

aim is to destroy both the pretext and the facilities for converting those provinces into a Russian camp of occupation. . . . The constitution of the Wallachian provinces must be freed from the elements of revolt; the Russians must no longer be guardians of the mouth of the Danube; Sebastopol must no longer exist as the stronghold of terror to the freedom of Circassia and the sovereignty of Constantinople. . . . No territorial arrangement that enables Russia to command and garrison the entrances into the Ottoman Empire, much less, as at Sebastopol, threaten the capital itself, should be permitted. *This is the object of the war.*

Bulwer Lytton may have been in the secrets of the Cabinet. At all events, at the moment when this article was published, Palmerston informed his colleagues that the policy of invading the Crimea, proposed some time previously by Napoleon and rejected by Great Britain, must now be adopted; and, a fortnight later, public measures were taken to that effect. In another notable article, that on 'The Disputes with America' (June 1856), Bulwer Lytton narrates the history of that difficulty with the United States which grew out of the treaty of 1850, 'made for the purpose of facilitating the construction of a canal and other inter-oceanic communications across Central America,' and especially out of our claim to the Mosquito protectorate, which was expressly resigned only, comparatively speaking, the other day. That Lord Clarendon had made mistakes, he allows; but he describes clearly the object and nature of the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty, and acquits the British Government of the 'violated engagements and perfidious usurpation' charged against it by the States. As a chapter on the early history of the policy which has ended in a practical occupation of the isthmus, and in the making of the great canal by the Government of the United States, the article still possesses value.

An eminent foreign historian, who was also a statesman of the first rank in his day, M. Guizot, began to write for the 'Quarterly' under Lockhart, and contributed two important articles on 'French Religions' and 'Public Education' (June and December 1848), subjects on which he could speak with the highest authority. In March 1855 he surveyed the life and character of the Emperor Nicholas. The late Tsar, autocrat as he was

in his vast dominions, renounced the despot in his family circle. Affectionate at home, benevolent abroad, his industry and his devotion to what he regarded as the interests of his country were untiring. Unlike his brother Constantine, who used to say that 'learning to read made people stupid,' his mind was cultivated by extensive reading. He was 'endowed with rare qualities,' physical and mental, and was 'without doubt an extraordinary man.' While developing the material resources of his empire, he sternly 'closed Russia to liberal ideas' and prohibited 'the faintest discussion and criticism of the acts of authority.' But it is clear that in this policy he did no great violence to the feelings of the bulk of his people. 'It is difficult in a country like ours to comprehend the extent of the subserviency to the Tsar.' We may note that Guizot attributes this attitude largely to the confident belief of Russians that ultimately 'all the tribes of Slavonic race are to be united under Muscovite rule; and that for this purpose an autocratic government is indispensable.' 'The nation, almost to a man, are firm, we may say fanatical, believers in this destiny.' The faith in unlimited autocracy is fading, but Pan-Slavism, clearly no new thing, remains; and a sentiment so inveterate in the heart of a great nation may yet be a force to move the world.

We must pass over many papers of permanent interest on which we should gladly have lingered, but we cannot conclude our account of Elwin's editorship without referring to his own admirable contributions. As editor, he maintained the tradition established by Lockhart, and wrote frequently himself. In all, he contributed no less than forty-two articles to the Review, of which more than half fall within the seven years of his reign. He wrote on many different subjects, including politics; but the bulk of his papers are literary, consisting especially of that combination of biography and criticism in which he peculiarly excelled. Perhaps the most remarkable of all are his two papers on Boswell (April 1858) and Johnson (Jan. 1859), of which it is surely not too much to say that they will bear comparison with anything else that has been written on these well-worn subjects. But, as specimens of his style and manner, the two following passages must suffice. One is from

his article on Sterne (March 1854); the other from that on Cowper (Jan. 1860).

'No novelist has surpassed Sterne in the vividness of his descriptions, in the skill with which he selects and groups the details of his finished scenes. And yet, next to Shakespeare, he is the author who leaves the most to the imagination. . . . It is a kindred merit that he shines in painting by single strokes. "I have left Trim my bowling-green, cried my Uncle Toby"—to give one instance out of a hundred. "My father smiled. I have left him, moreover, a pension, continued my Uncle Toby. My father looked grave." But, whatever rare quality Sterne possesses, he is sure to be conspicuous for the opposite defect. Excelling often in conciseness, he is still more often minute to prolixity. . . . With a rare power of delineation by slight and easy touches, he yet ushers in his telling incidents with boastful pomp, and repels us by the ostentation with which he performs his feats and challenges our admiration. There is the same admixture of good and bad in his style. It is frequently deformed by insufferable affectation; and then again is remarkable for its purity, its ease, its simplicity, and its elegance.'

'The execution of the delightful design ["The Task"] is for the most part nearly perfect. He has displayed one quality in a stronger degree than it was ever possessed by any other describer of nature—the capacity of painting scenes with a distinctness which makes them like visible objects to the mind. They are not more vivid than true; and he has blended the accuracy of the topographer with the picturesqueness of the poet. His modes of expression are according to the rules afterwards upheld by Wordsworth. All stiff, pedantic, conventional forms are rejected. His verse is pure, straightforward, unaffected English throughout. The language is no longer of the common-place character which is so often found in his previous works, but is as choice as it is simple. Nothing in "The Task" is more remarkable than the skill with which he constantly picks out the one felicitous word in the tongue which conveys his meaning with the happiest effect. . . . Like all works of consummate excellence, the impression of its greatness increases with prolonged acquaintance. The beauties are of the tranquil and not of the exciting kind, and the exquisiteness of the workmanship is easily overlooked by hasty eyes. . . . His reprobation of the vices and follies of his age is sometimes admirable, but sometimes declamatory, flat, and tedious; and where he aspires to be sublime, as in the description of the earthquake in Sicily, he is grandilo-

quent without true force or spirit. His ear for blank verse was much finer than for the heroic measure; and though it has not the swelling fulness nor the variety of Milton, it is limpid and harmonious, and suited to the subjects of which he treats.'

Elwin possessed a competent knowledge of Shakespeare and the seventeenth century classics, but he lived almost entirely in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and his familiarity with the period not only determined his taste and coloured his method of expression, but influenced strongly his whole habit of mind. It gave him, on the one hand, a rare distinction of style, evenness, lucidity, and repose, a certain reserve, and a shrinking from extravagance of thought and diction, which may strike the fretful and jaded modern ear as dull, but are characteristic of much that is best in English prose. On the other hand, as we must allow, it limited his perceptions, rendered him somewhat impervious to new ideas and methods, and left him eventually out of sympathy with the younger generation. He loved Scott and Thackeray, but he could not read Browning or George Eliot, and thought little of Tennyson. Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, and Rossetti were mere names to him. He 'knew little and read less' of modern French and German authors, and he disliked the Preraphaelite school of painting. He considered Darwinism a wild and discredited hypothesis; he believed in Paley, condemned 'Ecce Homo' ('Quarterly Review,' April 1866), and dismissed the 'Higher Criticism' with scorn. But these opinions did not hinder him from becoming, and remaining, the intimate friend of Dickens and Forster, of Carlyle and Browning, of Guizot and Brougham, of Gladstone, Lord Lytton, and Prof. Owen, and of many others prominent in the politics (on both sides), the literature, and the science of the day.

In the mechanical business of editing the Review it must be confessed that he left much to be desired. He continued to live at Booton; and this was in itself a difficulty enhanced by the defective communications of those days. His procrastination equalled, if it did not exceed, that of Gifford; but this was no doubt due partly to his practice (another of Gifford's traditions) of largely altering and even rewriting other men's articles, and

partly to the labour entailed in composing his own. In actual composition he was very rapid, and he had an amazing power of work on occasion. But he was dilatory and unmethodical; articles were sometimes lost; his table groaned beneath the accumulations of unanswered letters. Worried and overworked, he more than once offered to resign; and in the summer of 1860 his resignation was accepted. One of his motives was the desire to complete the great edition of Pope, for which Croker had made extensive collections, and which Elwin undertook after Croker's death. Released from editorial labours, he could now devote himself to this task; but the work was somewhat against the grain, for, except in regard to four or five pieces, which he acknowledged to be first-rate, he had but a mediocre opinion of his author as a poet. Of his character he formed a lower estimate still; and in his Introduction he exposed Pope's 'malpractices' without mercy, for he did not 'pretend to think that genius is an extenuation of rascality.' It was not till 1870, after ten years of work, that the first four volumes appeared. Subsequently he published a fifth; but in 1878 he gave up the task, which was then taken up and brought to a successful conclusion by Mr Courthope. Elwin continued to write occasionally for the 'Quarterly' till 1885. In 1900 he died in his rectory at Booton, where he had lived, for more than half a century, a life of unobtrusive benevolence and utility.

He was succeeded in the editorial chair by William Macpherson. It is unfortunate that we can give our readers but little personal information about this gentleman, and that we have been unable to obtain a portrait of him to complete our series. He belonged to a family of some note, for he was a son of Hugh Macpherson, Professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen, and a nephew of Maria Edgeworth. Two of his brothers, Samuel and John, attained distinction, the former as political agent at Bhopal, Gwalior, and elsewhere; the latter as a surgeon and ultimately as inspector-general of hospitals in India. William was born in 1812, was educated at Charterhouse and Cambridge, and, after practising some time at the English Bar, followed his elder brothers to the East. In 1848 he became Master of Equity in the Supreme Court at Calcutta. On Indian law he was a recognised authority, and wrote several works,

one of which, a treatise on 'The Procedure of the Civil Courts of India,' attained a fifth edition. Leaving India in 1859, he became, in the following year, editor of the 'Quarterly,' with which he had had no previous connexion. While editor he wrote several articles for the Review; but, becoming secretary of the Indian Law Commission, which was intended to draw up a code for India, he resigned his post in Albemarle Street in 1867. On the dissolution of the Commission soon afterwards, he returned to the Bar, and was appointed, in 1874, legal adviser to the India Office. He died in 1893.

Among the most notable writers for the 'Quarterly' during Macpherson's period were Bulwer Lytton (who had joined the Conservatives about 1851, and was raised to the peerage in 1866), Sir Henry Layard (the excavator of Nineveh), Samuel Wilberforce (Bishop of Oxford from 1845 to 1869), Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Francis Turner Palgrave (compiler of 'The Golden Treasury'), George Borrow, William Smith (afterwards editor of the 'Quarterly'), and Lord Robert Cecil.

Layard, who had written frequently for *Elwin*, especially on the Crimean War, but also on Eastern affairs generally, as well as on art and archæology, contributed (July 1861) an article on Cavour, shortly after the death of that great man, which is noteworthy as showing, even before the results of his policy were fully apparent, not only a warm appreciation of his work, but remarkable insight into the difficulties under which that work was accomplished. The writer is careful to point out what Cavour owed to England, not indeed for active assistance, but for moral support, and still more through the study of our political system and our industrial development, and the firm faith, engendered by that study, in the benefits which constitutional government and economic reform would confer upon his country. Layard, while censuring Napoleon for his greed, not only approves the cession of Savoy and Nice on the ground of political necessity, but defends the subsequent conduct of Cavour in the annexation of the kingdom of Naples and the Papal States, on the sufficient plea that reasons of State, in the attainment of so great an object as the unification of Italy, justify shifts which, in matters of private morality, society would rightly condemn.

The publication of Kinglake's 'Invasion of the Crimea' called forth from Layard (April 1863) a forcible and damaging attack upon that voluminous book. 'We had a right' (he says) 'to expect from the author either the truthful narrative of the conscientious historian or the broad views of the statesman. We find neither in this work; his hate and his theories render both impossible.' Kinglake lays the whole blame of the war upon Napoleon III. 'He pursues the Emperor and those about him with a rancorous animosity which savours more of the unforgiving vengeance of one who has experienced some great personal wrong, than of the calm judgment of the historian.' This is seen in his remarks upon Napoleon's early career; his enormous exaggeration of the slaughter on the Boulevards on December 4, 1851—bad enough in its naked truth; and in his unfair misinterpretation of Napoleon's policy throughout. The injustice extends to all who followed the Emperor, even to Marshal St Arnaud, the loyal colleague of Raglan, and to the gallant French army, whom he depreciates at every opportunity. His eulogy of Raglan, whose conduct had been chivalrously and adequately defended by Elwin in the 'Quarterly' (Jan. 1857), is characterised as 'silly bombast and inflated rhodomontade'; while, in his account of the battle of the Alma, Layard, who was himself an eye-witness, finds numberless inaccuracies. His conclusion is as follows:

'Whether, therefore, as inflicting unnecessary pain upon the living or as wantonly damaging the reputation of the dead, whether as injurious to the fame of English literature or as hurtful to our national character, we feel ourselves compelled to coincide in the verdict that has been almost unanimously pronounced on Mr Kinglake's work—that it is, in every sense of the word, a mischievous book.'

To one notable article by Bishop Wilberforce, his review of Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' adequate attention is paid elsewhere in this number. He was more within his province in criticising (Jan. 1861) 'Essays and Reviews,' a book which, in its day—such are the ironies of literature—created more disturbance than the epoch-making 'Origin.' During the last fifty years we have travelled a long way from the views and arguments

of both the Essayists and their opponents. Much that was then written by Dr Temple and his colleagues has gone the same way as the arithmetical objections of Dr Colenso, superseded by (we may hope) a better-equipped scholarship and deeper views of history and religion, which, far from destroying, have rather altered the nature and diverted the aim of our beliefs and our reverence. Much, on the other hand, has become, or at least paved the way for, the accepted or implied doctrine of latter-day theology; and in looking back, for instance, at the essays of Temple and Rowland Williams, we are surprised that they should have raised such a storm. The bishop's article, hostile as it is, is written with admirable temper, great literary skill, and much argumentative power; and his opponents could not, at all events, complain of the tone of his criticism. But it is probably fortunate for the Church, and for its hold upon the developing mind of the nation, that the authors did not accept the critic's advice contained in the words, 'We have felt bound to express distinctly our conviction that, holding their views, they cannot, consistently with moral honesty, maintain their posts as clergymen of the Established Church.'

The Bishop of Oxford's kindly and sympathetic spirit shows itself in a generous review of Newman's 'Apologia' (Oct. 1864), in which he finds

'an absolute revealing of the hidden life in its acting and its processes, which at times is almost startling, and is everywhere of the deepest interest. Of all those' (he continues) 'who, in these late years, have quitted the Church of England for the Roman communion—esteemed, honoured, beloved as are many of them—no one save Dr Newman appears to us to possess the rare gift of undoubted genius.'

While emphasising, though in an uncontroversial spirit, the fundamental differences which separated Newman from men of his earlier creed, the bishop does full justice to his honesty of purpose, and his superiority to most of his assailants. 'Professor Kingsley' (he remarks) 'has added nothing here to his literary reputation. Indeed his pamphlet can only hope to live as the embedded fly in the clear amber of his antagonist's Apology.' Analysing Newman's religious attitude, he discovers two

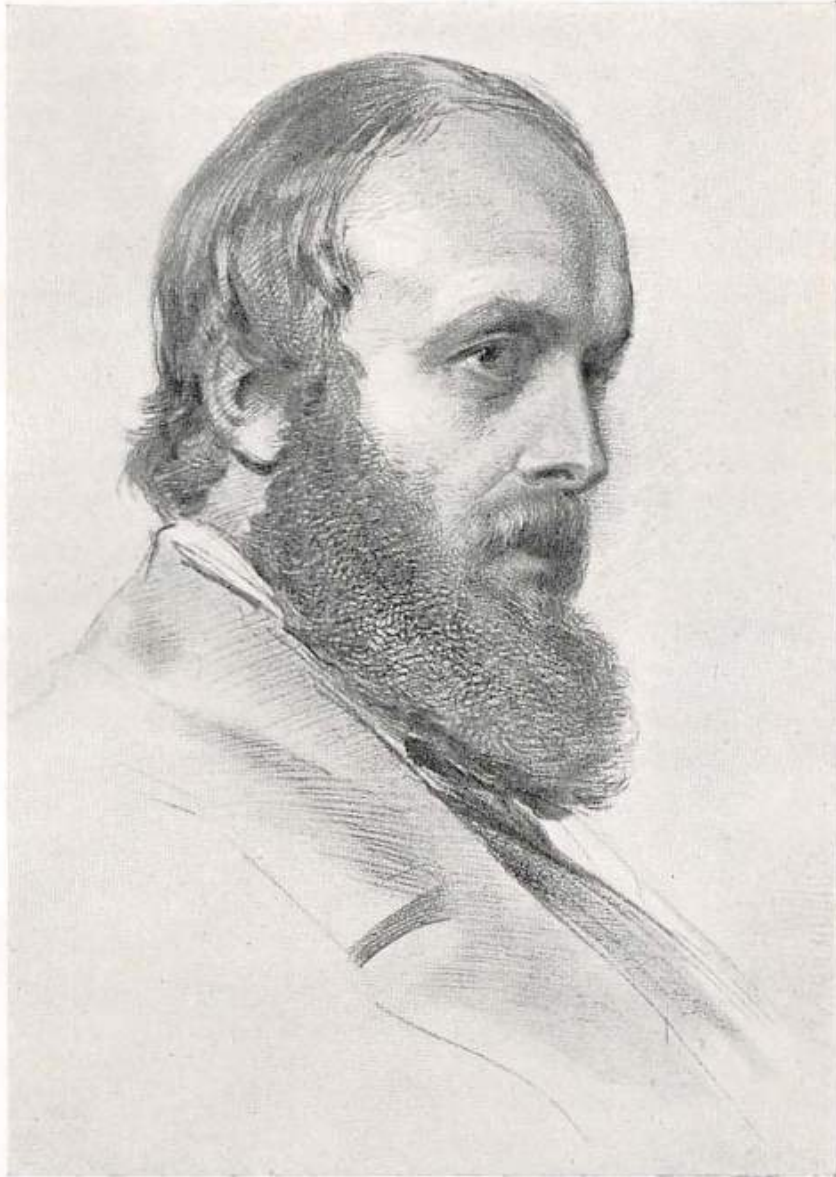
leading characteristics—that his mind is 'eminently subjective,' and that 'he is haunted by an ever-recurring tendency to scepticism.' The conclusion is worth recalling.

'Some lessons there are, and those great ones, which this book is calculated to instil into members of our own communion. Pre-eminently it shows the rottenness of that mere Act-of-Parliament foundation on which some nowadays would rest our Church. . . . The great practical question seems to be . . . how the Supreme Court of Appeal can be made fitter for the due discharge of its momentous functions. We cannot enter here upon this great question; but solved it must be, and solved upon the principles of the great Reformation statutes.'

These maintain at once the supremacy of the Crown and the national independence, 'and the spirituality of the land, as the guardian under God of the great deposit of the Faith.' The solution he desires has not yet been found, but it is constantly demanded by a section of the Church far stronger now than it was when the bishop penned these words.

Wilberforce continued to write for the 'Quarterly' till the year before his death (1872); and several other of his articles, as those on 'The Church of England and her Bishops' (October 1863), on 'The Church and her Curates' (July 1867), and on Coleridge's 'Life of Keble' (July 1869), will still repay perusal; but we cannot pause on them now. Nor can we linger on the work of that excellent critic, F. T. Palgrave, whose 'Golden Treasury' proves the correctness of his taste and the width of his sympathies. He contributed, among other papers, illuminating studies of poets so remote as Blake and Præd (January and October 1865), and a striking chapter of literary history in his survey of 'English Poetry from Dryden to Cowper' (1862). Borrow's paper on 'The Welsh and their Literature' (January 1861), though disfigured by some wild philology, and by the vanity of references to his own works, is remarkable as an early example of that interest in Celtic literature which has since borne such remarkable fruits. We must pass on from these minor matters to one of more importance—the work which Lord Salisbury did for the 'Quarterly.'

It was certainly not the least of Elwin's services that he discerned the literary abilities of Lord Robert Cecil, and secured them for the Review. His contributions



LORD ROBERT CECIL.
(From a drawing by George Richmond, R.A.)

amount in all to more than thirty, covering the period 1860-1884; but two-thirds of them were published during the editorship of Macpherson. As his writings were pretty fully dealt with in a special article published shortly after his death (January 1904), it will be unnecessary to discuss them at much length now; but some notice of his work, especially of those portions of it on which the author of that article touched but slightly, we cannot altogether omit.

In his first article, entitled 'The Budget and the Reform Bill' (April 1860), Lord Robert, after dwelling with generous enthusiasm on the oratorical merits of the four hours' speech in which Gladstone introduced his financial proposals, proceeds to dissect the proposals themselves. Much of what he says is strikingly applicable to the present day. Gladstone had begun by lauding the Cobden Treaty. When we get beyond this, 'we bid good-bye to the simple City virtues of slow security, of safe investments, and well-balanced ledgers . . . Everything is on a colossal scale of grandeur—all-embracing Free-trade, abysses of deficit, mountains of income tax, remissions too numerous to count.' After indicating the principles on which Sir R. Peel acted in reducing duties—namely, that a lowered duty will mean increased demand and therefore higher returns, and that the cheapening of some articles will lead to larger expenditure on others, and hence to a general improvement of the customs revenue—he points out that there is a limit to the efficacy of these principles. 'It is obvious that, though you may have too many taxes for the purposes of the revenue, it is also easy to have too few. It is obvious that there must be a point in the process of reduction at which all benefit to the Exchequer will cease.' The vital difference between the reductions of Peel and Gladstone was that Peel, while reducing duties generally, suppressed them absolutely on raw materials only, because the free import of these will stimulate industry; whereas there is no stimulus to industry in Gladstone's abolitions, e.g. on gloves and *objets de Paris*. 'The duties swept away by Mr Gladstone are remissions for mere remission's sake, blindly made in obedience to a formula of financial reform.' Lord Robert deprecates also the substitution of direct for indirect taxation.

'Once admit that a direct tax may be laid on for the purpose of taking off an indirect tax which presses hard, or is much complained of, and there is no reason that the process should not be repeated *ad infinitum*. Inasmuch as all classes alike pay indirect taxation, while only those who do not receive weekly wages pay the income tax, this change is a direct and simple transfer of taxes from one class of the community to another. We have now entered upon the descent of the smooth, easy, sloping path of popular finance, on which there is no halting-place to check our career short of confiscation.'

But the writer indicates another and a still more fatal reason for this policy. 'Reduce your estimates,' is Gladstone's financial panacea. The martial temper of the nation must be checked, or its alarms allayed; and for this purpose there is nothing like piling up the income tax. 'If tenpence in the pound does not damp the nation's ardour, a shilling will; or, if a shilling fails, the desired effect will be produced by fifteenpence.' And this in face of a national danger. The danger that then threatened came from France and Napoleon III. 'A short but eventful experience has given us an obscure and doubtful insight into some few of the secrets of his restless policy. We know that he is never so silent as when he means to act. *We know that he fawns up to the last moment before he springs.*' Lord Robert is speaking of *the Emperor* of his day; but history strangely repeats itself; and it is as true now as it was then, that 'a chronic alarm of war is almost as fatal to the operations of trade as the panic of revolution.' Yet there is only too good reason for this alarm. Take first the menace to European equilibrium.

'What' (asks Lord Robert) 'is the policy of England to be when next the Empire gives a practical proof that "it is peace"? [We cannot help thinking of another Empire whose ruler is never tired of uttering the same refrain.] . . . England had once a traditional policy which was not very difficult to fathom or apply. She did not meddle with other nations' doings when they concerned her not. But she recognised the necessity of an equilibrium and the value of a public law among the states of Europe.'

But a yet nearer danger is to be feared. 'That an invasion is no absolute impossibility, this Review has

already demonstrated. . . . The responsibility of so appalling a calamity, if ever it should occur, will be exclusively on those who shall have persuaded the tempting prey to lay aside her armour as too burdensome to wear.' These words of warning may well be brought to mind in a situation which, both at home and abroad, recalls that of 1860. That, owing to causes which could not be foreseen, the storm then dreaded ultimately blew over, is no reason for shutting our eyes to a yet greater danger now.

That Lord Robert could err in the matter of political prophecy must be allowed. A forecast contained in a paper headed 'The Conservative Reaction' (July 1860), in which, while over-estimating the strength of Conservative feeling at the time, he rashly remarks that 'it is not likely that Mr Gladstone can ever again occupy the political position he once held,' reminds us of the equally mistaken prophecy made by Gladstone himself respecting Palmerston only two years before (above, p. 288).

The optimism of youth which marks this article, and tinges several of the papers he contributed during the next seven years, turns into pessimism in an essay which perhaps attracted more attention than any other of his writings—the famous article on 'The Conservative Surrender' (October 1867). Two years earlier he had expressed a strong belief that the cause of Reform was dead, and a confidence in Conservatism which was strengthened by the defeat of Lord Russell's Reform Bill in 1866. These hopes were doomed to bitter disappointment; and in the article to which we have referred he expressed his feelings with a force of invective and a bitterness of sarcasm which he never surpassed. The attack is levelled not so much against the measure itself, as against the treachery and political immorality—as it seemed to him—by which it had been brought to pass. On Disraeli in particular, the author of the Bill, and his future leader, he poured out the vials of his indignation. But, while blaming the leader, he showed no intention of deserting the party; and the support which, in several subsequent articles, he gave to Conservative principles was ultimately rewarded in the general election of 1874. A year before, he had vigorously attacked Mr Chamberlain's Radical programme (October 1873); but he made

two mistakes, one in thinking that Disraeli would not know where to stop, the other (and the greater one) in believing that reform would lead to anarchy. He got to know Disraeli better when he came to serve under him; and the hopes of a 'Conservative reaction,' which he had expressed in 1860, were realised after fourteen years. In one of his latest articles, that on 'Disintegration' (October 1883), which is mainly devoted to Irish affairs, he made the remarkable prognostication, this time verified to the full, that Home Rule would be accepted by the Liberal leaders, but that it would be rejected by the great majority of the English people.

During the American Civil War, Lord Robert took what turned out to be the wrong side; but it should be remembered that expediency was not his first principle, and that he took that side along with the bulk of our political leaders. Even Gladstone himself, in a phrase of which he afterwards publicly repented, believed at one time that Jefferson Davis had 'made a nation.' These and other forecasts are worth recording, if only as proofs of the vanity of political prophecy. That 'it is always the unexpected which happens' was never more fully verified than in the case of the great struggle in America. In an article entitled 'Democracy on its Trial' (July 1861), Lord Robert traces the war to the natural defects of democratic government. That system, as exemplified in America, has, he says,

'united in a fatal combination the maximum power of arousing discontent and the minimum power of repressing it. . . . The omnipotence of the majority, imperious as any king, has bred the revolution; the feeble, changeful, and corrupt executive has reared it to its present menacing stature. . . . That this ideal Republic has collapsed is a fact which few are bold enough to contradict. Few people doubt that this war must end either in a division of its territory or a change in its form of government.'

In another paper on 'The Confederate Struggle and Recognition' (October 1862), after remarking that British opinion, slightly with the North at the outset, had now veered round, he finds the chief reason of this change in the conviction that the effort to maintain the Union is hopeless. 'There can be but one issue to this contest—the

Southern States must form an independent nation.' He justifies, on the ground of international law and evident necessity, the recognition of the South as a belligerent; but he also looks forward to the time when this country may 'join with other European Powers in recognising an independence which is already an accomplished fact.'

A little later, taking 'the United States as an Example' (January 1864), he is less confident of the future. He notes the falsification of many prophecies—that the North would not fight; that, if war should break out, the slaves would rise; that the North would win easily, and so forth. All this had turned out wrong; but still, he says, 'we incline to the belief that the Northern population will not persevere in its infatuation long enough to break down the fighting power of the South.' The main intention of this series of articles is, however, not to foretell the future, but to point the lesson of the war for democrats at home; and if, in the course of his trenchant criticism, we may regret the utterance of some unfriendly and over-depreciative remarks, it must be remembered that (as he says), 'during the Russian War and the Indian Mutiny, American comments upon English conduct were not restrained or weakened by any false tenderness for our susceptibilities.' Had he written during the war with the South African Republics—*our* Secession War—he would have had to regret an unpleasant survival of the same spirit.

But it is in his articles on foreign affairs, and especially on the national duty in regard to our policy abroad, that we find the highest qualities of the minister who, more than any other of our time, embodied in this respect the great traditions of the race. In an article on 'Poland,' written during the revolt (April 1863), he reviews Polish history, and shows how the Poles brought partition on themselves. But (he continues) 'from the year 1815 the strength of the Polish cause begins.' It was the Russian Government which had changed for the worse; and, without taking that Government unduly to task, he displays an evident sympathy with some at least of the objects for which the Poles had taken up arms. He hopes that the mediation of the Powers will lead to the restoration of 'some such securities for freedom as were contained in the Charter of 1835.' He hoped too

much; the failure of that mediation, and its causes, are matters of history.

A year later, a still more ignominious failure had to be recorded. In an article on 'The Danish Duchies' (January 1864), Lord Robert remarks, 'No one who has followed the Schleswig-Holstein controversy carefully and impartially can entertain even a momentary doubt that he is reading over again, in a more tedious form, the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb.' After noting various utterances of German statesmen and publicists, pointing towards the fact that, as Dr Löwe put it, 'since the time of the Great Elector, Prussian policy has always been rightly directed towards gaining the North German peninsula,' he asks, 'What will England do?' Our true policy is to prevent the Sound from falling 'into hands that may close it'; but, apart from self-interest, we are pledged to the support of Denmark. It is much to be feared, however, that, whatever may be said, nothing will be done. 'Lord Russell's fierce notes and pacific measures form an endless theme for the taunts of those who would gladly see the influence of England in the councils of Europe destroyed.' His forebodings came true; the policy which he advocated was laid aside; and it only remained for him, in an article on 'The Foreign Policy of England' (April 1864), to raise a bitter lament over a lost opportunity and a national disgrace. From this eloquent paper we take the following passages:

'Whatever differences may exist as to the policy which this country ought to have pursued in the various conflicts by which Europe and America have been recently disturbed, few will be found to dispute that she occupies a position in the eyes of foreign Powers which she has never occupied before during the memory of any man now living. . . . Those who remembered the Great War refused to believe that England could not make good her threats or her promises if she thought fit; and, therefore, her representations in many negotiations of deep European moment were listened to with respect. . . . But this condition of things has lamentably changed. No one can be in the least degree conversant with the political literature of foreign countries, or hear ever so little of the common talk of foreign society, without being painfully aware that an active revolution has taken place in the tone of foreign thought in regard to the position of England. Her

influence in the councils of Europe has passed away. . . . Our diplomatists are at least as active as they were at any former time. Their vigilance is as keen; their interference is as incessant; their language is bolder and far more insolent than it was in better times. But the impulse is gone which gave it force. . . .

'The estimate of the English character that is felt in every circle and class of society abroad, and expressed without reserve by the press, may be summed up in one phrase, as a portentous mixture of bounce and baseness. . . . The defence of a high reputation is, after all, a cheap one. A nation which is known to be willing as well as able to defend itself will probably escape attack. Where the disposition to fight in case of need is wanting, or is dependent upon some casual and fleeting gust of passion, the political gamblers who speculate in war will naturally be inclined to invest in the venture of aggression. The policy which invites contempt seldom fails to earn a more substantial punishment. . . . Indifference to reputation seems the cheapest and easiest policy while it is being pursued; but it only deserves that character until the limit of tameness has been reached. The time must come at last when aggression must be resisted; and then, when it is too late, the expensiveness of a name for cowardice forces itself upon every apprehension. . . . We fervently desire peace, but we desire it in the only way in which it can be had. Peace without honour is not only a disgrace, but, except as a temporary respite, it is a chimera.'

The Franco-German War and its consequences called forth several powerful and far-seeing articles from his pen. In the first of these, that headed 'The Terms of Peace' (Oct. 1870), he pleaded hard against the imposition of humiliating terms on France. At a time when public opinion in this country was still, generally speaking, in favour of Germany, as a Power upon which Napoleon III had made unprovoked war, he pointed out the force of the suspicions and fears which Prussia's conduct in 1864 and 1866 had aroused, and the danger which the Hohenzollern candidature really implied. 'It does not,' he writes, 'necessarily follow that, because they [the French] were the challengers, therefore they were the aggressors.' He hints that the unification of Germany was the original object of war; for 'war is the mother's milk of infant empires.' We are now aware that these remarks contained more truth than even Lord Salisbury could have

known at the time. He argues especially against the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine on the ground that it will leave in the national mind of France an undying sore, and imperil the peace of Europe for many a year to come. 'A ceded territory would be a constant memorial of humiliation. No Frenchman could forget it if he would.' And such sentiments will mean the ever-recurring risk of war. 'Until the population that have been wrested from her return under her flag, France will bide her time, as Italy did, never moving in her own cause, but ever ready to act with any ally, in any cause that shall procure her the restoration of what she has lost.' A peace on such terms will be no peace at all.

'We have been wont to talk of the burden of an armed peace; but the peace with which we are threatened will more resemble the quiet of an ambushade. . . . Is there no neutral that will make one effort to rescue Europe from such a future of chronic war?'

Three months later he discussed 'The Political Lessons of the War' (Jan. 1871), and followed this up by a paper on 'The Commune and the Internationale' (April 1871). In the first of these essays the inevitable insecurity of a government founded on revolution, the fatal consequences of a usurpation, form his opening theme; but he is lenient to the fallen usurper. 'It was a system of government which could not last; but the responsibility of it hardly lies with Napoleon III. He was what the temper and the history of his people made him.' With the Second Empire the contrast of the Prussian monarchy, broad-based on national support, with its bold and independent executive, is sufficiently obvious. But the contrast between the strong and able Government of Prussia and the growing weakness and administrative incapacity of British Ministries is little less marked and far more painful to observe. 'The result of our system is that the Minister in England, like the Emperor in France, is too apt to live from hand to mouth.' As was natural at the moment, it is the effect of this upon our military organisation which the writer is particularly anxious to bring out. 'Of all the evils which are due to this cause, the inefficiency of our defensive preparations is far the

gravest.' And in words to which recent events have given renewed force, he utters his warning.

'We know now, by experiments worked out upon others, that a large, well-trained, well-supplied army is the one condition of national safety. It will be well for us if we suffer no official procrastination, no empty commonplace about British valour, to leave us to face the coming danger undefended—unprepared.'

This was written nearly forty years ago. But prophets have little honour in their own country, and, if they happen to be Cassandras, are no more likely to get a hearing than they did in the days of Troy.

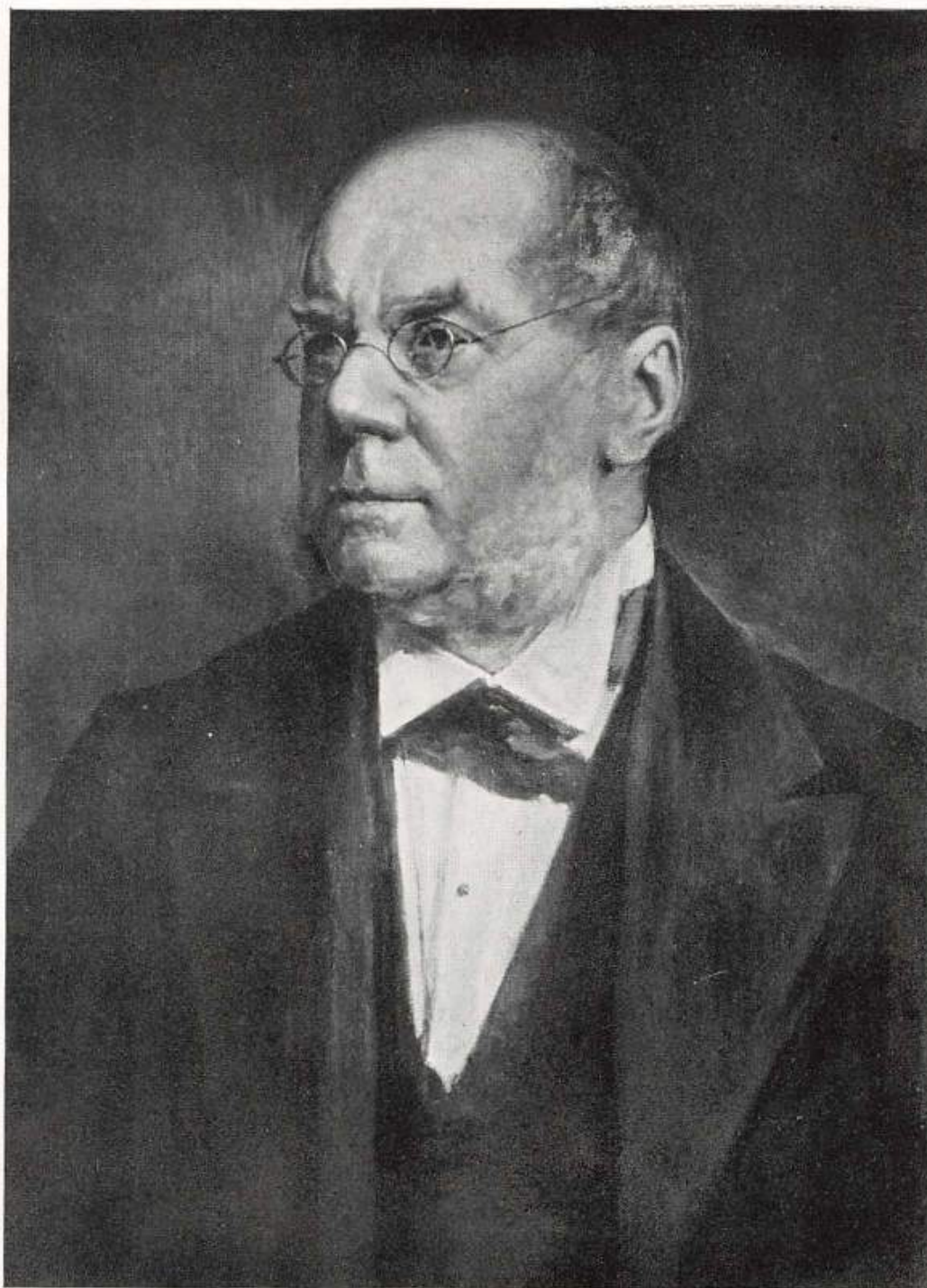
Finally, as noble examples of Lord Salisbury's style, and as showing his admiration for the patriotism and devotion to duty which distinguished the two men whom, in their conduct of that department of affairs with which his own name will ever be associated, he most revered, let us cite the following extracts from his studies of Castlereagh and Pitt (January and April 1862).

'This effect of his [Castlereagh's] calm, cold, self-contained temperament has, in the first instance, been damaging to his fame. . . . No school for political thinkers have charged themselves in his case with the duty of sweeping away the detraction that gathers upon great men's tombs. But the time has come when these causes should cease to operate. . . . We are only concerned to recognise with gratitude the great results of his life—the triumphs that he won, and the peace-loving policy of which those triumphs were made the base. As the events in which he acted recede into the past, the pettier details in his character, by which some of his leading contemporaries were repelled, disappear altogether from our sight. From the point where we stand now, nothing is visible but the splendid outlines of the courage, the patience, and the faultless sagacity which contributed so much to liberate Europe and to save England in the crisis of her fate.'

'Though it has hitherto rested on no very distinct authority, it has always been the popular belief that Pitt died with the exclamation, "Oh, my country!" upon his lips. . . . It was mournfully in character with a life devoted to his country as few lives have been. Since his first entry into the world he had been absolutely hers. For her he had forgone the enjoyments of youth, the ties of family, the hope of fortune. For three and twenty years his mind had moulded

her institutions and had shaped her destiny. . . . At his bidding the most appalling sacrifices had been made in vain ; and now he was leaving her in the darkest hour of a terrible reverse, and in the presence of the most fearful foe whom she had ever been called upon to confront. Such thoughts might well wring from him a cry of mental anguish, even in the convulsions of death. It was not given to him to know how much he had contributed to the final triumph. Long after his feeble frame had been laid near his father's grave, his policy continued to animate the councils of English statesmen, and the memory of his lofty and inflexible spirit encouraged them to endure. After eleven more years of suffering, Europe was rescued from her oppressor by the measures which Pitt had advised ; and the long peace was based upon the foundations which he had laid. But no such consoling vision cheered his death-bed. His fading powers could trace no ray of light across the dark and troubled future. The leaders had not yet arisen, who, through unexampled constancy and courage, were to attain at last to the glorious deliverance towards which he had pointed the way, but which his eyes were never permitted even in distant prospect to behold.'

In discussing Lord Salisbury's connexion with the 'Quarterly' we have somewhat anticipated, and must now return. Macpherson resigned the editorship early in 1867, and was succeeded by William Smith, whose dictionaries and school-books were well known to a whole generation of students, and in some departments still hold the field. He came of East Anglian stock ; and his grandfather may be described as a working yeoman, holding land near Ely and Newmarket. His father migrated to London and set up in business in the City. Both his parents were Congregationalists ; but the son eventually joined the Established Church. Born in Watling Street in 1813, and educated in London, William Smith could remember, as a boy, hearing the bell of St Paul's tolling for the death of George the Third. He first studied theology, but subsequently took to the law, and was articled to a firm of solicitors. Scholarship, however, presented stronger attractions than the Bar or the Church. His mother, a strong Nonconformist, put a veto on his going to Cambridge—a loss he always regretted—and he studied at University College instead. As assistant in University College School he learnt from



SIR WILLIAM SMITH.
(By Sir George Reid, P.R.S.A., in the possession of John Murray.)

his headmaster, Dr Key, much that was afterwards useful to him in the main work of his life.

His first notable production was the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities' (1842), which was followed by similar works on Greek and Roman biography and geography (1849 and 1857). In 1853 he started his well-known 'Principia' series and the series of 'Student's Manuals' with John Murray. Turning his attention from classics to divinity, he published in 1860-5 his 'Bible Dictionary.' Some years later he edited (with Archdeacon Cheetham) the 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' and (with Dr Wace) the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography.' He also published an annotated edition of Gibbon, not to mention many minor works. This life of continuous and scholarly labour not only won for him a high reputation, marked by several honorary degrees and eventually by a knighthood, but was also rewarded by great financial success. He had taught himself German as a youth, and had intimate German friends, notably Prof. Ihne of Heidelberg, the historian of ancient Rome. In middle life he saw much of Gladstone, who would often walk across Regent's Park to talk about Homer and kindred subjects, until the friendship was disturbed by the inroad of Home Rule. Among other personal friends were George Grote, Dean Stanley, Lord Salisbury, Lecky, Browning, Matthew Arnold, J. A. Froude and many other men of distinction in politics and letters. His success as an editor was due not only to the width of his scholarship and his immense industry, but to his power of organisation, his discernment of ability, his tact, courtesy, and geniality of temper. He was a good talker and a trusty friend. In literature he had a special love for the Waverley Novels, which he contrived to read through every year; and he was deeply versed in the literature of the French Revolution. But his tastes were catholic; and when he died, in harness, in 1893, the books found lying by his bedside were the Bible, the 'Inferno,' and 'Pickwick.'

His twenty-six years' tenure of the editorship was marked by no departure from the traditions of the Review, to which he had been a pretty frequent contributor since 1856. One of his earliest numbers (No. 246) was a remarkable success, attaining even to a fifth

edition. This was due principally to Lord Cranborne's article on 'The Conservative Surrender,' and to that by Emmanuel Deutsch on 'The Talmud'; but it was a very strong number throughout. The Bishop of Oxford wrote on the Prince Consort, Lord Stanhope on the Retreat from Moscow, Robert Lowe on Trade Unions, Baring Gould on the Portraits of Christ, General Napier on the Abyssinian Expedition; and other papers were worth reading. Among the contributors to later numbers (besides several of those mentioned before, p. 307), perhaps the most frequent were Abraham Hayward, one of the best-known men in London in his day, the translator of 'Faust' and author of 'The Art of Dining' and many other works; J. L. Jennings, a personal friend of Lord Randolph Churchill and of other leaders, who contributed most of the political articles after Lord Salisbury's official duties had put a stop to his writing; and W. R. Greg, author of 'The Creed of Christendom,' who wrote especially on Ireland and on social and economic problems, to the solution of which he brought a striking combination of conservatism and independent thought. Of occasional contributors under Smith's editorship the most notable were Lord Acton, Sir Bartle Frere, J. A. Froude, Dr Burgon, J. Addington Symonds, Colonel Yule, Sir Arthur Helps, Dean Church, Matthew Arnold, Sir Henry Maine, Lord John Manners, R. C. Christie, S. R. Gardiner, J. Churton Collins, besides others who, being yet among us, must be passed over in silence.

From the mass of interesting and valuable articles which these writers contributed, we have room to quote from only one. It shall be from Lord Acton's review of Sir Erskine May's 'Democracy in Europe' (January 1878), which has a special value, for it contains a sketch of the history of liberty—the central study of Lord Acton's life—drawn with that wealth of learning and width of vision which distinguished him above all his contemporaries.

'The effective distinction between liberty and democracy, which has occupied much of the author's thoughts, cannot be too strongly drawn. Slavery has been so often associated with democracy, that a very able writer pronounced it long ago essential to a democratic state; and the philosophers of the Southern Confederation have urged the theory with extreme fervour. For slavery operates like a restricted fran-



ROWLAND E. PROTHERO.
(From a photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

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chise, attaches power to property, and hinders socialism, the infirmity that attends mature democracies. . . . From the best days of Athens, the days of Anaxagoras, Protagoras, and Socrates, a strange affinity has subsisted between democracy and religious persecution. . . . The aristocratic colonies in America defended toleration against their democratic neighbours; and its triumph in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania was the work not of policy, but of religion. The French Republic came to ruin because it found the lesson of religious liberty too hard to learn. . . .

'Modern democracy presents many problems, too various and too obscure to be solved without a larger range of materials than Tocqueville obtained from his American authorities or his own observation. To understand why the hopes and the fears that it excites have been always inseparable, to determine under what conditions it advances or retards the progress of the people and the welfare of free states, there is no better course than to follow Sir Erskine May upon the road which he has been the first to open. . . . If some things are missed from the design, if the execution is not equal in every part, the praise remains to Sir Erskine May, that he is the only writer who has ever brought together the materials for a comparative study of democracy, that he has avoided the temper of party, that he has shown a hearty sympathy for the progress and improvement of mankind, and a steadfast faith in the wisdom and the power that guide it.'

On many other of these contributions we would gladly linger. But we are drawing near our own times; the articles in question may be familiar to some, at least, of our subscribers; and, what is more, we have exhausted our space and (we fear) our readers' patience.

On Sir W. Smith's sudden death in 1893 Mr John Murray filled the vacancy for a couple of numbers, until, in April 1894, Mr R. E. Prothero accepted the editorship, handing it over, on his resignation early in 1899, to the present editor. Of these periods it would be unbecoming to speak, for the principal actors are still alive. A few changes of a minor sort have been made in recent times. Illustrations have been more frequently used, but they are no new thing, having occurred in the 'Quarterly' at least as far back as 1860 and 1865. The length of articles has been diminished. During the middle period of last century the average number in one issue was about seven; now it is twelve or thirteen. More important is the

partial abandonment of the old tradition of anonymity. Whatever may have been thought of this innovation—if such a title can be given to a practice now almost universal at home and abroad—our readers will at least allow that it has enabled us to give them some information which is not only, we hope, of interest, but may even be of permanent value.

As for the contents of this Review, it must suffice to remark that in discussing the principal questions of these later days, the 'Quarterly' has endeavoured to stand upon the ancient lines traced for it by its original founders. In politics it has eschewed reactionary as well as radical teaching. It has advocated or welcomed not a few reforms in our political and administrative system; it has condemned hasty or revolutionary proposals. In literary matters it may be claimed that it has shown itself not impervious to modern ideas and novel methods; and, without scrupling to condemn where necessary, it has long ago abandoned that trenchant and sometimes brutal style of criticism which pleased our ancestors. It has had to meet, at considerable disadvantage in some respects, and in a hurried and impatient age, the competition of many active and occasionally brilliant rivals. Time has gained wings in the last hundred years. Events move fast; and much more than of old is crowded into a brief space. Books and questions become obsolete in three months which would have occupied the thoughts of our grandfathers for a year. The area of our knowledge is so widened, the variety of our interests, political and other, is so enlarged, that it is increasingly difficult to keep pace with the advance. Specialisation tends more and more to take the place of general culture; and the man who would speak with authority on any one subject finds it ever harder to keep in mind its bearings on many others. In such circumstances the day of general Quarterlies might seem to have passed; nevertheless, we believe that durable opinion is still slow to form itself, and that with the more thoughtful of our generation there is a place for us still. At all events, we have lived and continue to live; and perhaps, who knows? a hundred years hence, in conditions whose nature, could we foresee it, would be unintelligible to us, our successors may celebrate the bicentenary of the 'Quarterly Review.'