched at all. The 'tracts' to which the author refers are such as the English metrical romances, the Middle High German poems, the ballads Northern and Southern. Of the medieval literature of Ireland, of Italy, or of Spain or Greece, and of much of that of France nothing is said. Mr. Ker has done wisely, however, in limiting the field of his survey. What he has dealt with affords quite sufficient material for a single volume; it is to be hoped that in a subsequent volume or volumes he may be able to deal with at least some of the 'tracts' he has left aside or barely touched. Medieval literature is a large subject, and except in the brief way in which alone it is possible to deal with it in general histories of literature, it has seldom been treated. Some years ago Mr. Ludlow published a couple of interesting volumes on the Norse-German and Carolingian Cycles of Epics, and a good deal may be learned respecting the former from the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* and elsewhere, but adequate treatment the whole subject can scarcely be said to have received. Here, as the title to the volume indicates, Mr. Ker has confined himself to the Epics and Romances. Thanks to various Societies and to the enterprise of two or three publishers copies of these are now fairly numerous. That they will ever become popular again is not likely. The world has moved a long way out of the life and conditions in which they originated and is seeking a literature inspired by different aspirations and giving expression to different sentiments and different ideals. Still, as subjects for literary study, they cannot be neglected; he who would thoroughly understand and appreciate the best periods of English literature, or indeed any of its periods, must first make the acquaintance of its history and study it in its beginnings. 'Epic' and 'Romance' are used to designate the two great orders of medieval narrative. The epic belongs to the heroic age and precedes the romance, which belongs to the age of chivalry. The heroic age is not confined to any particular period, but the age of the romance always presupposes, and is always built upon it. Though the epic and romance are distinct, it is not easy to hit off the exact difference between them in a single sentence. There is more or less of the romantic element in the epic, and epical episodes are more or less frequent in the romance. Still the difference between the two orders of literature is plain, 'as plain,' Mr. Ker remarks, 'as the difference in the art of war between the two sides of the battle of Hastings, which indeed is another form of the same thing; for the victory of the Norman knights over the English axemen has more than a painful or superficial analogy to the victory of the new literature of chivalry over the older forms of heroic narrative.' This difference Mr. Ker endeavours to bring out more by description than by any attempt at a precise definition. 'Whatever Epic may mean,' he remarks, 'it implies some weight and solidity; Romance means nothing if it does not convey some notion of mystery and fantasy.' And in illustration of this he further remarks: The two great kinds of narrative literature in the Middle Ages might be distinguished by their favourite incidents and commonplaces of adventure. No kind of adventure is so common or better told in the earlier heroic manner than the defence of a narrow place against odds. Such are the stories of Hamther and Sorli in the hall of Emanaric, of the Niblung kings in the hall of Attila, of the Fight of Finnesburgh, of Walter at the Wagenstein, of Byrhtnoth at Maldon, of Roland in the Pyrenees. Such are some of the finest passages in the Icelandic Sagas: the death of Gunnar, the burning of Njal's house,

the burning of Flugumyri (an authentic record), the last fight of Kjartan in Svinadal, and of Grettir at Drangey. The story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard in the English Chronicle may well have come from a poem in which an attack and defence of this sort were narrated. The favourite adventure of mediæval romance is something different—a knight riding alone through a forest; another knight; a shock of lances; a fight on foot with swords, "racing, tracing, and foining like two wild boars;" then, perhaps, recognition—the two knights belonging to the same household, and all in the same quest. . . . This collision of blind forces, this tournament at random, takes the place in the French romances of the older kind of combat. In the older kind the parties have always good reasons of their own for fighting; they do not go into it with the same sort of readiness as the wandering champions of romance.' In this passage Mr. Ker brings out what is undoubtedly the great difference between the mediæval epic and the mediæval romance with a clearness and force which no mere definition would furnish. The difference, indeed, is not one for definition; it is one that must be felt. The two orders of narrative belong to different civilisations and different cultures. In subsequent pages Mr. Ker has some very excellent remarks on the conditions of life out of which the epic grew, the subjects of epic narrative, the development of the epic, its dramatic quality, the academic discussions as to the character of the 'Epic Poem' and on other kindred topics, but into these we cannot here follow him. The epics he reviews are the Teutonic, French, and the Icelandic Sagas. Under the Teutonic are of course included the Lay of Hildebrand, the old English poems Beowulf, Finnesburgh, Waldere, Byrhtnoth; the Helgi Poems, the Lay of Atilla, the Hamdismal, and the Gudrun Lays among the Northern or Icelandic epics; among the Sagas are Njal, Laxdaela, Egils, Viga Glum, Grettir, Gíslí, Bandammana, Sturlunga; while among the French Mr. Ker deals chiefly with the Song of Roland, Raoul de Cambrai, Garin le Loherain, as representing the three kinds of French heroic poetry, and Huon of Bordeaux. When dealing with the Teutonic epics Mr. Ker points out prevalence in them of the tragic element and the sureness with which it is handled; note is also taken of the presence of comic incidents and characters in the Sagas, and a chapter is devoted to the relations between the epic and history. The inclusion of the Sagas among the epics may be objected to. The Volospá, though the finest of northern poems, is not an epic. Here, however, it is impossible to do more than indicate the way in which Mr. Ker has treated his subject. One almost regrets the brevity with which he has treated the Romance, but the two chapters upon it are not the least instructive in his singularly erudite and remarkably able volume.

Landscape in Poetry from Homer to Tennyson, with many illustrative examples. By FRANCIS F. PALGRAVE, Late Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

There can be little doubt that this volume will fill a place which has hitherto been vacant in our literature and commend itself to a wide and increasing circle of readers. To poets, lovers of poetry, and lovers of nature it will especially commend itself, not only for the exquisite anthology it contains but also for the richly suggestive commentary with which the late Professor of Poetry at Oxford has accompanied it. To many the perusal of the volume will be an education. Many will rise its perusal with a new sense of enjoyment, while by means of its study many will find themselves much better qualified to

appreciate the literary and artistic value of their favourite authors. For students of literature, indeed, we can scarcely conceive a more helpful companion. It is the sort of book they have longed for, and they will no doubt accord to it that appreciation and welcome it so highly deserves, as supplementing all existing hand-books on literature. The greater part of the volume is devoted, as might naturally be expected, to our own poets from Chaucer to Tennyson. With the treatment of landscape by the other poets of Northern Europe Mr. Palgrave does not deal. That was scarcely to be expected. But he goes back to Dante and Lucretius and Virgil, and to Sappho, Eschylus, Hesiod, and Homer, from whom he adduces many familiar, and some unfamiliar, but exquisite examples. In a singularly suggestive prefatory chapter Mr. Palgrave has some instructive remarks in regard to landscape in colour as compared with landscape in words, and points out the advantages which the painter has over the poet and the advantages which the poet has over the painter. In the same chapter he also treats, only too briefly, of the development of the feeling for nature as exhibited in poetry. The hints which he here throws out are frequently referred to in the body of the volume where they are abundantly illustrated. Other matters are spoken of in this same chapter; but we must refer the reader to the chapter itself. As the passages from the ancient authors are translated the volume is apparently intended for all, and may be enjoyed by all.

A New Historical Dictionary on Historical Principles. Vol. 3. Distrustfully—Doom. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY.
Vol. 4. Flexuosity—Foister. HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A.,
Oxon. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1897.

These two Parts, which have appeared with commendable punctuality, carry on this great work a step further. The end is still a long way off, but there is progress, progress too of a very substantial kind, and a progress which, when all things are taken into consideration, is by no means slow. For three months these two parts represent an immense amount of work which it is hardly necessary to say could not have been completed within them had not the material on which it is based been in a very advanced stage of preparation. The first part alone contains in all 1480 words, of which 1141 are main words, 183 are combinations under them, and 156 are subordinate entries, while in the second part there are in all 1518 words, 1025 of which are main words, 350 combinations explained under them, and 143 subordinate entries; thus making for the three months a total of 2,495 words all registered, expounded and illustrated in a way more elaborate than in any other Dictionary of the English tongue. Take for instance the first of these parts. The largest number of words hitherto recorded between 'Distrustfully' and 'Doom' in any Dictionary is 946, but here we have 1658; the largest number of illustrative quotations hitherto given is 1027; here 8424 are given. Or, take the second part. The largest number of words hitherto recorded between 'Flexuosity' and 'Foister' is 1074; here we have 1850. The greatest number of illustrative quotations elsewhere is 1149; here 7544 are given. In the first part words beginning with Dis- are at last left behind and the section passes on to a series of words of more diverse origin and more diversified origin. Besides numerous Teutonic words they comprise words from Old English and Old Norse, from Latin, Celtic, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and from Persian and Hindi, as well as from other Eastern languages. The most important word in the section is the verb 'do,' which occupies 16 columns and is illustrated by no fewer than 900 quotations, representing 'the dis-

titled essence of 12,000 quotations, which have been collected, classified and analysed.' The word 'dog,' with its multitudinous family, claims 22 columns. Mr. Bradley's section again shows a considerable number of onomatopœic words, such as 'flick,' 'flicker,' 'flip,' 'flip-flap,' 'flog,' 'flop,' 'fluff.' In both Parts there are many words of historical interest and not a little recondite information is given in connection with them. Etymological difficulties occur, especially in the second of the Parts. The etymological part of the article under 'do' is of especial interest. Lowland Scotch words as usual are well represented.

The English Dialect Dictionary. Edited by JOSEPH WRIGHT, M.A., Ph.D. Part II. Ballow—Blare. London: Henry Frowde. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Editor of this Dictionary may be complimented on the punctuality with which the divisions of his work are appearing, and on the thoroughness of his work. One thing which this Part brings out is the immense wealth of words in the various dialects of the language, and especially of those beginning with the letter B. One part sufficed, and more than sufficed, for the words beginning with A; but though those with the initial letter B began to be registered in Part I., this second Part brings them down only to the word Blare. A Dialect Dictionary is more difficult to compile, we imagine, than a dictionary of ordinary literary English, for the reasons that variants abound, and that the words have to be gathered not merely from books, but orally on the spot where they are used. There is a difficulty at times in drawing the line accurately between what words ought to be classed as belonging merely to a dialect and those which are in general use. This difficulty seems to have been experienced by Dr. Wright. Such words as *ban*, to curse; *bane*, poison; *bank*, a slope or hill-side; *bar*, to prevent, or with adverb *out*, to shut out; *barefoot*; *bar-gain*, to agree; *batten*, to feed upon, are in such frequent use in the present that they may fairly be entitled to be classed as among the words in literary use. Some words, we notice, have been omitted, e.g., *baste*, to fold over and prepare for sewing; *basting thread*, the thread used in basting; *batters*, the boards of a book (Sc.); *bellyband* (Yks.) the strap passed under the body of a horse when yoked; *bib*, a small piece of cloth worn by children over the breast when eating. *Billet* is also used for place, destination, destiny, as in the phrase, 'he has got his billet.' *Balm*, again, is used in Scotland, and may be met with under the form *bawm* or *bawme*. *Blade* is used of men as well as of women in Yorkshire and in Scotland. *Blad* is used in Scotland as in Norway for a leaf; the blads of a book being its leaves. A *bap*, again, may be baked on a girdle, and more generally is than in an oven. *Bejan* is more frequently written *bejant* in the Scottish universities. *Bedlam*, in Yorkshire and elsewhere, stands quite as frequently for a madhouse as for a madman or an uproar, if not more so. All the same, Dr. Wright's work is admirably done, and deserve the support of all students of the English tongue and dialect.

Occasional Papers Selected from 'The Guardian,' 'The Times,' and 'The Saturday Review,' 1846-1890. By the late R. W. CHURCH, M.A., D.C.L. 2 Vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

For over forty years the late Dean Church was a frequent contributor to the Weekly and Daily Press. To one of the Weeklies also he has contributed during that period over a thousand articles on various topics; many of them were reviews of books.

biographies which are now no longer read ; others of them were upon the passing incidents and politics of the day, while others, again, were of permanent interest. None of them seems to have been got up in a hurry. Those of them, at least, which are here reprinted, bear marks of the most careful preparation. Such papers as those on Epictetus, Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Merivale's *Conversion of the Roman Empire*, Thierry's *St. Jerome*, *Ecce Homo* and several of the theological writings of M. Renan, are elaborate studies, full of subtle criticisms, and equal to anything the author has written elsewhere. Among the most attractive of the papers are those on the late Cardinal Newman and his writings. The one on Cardinal Newman's naturalness will be read with interest by many. One of the most noticeable features of these papers is their singular evenness in style and quality. Though spread over so large a number of years, it is almost impossible to detect any note of time among them, except such as is afforded by the titles. The style is the same throughout, and there is the same evenness as well as the same precision of judgment. Altogether, the volumes are a valuable addition to the author's published writings. The selection and arrangement of the papers reflect great credit on Miss Church, whose name appears on the title-page as the Editor.

The Prose Works of William Wordsworth. Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT. 2 Vols. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1896.

The issue of these two volumes will be hailed by many readers and students of Wordsworth's poetry with pleasure. While editions of his poems of one kind or another have been plentiful—plentiful almost as the proverbial blackberries—editions of his prose works have not. Only once, if we remember rightly, has there been a collected edition of them—that published by Mr. Grosart. Professor Knight, therefore, whatever thanks students of Wordsworth may give him for his edition of the poems—and these certainly cannot be other than warm and ungrudging—has laid his readers under a debt of gratitude. It is something to have Wordsworth's prose writings uniform with his poems in the handsome volumes now before us, and to have them sifted and certified as Professor Knight has here sifted and certified them. Mr. Grosart fell into one great mistake and printed, as Wordsworth's, a piece which was not Wordsworth's, but Professor Wilson's. Professor Knight has avoided this mistake and has corrected one or two other errors made by Mr. Grosart. They are not of very great moment, but it is as well to be accurate. Besides the notable Prefaces and Appendices Wordsworth wrote for different collections of his poems and the three well known essays on Epitaphs—essays which, so far as we know, were first introduced to the larger reading public by Mr. Knight in his once widely read *Half Hours with the best Authors*—we have the 'Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff;' the Letter which appeared in *Cole-ridge's Friend* in 1809, and in which Wordsworth criticises an article in a previous issue of the *Friend* by Professor Wilson, who signed himself 'Mathetes;' the essay on the Convention of Cintra, which may be said to have been born out of due season, probably because of De Quincey's delay in seeing it through the press, and died still born; the letters to Captain Pasley, afterwards Major-General Sir Charles Pasley; the Guide through the Lake District, with a description of the scenery, etc., for the use of Tourists and Residents, and the two addresses to the Freeholders of Westmoreland, and several others. In fact, Professor Knight has printed all the prose Wordsworth himself printed. As an editor, his work here has been comparatively light. He has been content to leave the writings almost entirely as Wordsworth left them; what slight alterations he has made are commendable.

The Natural History of the Marketable Marine Fishes of the British Islands. By J. T. CUNNINGHAM, M.A., Oxon. With a Preface by E. RAY LANKESTER, M.A., LL.D., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

This volume has been prepared by Mr. Cunningham at the instance of the Marine Biological Association and is introduced to the public by Professor E. Ray Lancaster, the President of the Association's Council. It is in every way a notable book and cannot fail to be of great service both to the student of marine biology and to those who are at all interested in the marine fisheries of the British Islands. The Council of the Marine Biological Association could scarcely have lighted upon one better qualified to carry out their wishes in this respect than Mr. Cunningham. His own researches in connection with his subject have been many and varied. For a number of years he was in charge of the Marine Laboratory at Granton, where he did excellent work. Since then he has been employed at the Plymouth Laboratory, where he is specially charged with the investigation of the structure, habits and breeding of marine food-fishes. Hitherto his observations, many of them of great importance in regard to the growth from the egg of marine fishes, have been printed in strictly scientific journals and in the transactions of learned societies, and have, in consequence, been for the most part inaccessible to the general public. Here, however, they are set forth in a popular form, and along with them have been incorporated the observations of other workers in the same field. The result is that we have here put, in a condensed form, all the information which, up to the date of publication, was to be had in respect to the life-history of the food-fishes frequenting the seas surrounding the British Isles, together with a variety of notes respecting the marketable marine fishes of other parts of the world. One of the most attractive chapters in the volume is the one in which Mr. Cunningham traces the history of marine biological studies. Here, while he details the work done at the various stations around the coast and the contributions made to his subject by British Marine Zoologists, he does not omit to notice the valuable researches and observations of foreign investigators, such as those of Mr. G. O Sars in connection with the cod-fisheries of the Lofoden Islands. The plan which Mr. Cunningham has adopted is commendable, and, in fact, the only one calculated to make his subject intelligible and attractive to the popular mind. In the first place we have a series of chapters dealing with the characteristics of valuable marine fishes and the regions they inhabit, their generation and fecundity, their eggs and larvæ, their growth, migrations, food and habits, and an excellent chapter on the practical methods to be adopted for increasing the supply of fish. In the second part of the volume Mr. Cunningham gives the life-history of all the various marine fishes used for food in the British Islands, beginning with those of the herring family, and passing on to those of the salmon, eel, flat-fish, and cod family, till the list is exhausted with those of the sucker family. The volume is profusely illustrated and ought to commend itself not only to students, but to those also who are engaged in the practical work of supplying the markets, to say nothing of that larger public for whom the markets are supplied.

Industries and Wealth of Nations. By MICHAEL G. MULHALL. London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1896.

This is a work which can only be commended here, not reviewed. Any one attempting to review it would require to have access to a library of

Blue-Books ; (or Green, Yellow, White, or whatever colour any nationality affects), of Consular Reports, Industrial Returns, etc., etc., and any amount of leisure at his command for consultation of them, comparison and verification. The work before us is a perfect storehouse of statistics as to all kinds of manufactures, agricultural and industrial products, imports, exports, earnings, spendings, savings, etc., etc., of all the important countries of Christendom. It is a marvellous example of selection and orderly arrangement, of condensation and clear presentation of extremely interesting and valuable facts, whereby we get a very comprehensive idea of the natural wealth of these countries, and of the enterprise, industry, and life of the different populations and classes inhabiting them. Such a work as this is, of course, beyond the power of individual research, and Mr. Mulhall disclaims originality here. But what can we say of the patience and perseverance, of the industry and concentration of purpose, of the individual who could gather together from all available and authoritative sources these marvellous columns of figures, tabulate them under their various heads, and present them, as they are here presented, in such a way as to exhibit at a glance the relative results of every important nation's industrial and commercial activity, natural productiveness, and financial capacity and position, within the area specified? One is simply lost in wonder in the presence of a labour like this. The work, judging from the sources from which its author has drawn his figures and his information, and from the pains he has clearly bestowed on them, is one to be consulted with confidence ; and page after page will be read with increasing interest as it sets forth the comparison of land with land, in its productive power, its people's energy, perseverance, and thrift, and the simplicity or complexity, the naturalness or artificiality, of their lives, and traces the development of all these during the last sixty years. The book is nevertheless of very modest dimensions, and is furnished with an admirable index, which greatly enhances its usefulness.

The Statesman's Year-Book. Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the year 1897. Edited by J. SCOTT KELTIE, with the Assistance of I. P. A. RENWICK, M.A., LL.B. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

This remarkably handy and useful annual has reached its thirty-fourth year of publication and deserves to reach many more. As in former years the editor has spared no pains to bring the information it contains down to the latest possible moment and to arrange it in a clear and intelligible way. The feature of this year's publication is an attempt to show the political changes which have taken place upon the continent and elsewhere during the Queen's reign of sixty years, and the progress made in various directions during the same period. To illustrate the former we have a series of maps showing the political geography of the world in 1837 and in 1897. They are remarkably handy and deserve the closest study. One thing they show distinctly is the immense territorial growth of the British Empire during the Queen's reign. The very useful table which appeared in last year's publication showing the world's wine production has been withdrawn. Several others have been substituted and are intended to exhibit the progress made during the last sixty years in different directions by the United Kingdom, the British Colonies, and India. While several of them cover the period mentioned, others of them do not, since no statistics suitable for forming a comparison can be had. As in former years, the information given is based on official returns.

The Standard of Value. By WILLIAM LEIGHTON JORDAN.
London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, &
Co. 1896.

A work which has reached its seventh edition may surely put in a claim to be regarded as a 'classic.' Mr. Jordan reproduces his lectures here in their original form, with the several prefaces with which the various editions have from time to time been enriched, and he adds another to this edition, bringing the book, so to speak, up to date. This publication of it is opportune. The 'Battle of the Standards' still rages with unabated vehemence, and the recent contest for the Presidency in the United States has done much to accentuate the controversy, and whet public interest in it. Mr. Jordan's work has been universally admitted to be one of the ablest defences, and one of the most lucid expositions of bimetalism that has as yet appeared, and no one reading it but will rise from it with at least a clearer conception of the points at issue between the combatants, if not also more than half convinced that the 'Double Standard' is both the fairest and safest for all countries to adopt. The new preface, as we have said, brings the question up to date, noting, as it does the prominent place which was given to it on Platform and in Press in the late American campaign, and criticising the contentions and arguments of the leading advocates of monometallism, gold or silver.

SHORT NOTICES.

The discourses in Dr. Hort's *Village Sermons* (Macmillan) were preached by him to the congregations in the Churches of St. Ippolyts and Great Wymondly in Hertfordshire during the time he was the vicar there. Some of them were subsequently preached at Cambridge with alterations, but they are here printed as they were originally preached. Dr. Hort was not a great preacher, but all his public utterances were characterised by careful thought and calm judgment. The sermons here printed are solid and edifying and not showy. Throughout they are pervaded by a deep sense of humility on the part of the preacher and an intensely earnest desire to do good. They are simple and evangelical, but rest upon a foundation of deep and broad theology, and are rich in suggestion.

The Measure of a Man (Alex. Gardner), by the Rev. A. Henderson, LL.D., is a collection of sermons put together by their author at the request of the members and office-bearers of his congregation, and intended to form a memorial of a fifty years' ministry. For the most part they are exegetical or expository. Great skill is shown in developing the underlying thought of the texts and in furnishing them with clear and striking illustrations. They are evangelical in tone and practical in aim, and show that the ministry they are intended to commemorate has been cultured, earnest, and devout.

Readers of Bishop Phillips Brooks' eloquent sermons will welcome the series of Lenten Readings, which has recently been published for the most part from his unpublished MSS., under the title of *The More Abundant Life* (Macmillan), and edited by W. M. L. Jay. All of them are short; they lack the picturesqueness and elaboration of the sermons; but they all exhibit the same fine spiritual insight, and that wonderful freshness and suggestiveness so characteristic of all the other pulpit utterances of the late Bishop.

Archbishop Benson in Ireland (Macmillan), edited by J. H. Bernard, D.D., contains a record of the late lamented Archbishop's journey in

Ireland, as well as of the sermons and addresses he delivered. The pathetic interest which attaches to the volume will cause it to be widely read and treasured.

Dr. James Finlayson has written a brief memoir of the author of the *Bibliotheca Britannica* under the title of *The Life and Works of Dr. Robert Watt* (Smith, Elder). Very little is known about Watt, but that little has been carefully gathered and put together by Dr. Finlayson in a few pleasantly written pages. Note is taken of his medical writings, as well as of the origin and compilation of the *Bibliotheca*, and an excellent portrait adorns the volume.

Round the Year (Macmillan), by Professor L. C. Miall, F.R.S., is a series of short studies in nature. Though not written for every day in the year, they cover all the seasons and almost, if not all the months. The book is a delightful companion for a country walk, and will help the reader to see many things which without it he might not see, and help him to understand their history and their structure.

Professor D. Hand Browne has published what is probably a unique volume—*Selections from the Early Scottish Poets*, and has edited the selection with an introduction, notes, and glossary. The volume is published, not in Scotland, as we might expect, but at the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, where the editor is the Professor of English Literature. When will such a work find a publisher in this country? Our only regret in connection with Mr. Hand Browne's volume is that the selection is not larger.

The Cornhill Magazine under its new editor continues to bid high for public favour. Each succeeding number seems to be more entertaining and instructive than the rest. Its historical and biographical papers are particularly attractive. The other papers are varied and always maintain a high standard of excellence.

The *History of the Life of Fenelon*, by Andrew Michael Ramsay, translated by David Cuthbertson, comes from Messrs. J. & R. Parlane. The author of it, better known as the Chevalier de Ramsay, was a staunch Jacobite, who followed the Stuart Prince into exile in France, and identified himself very zealously with his cause. Unlike some of the others, of nobler blood than himself, he gained rather than lost by his devotion to the Stuart cause. He was not only appointed tutor to the Stuart princes, Charles Edward and Henry, but to two of the French nobility, the Duke of Chateau-Thierry and the Prince of Turenne. He was a bosom friend of Fenelon, and through his influence enjoyed both place and power at the French court. He repaid the worthy Archbishop's confidence and kindness by defending him, especially through this 'Life' of him, against the aspersions of his bitter and implacable enemies and detractors. Mr. Cuthbertson has done well to endeavour to make his work known in this form, for, with all its merits, it has been sadly neglected, and the author, a native of Ayr, has received but scant justice, considering his learning, his character, and the influence he exercised in his day. The translation seems an excellent one, and the publishers of the work have given it a very attractive appearance in both its external form and the type used in printing it.

A selection made by Mr. Robert Ford, and which he describes as 'selective, yet comprehensive,' of the *Poems and Songs, Humorous, Serious, and Satirical, of Alexander Rodger* (Alexander Gardner) is sure, we think, to receive a warm welcome from all lovers of true Scottish song,

simple Scottish life, and genuine Scottish humour. None of our old favourites is here wanting, and those which have been excluded are those which Mr. Ford regards as having had only a very local or temporary interest, or as among the less meritorious of the productions of Rodger's muse. By way of Introduction, a brief sketch of the poet's life, of his humble origin, of the many parts he played, and of the troubles his political views and verses led him into, is given. Some of the songs, too, are furnished with notes explanatory of their suggesting cause, etc. It is in every way a delightful edition.

Three more volumes of the 'Famous Scots Series,' published by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, have come to hand. They are *James Boswell*, by W. Keith Leask, *Tobias Smollett*, by Oliphant Smeaton, and *Fletcher of Saltoun*, by G. W. F. Omond. The first and second of these famous Scots have had so many 'Lives' of them written, and monographs of one kind or another consecrated to themselves or their works, that it might well seem wasted labour to tell their story over again. But both of these new lives are excellent in their way, and give within very readable compass an instructive and interesting outline of the personal and literary careers of these worthies, and a careful, and, on the whole, a judicial estimate of their somewhat composite characters and works. Mr. Leask has spared no pains to get at and utilize hitherto unworked sources, and Mr. Smeaton has evidently been a diligent and not uncritical student of his hero's literary creations as well as chequered history. A Life of Fletcher has long been wanted and Mr. Omond's will be welcomed by all students of Scottish history. The part Fletcher played during the negotiations for the Union was conspicuous, and at the present time, when so much is being said about that event, Mr. Omond's work will help to throw light upon it. All the books are written in a clear and simple style, and are, like all the series, beautifully printed and tastefully presented.

Breezes from John o' Groat's, by MacBremen (Alexander Gardner), is a very happily chosen title for this collection of poetical pieces, for not only do they tell the tales of northern daring, of love and passion, on land and sea, in the far north, but there is a freshness and force in them that affect the reader like an invigorating breeze from the ocean. The longest of the pieces, 'The Bride of Braemore,' details the misfortunes of a Highland beauty in the brave days of old, when might was right, and the chief of the clan knew, or acknowledged, no law but his own will, and brooked no denial to his love or his lust. The other pieces tell their story in an equally stirring manner, and of these 'Love and Smuggling' may be instanced as one of the finest of the collection. 'MacBremen' will not altogether satisfy, we fear, the more sympathetic of his readers. The end of his heroines' trials is too often not a happy marriage and a life of blissful enjoyment of conjugal felicity, but a sad and tragic death. Yet art must be obeyed rather than sentiment by poet and by novelist, and there are characters and circumstances that give the law to the artistic creations of both.

A new work by the author of *In my City Garden* needs no word of commendation to secure for it a wide and warm welcome. Every reader of the earlier volume will turn to the *Ayrshire Idylls of Other Days*, by George Umer (Alex. Gardner), with keen expectancy; and they will reap in their reading of it all the pleasure they anticipated, if not more than they hoped for. It is characterized throughout by the same sunny brightness, poetic fancy, and sprightly humour which made the pages of his earlier book so charming to young and old. It is clear that the
ing, worrying life of his large city practice has in no
ad

genial physician's freshness of mind or youthfulness of heart, dulled his passionate love of Nature in any of its varying moods or impaired the wings of his sportive fancy. Here he takes us back to the scenes and boyish experiences of his childhood and youth, and portrays them with a vividness and naturalness that make them live before us as if we were actually witnessing them, and were sharers of his youthful escapades, and boisterous joys and enthusiasms. He well describes these memories as 'Idylls,' for they are truly idyllic in fact and form. Each is a picture drawn from Nature, and at the same time a prose poem.

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CONTENTS.

- ART. I.—PICKLE THE SPY. By A. H. MILLAR.
,, II.—PRIMITIVE RELIGION AND PRIMITIVE MAGIC.
By F. LEGGE.
,, III.—LORD ROBERTS IN INDIA.
,, IV.—MODERN GREEK FOLK-LORE. By W. METCALFE, B.D.
,, V.—NEW LIGHT ON BURNS. By JAMES DAVIDSON.
,, VI.—FARTHEST NORTH.
,, VII.—THE DIARY OF JANE PORTER. By INA MARY
WHITE.
,, VIII.—THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND. By JUDGE O'CONNOR MORRIS.
,, IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.
,, X.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

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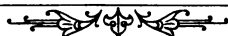
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