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NEW & OLD LETTERS TO
DEAD AUTHORS

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TO
DEAD AUTHORS

BY
ANDREW LANG

POCKET EDITION

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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TO
MISS THACKERAY
THESE EXERCISES
IN THE ART OF DIPPING
ARE DEDICATED

PREFACE

THESE " Letters," except the last seven (which appeared in an American serial, *The Chapbook*), were written twenty years ago. The form was suggested by Mr. F. W. Greenwood, who was then the Editor of the *St. James's Gazette*. Though uplifted by the approval of Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson, who spoke handsomely of these little studies, their Author has never felt happy as to the form—the pretence of addressing Dead Authors, occasionally in a deliberate parody of their own style. *Le vin est tire*, however, and the Author is pleased that some people have been kind enough to like "a thin and dry vintage," which, in an old drawing of Leech's, a waiter provides by a very simple and obvious method.

A reader's taste alters in twenty years, as a rule, but the Author does not think that his own

likes and dislikes in literature have changed much during that long interval of time.

In one Letter, he is consciously less than candid, namely the rhymed epistle to Lord Byron.

" This kind of writing is my pet aversion,"

he says ; and he stands on the ground of Byronic parody. Otherwise he could never have referred to Mr. Swinburne as, in comparison with the eagle, Byron, a bantam !

On looking over this Letter to Byron, the Author could scarcely believe that Mr. Swinburne had actually written about Byron in the terms quoted. The reference, however, to Mr. Swinburne's "Wordsworth and Byron" in *The Nineteenth Century* for 1884, proved that the parodist did not exaggerate, and that the critic spoke of Byron's "drawling, draggled-tailed drab of a muse."

This phrase pleasantly illustrates the variations in taste, and the subjective character of criticism. Shelley was, beyond denial, an accomplished critic, and a great poet, yet he was so far from thinking the muse of Byron "drawling" and "draggled-tailed," that he wrote of the noble

poet as "The Pilgrim of Eternity," and one of the "Swans of Albion;" while he himself was, comparatively speaking, "the worm beneath the sod." He was proud of his friendship with Byron, and though he came (for sufficient reasons) to talk of his desire to shun Byron's "detested intimacy," he does not appear to have changed his opinion about Byron's poetical merits.

When two great English poets differ so much as to the value of Byron's poetry; when the swan of Shelley is the drawling, draggled-tailed drab of Mr. Swinburne, where are we to look for a sound standard of taste? How can we account for so wide a discrepancy of verdicts?

It is my own duty to be honest, and to admit that, despite the last stanza of the Letter to Lord Byron, I think the noble poet rather a "swift" than a "lovely spirit," and that I do not reckon him

"Unpraisable beyond his merit."

Something in the man and the poet carried the men as well as the women of his generation "off their feet," and we cannot recover for him the generous admiration expressed by Shelley, Scott, and Goethe. Who shall tell us what that

daemonic something in Byron was that conquered the affections of men so dissimilar (except in generosity) as Shelley and Scott, though, from the first, Scott detected and made allowances for "the black dog on his back," and Shelley observed the element of vulgarity in his nature? There must have been something noble, splendid, and puissant in Byron, and his great contemporaries must have found its reflection in his poems, though now some readers can detect but fugitive gleams of the glory and greatness of Mr. Swinburne's "man of commanding genius."

On other points I may say a word. I am no Orientalist, and recent erudition may have discovered that Omar was *not* "contemporary with the battle of Hastings" (p. 167, note I). If not, so much the worse for the contrast drawn between Omar and Harold Godwin's son. But is there not an Omaric Question, and do not some allege that Omar, like Homer, was a congeries of men of letters of various periods?

It is notable and curious that Mr. Matthew Arnold was not the first to discover that Shelley's "original poetry is less satisfactory than his translations." The same criticism was

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made, as early as 1816, in a letter to Byron, by that minx of genius, the very young lady whom Mr. Swinburne styles "Jane Clermont," though she much preferred to be called Claire Clairmont.

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LETTERS TO DEAD AUTHORS

I

To W. M. Thackeray

SIR,—There are many things that stand in the way of the critic when he has a mind to praise the living. He may dread the charge of writing rather to vex a rival than to exalt the subject of his applause. He shuns the appearance of seeking the favour of the famous, and would not willingly be regarded as one of the many parasites who now advertise each movement and action of contemporary genius. "Such and such men of letters are passing their summer holidays in the Val d'Aosta," or the Mountains of the Moon, or the Suliman Range, as it may happen. So reports our literary "Court Circular," and all our *Precieuses* read the tidings with enthusiasm. Lastly, if the critic be quite new to the world of letters, he may superfluously fear to vex a poet or a novelist by the abundance of his eulogy. No such doubts

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perplex us when, with all our hearts, we would commend the departed ; for they have passed almost beyond the reach even of envy ; and to those pale cheeks of theirs no commendation can bring the red.

You, above all others, were and remain without a rival in your many-sided excellence, and praise of you strikes at none of those who have survived your day. The increase of time only mellows your renown, and each year that passes and brings you no successor does but sharpen the keenness of our sense of loss. In what other novelist, since Scott was worn down by the burden of a forlorn endeavour, and died for honour's sake, has the world found so many of the fairest gifts combined ? If we may not call you a poet (for the first of English writers of light verse did not seek that crown), who that was less than a poet ever saw life with a glance so keen as yours, so steady, and so sane ? Your pathos was never cheap, your laughter never forced ; your sigh was never the pulpit trick of the preacher. Your funny people—your Costigans and Fokers—were not mere characters of trick and catch-word, were not empty comic masks. Behind each the human heart was beating, and ever and again we were allowed to see the features of the man.

Thus fiction in your hands was not simply a profession, like another, but a constant reflection of the whole surface of life : a repeated echo of its laughter and its complaint. Others have written, and not written badly, with the stolid professional regularity of the clerk at his desk ; you, like the Scholar Gipsy, might have said that "it needs heaven-sent moments for this skill." There are, it will not surprise you, some honourable women and a few men who call you a cynic ; who speak of "the withered world of Thackerayan satire ;" who think your eyes were ever turned to the sordid aspects of life—to the mother-in-law who threatens to "take away her silver bread-basket ;" to the intriguer, the sneak, the termagant ; to the Beckys, and Barnes Newcomes, and Mrs. Mackenzies of this world. The quarrel of these sentimentalists is really with life, not with you ; they might as wisely blame Monsieur Buffon because there are snakes in his Natural History. Had you not impaled certain noxious human insects, you would have better pleased Mr. Ruskin ; had you confined yourself to such performances, you would have been more dear to the Neo-Balzacian school in fiction.

You are accused of never having drawn a good woman who was not a doll, but the ladies

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that bring this charge seldom remind us either of Lady Jane Crawley or of Theo or Hetty Lambert. The best women can pardon you for Becky Sharp and Blanche Amory; they find it harder to forgive you for Emmy Sedley and Helen Pendennis. Yet what man does not know in his heart that the best women—God bless them—lean, in their characters, either to the sweet passiveness of Emmy or to the sensitive and jealous affections of Helen? Tis Heaven, not you, that made them so; and they are easily pardoned, both for being a very little lower than the angels and for their gentle ambition to be painted, as by Guido or Guercino, with wings and harps and haloes. So ladies have occasionally seen their own faces in the glass of fancy, and, thus inspired, have drawn Romola and Consuelo. Yet when these fair idealists, Mdme. Sand and George Eliot, designed Rosamund Vincy and Horace, was there not a spice of malice in the portraits which we miss in your least favourable studies?

That the creator of Colonel Newcome and of Henry Esmond was a snarling cynic; that he who designed Rachel Esmond could not draw a good woman: these are the chief charges (all indifferent now to you, who were once so sensitive) that your admirers have to contend against.

A French critic, M. Taine, also protests that you do preach too much. Did any author but yourself so frequently break the thread (seldom a strong thread) of his plot to converse with his reader and moralise his tale, we also might be offended. But who that loves Montaigne and Pascal, who that likes the wise trifling of the one and can bear with the melancholy of the other, but prefers your preaching to another's playing!

Your thoughts come in, like the intervention of the Greek Chorus, as an ornament and source of fresh delight. Like the songs of the Chorus, they bid us pause a moment over the wider laws and actions of human fate and human life, and we turn from your persons to yourself, and again from yourself to your persons, as from the odes of Sophocles or Aristophanes to the action of their characters on the stage. Nor, to my taste, does the mere music and melancholy dignity of your style in these passages of meditation fall far below the highest efforts of poetry. I remember that scene where Clive, at Barnes Newcome's Lecture on the Poetry of the Affections, sees Ethel who is lost to him. "And the past and its dear histories, and youth and its hopes and passions, and tones and looks for ever echoing in the heart and present in the memory

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—these, no doubt, poor Clive saw and heard as he looked across the great gulf of time, and parting and grief, and beheld the woman he had loved for many years."

For ever echoing in the heart and present in the memory: who has not heard these tones, who does not hear them as he turns over your books that, for so many years, have been his companions and comforters? We have been young and old, we have been sad and merry with you, we have listened to the midnight chimes with Pen and Warrington, have stood with you beside the deathbed, have mourned at that yet more awful funeral of lost love, and with you have prayed in the inmost chapel sacred to our old and immortal affections, *d leal souvenir!* And whenever you speak for yourself, and speak in earnest, how magical, how rare, how lonely in our literature is the beauty of your sentences! "I can't express the charm of them" (so you write of George Sand; so we may write of you): "they seem to me like the sound of country bells, provoking I don't know what vein of music and meditation, and falling sweetly and sadly on the ear." Surely that style, so fresh, so rich, so full of surprises—that style which stamps as classical our fragments of slang, and perpetually astonishes and delights — would

alone give immortality to an author, even had he little to say. But you, with your whole wide world of fops and fools, of good women and brave men, of honest absurdities and cheery adventurers : you who created the Steynes and Newcomes, the Beckys and Blanches, Captain Costigan and F. B., and the Chevalier Strong—all that host of friends imperishable—you must survive with Shakespeare and Cervantes in the memory and affection of men.

II

To Charles Dickens

SIR,—It has been said that every man is born a Platonist or an Aristotelian, though the enormous majority of us, to be sure, live and die without being conscious of any invidious philosophic partiality whatever. With more truth (though that does not imply very much) every Englishman who reads may be said to be a partisan of yourself or of Mr. Thackeray. Why should there be any partisanship in the matter ; and why, having two such good things as your novels and those of your contemporary, should we not be silently happy in the possession ? Well, men are made so, and must needs fight and argue over their tastes in enjoyment. For myself, I may say that in this matter I am what the Americans do *not* call a "Mugwump," what English politicians dub a "superior person"—that is, I take no side, and attempt to enjoy the best of both.

It must be owned that this attitude is

sometimes made a little difficult by the vigour of your special devotees. They have ceased, indeed, thank Heaven ! to imitate you ; and even in " descriptive articles " the touch of Mr. Gigadibs, of him whom " we almost took for the true Dickens," has disappeared. The young lions of the Press no longer mimic your less admirable mannerisms—do not strain so much after fantastic comparisons, do not (in your manner and Mr. Carlyle's) give people nick-names derived from their teeth, or their complexion ; and, generally, we are spared second-hand copies of all that in your style was least to be commended. But, though improved by lapse of time in this respect, your devotees still put on little conscious airs of virtue, robust manliness, democratic Christianity, and so forth, which would have irritated you very much, and there survive some Press men who seem to have read you a little (especially your later works), and never to have read anything else. Now, familiarity with the pages of " Our Mutual Friend " and " Dombey and Son " does not precisely constitute a liberal education, and the assumption that it does is apt (quite unreasonably) to prejudice people against the greatest comic genius of modern times.

On the other hand, Time is at last beginning

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to sift the true admirers of Dickens from the false. Yours, Sir, in the best sense of the word, is a popular success, a popular reputation. For example, I know that, in a remote and even Pictish part of this kingdom, a rural household, humble and under the shadow of a sorrow inevitably approaching, has found in "David Copperfield" oblivion of winter, of sorrow, and of sickness. On the other hand, people are now picking up heart to say that "they cannot read Dickens," and that they particularly detest "Pickwick." I believe it was young ladies who first had the courage of their convictions in this respect. "Tout sied aux belles," and the fair in the confidence of youth, often venture on remarkable confessions. In "The Natural History of Young Ladies" I do not remember that the author describes the Humorous Young Lady.¹ She is a very rare bird indeed, and humour generally is at a deplorably low level in England.

Hence come all sorts of mischief, arisen since you left us; and it may be said that inordinate philanthropy, genteel sympathy with Russian murder and arson, Societies for Badgering the

¹ *The Natural History of Young Ladies* was falsely attributed, by some writers, to Dickens. We owe it to some other philosopher.

Poor, Esoteric Buddhism, and a score of other plagues, including what was once called Æstheticism, are all, primarily, due to want of humour. People discuss, with the gravest faces, matters which properly should only be stated as the wildest paradoxes. It naturally follows that, in a period almost destitute of humour, many respectable persons "cannot read Dickens," and are not ashamed to glory in their shame. We ought not to be angry with others for their misfortunes ; and yet when one meets the *cretins* who boast that they cannot read Dickens, one certainly does feel much as Mr. Samuel Weller felt when he encountered Mr. Job Trotter.

How very singular has been the history of the decline of humour ! Is there any profound psychological truth to be gathered from consideration of the fact that humour has gone out with cruelty ? A hundred years ago, eighty years ago—nay, fifty years ago—we were a cruel but also a humorous people. We had bull-baitings, and badger-drawings, and hustings, and prize-fights, and cock-fights ; we went to see men hanged ; the pillory and the stocks were no empty "terrors unto evil-doers," for there was commonly a malefactor occupying each of these institutions. With all this we had a broad-blown comic sense. We had Hogarth

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and Bunbury, and George Cruikshank, and Gilray; we had Leech and Surtees, and the creator of Tittlebat Titmouse; we had the Shepherd of the "Noctes;" and, above all, we had *you*.

From the old giants of English fun—burly persons delighting in broad caricature, in decided colours, in cockney jokes, in swashing blows at the more prominent and obvious human follies—from these you derived the splendid high spirits and unhesitating mirth of your earlier works. Mr. Squeers, and Sam Weller, and Mrs. Gamp and all the Pickwickians, and Mr. Dowler, and John Browdie—these and their immortal companions were reared, so to speak, on the beef and beer of that naughty, fox-hunting, badger-baiting old England, which we have improved out of existence. And these characters, assuredly, are your best; by them, though stupid people cannot read about them, you will live while there is a laugh left among us. Perhaps that does not assure you a very prolonged existence, but only the future can show.

The dismal seriousness of the time cannot, let us hope, last for ever and a day. Honest old Laughter, the true *lutin* of your inspiration, must have life left in him yet, and cannot die; though it is true that the taste for your pathos,

and your melodrama, and plots constructed after your favourite fashion ("Great Expectations" and the "Tale of Two Cities" are exceptions) may go by and never be regretted. Were people simpler, or only less clear-sighted, as far as your pathos is concerned, a generation ago? Jeffrey, the hard-headed shallow critic, who declared that Wordsworth "would never do," cried like a child over your Little Nell. One still laughs as heartily as ever with Dick Swiveller; but who can cry over Little Nell?

Ah, Sir, how could you—who knew so intimately, who remembered so strangely well the fancies, the dreams, the sufferings of childhood—how could you "wallow naked in the pathetic,"¹ and massacre holocausts of the Innocents? To draw tears by gloating over a child's death-bed, was it worthy of you? Was it the kind of work over which our hearts should melt? I confess Little Nell might die a dozen times, and be welcomed by whole legions of Angels, and I (like the bereaved fowl mentioned by Pet Marjory) would remain unmoved.

She was more than usual calm,
She did not give a single dam,

wrote the astonishing child who diverted the leisure of Scott. Over your Little Nell and

¹ R. L. S.

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your Little Dombey I remain more than usual calm ; and probably so do thousands of your most sincere admirers. But about matter of this kind, and the unsealing of the fountains of tears, who can argue? Where is taste? where is truth? What tears are "manly, Sir, manly," as Fred Bayham has it ; and of what lamentations ought we rather to be ashamed? *Sunt lacrymæ rerum* ; one has been moved in the cell where Socrates tasted the hemlock ; or by the river-banks where Syracusan arrows slew the parched Athenians among the mire and blood ; or, in fiction, when Colonel Newcome says *Adsum*, or over the diary of Clara Doria Forey, or where Aramis laments, with strange tears, the death of Porthos. But over Dombey (the Son), or Little Nell, one declines to snivel.

When an author deliberately sits down and says, "Now, let us have a good cry," he poisons the wells of sensibility and chokes, at least in many breasts, the fountain of tears. Out of "Dombey and Son" there is little we care to remember except the deathless Mr. Toots ; just as we forget the melodramatics of "Martin Chuzzlewit." I have read in that book a score of times ; I never see it but I revel in it—in Pecksniff, and Mrs. Gamp, and the Americans. But what the plot is all about, what Jonas did,

what Montagu Tigg had to make in the matter, what all the pictures with plenty of shading illustrate, I have but of late been able to comprehend. In the same way, one of your most thoroughgoing admirers has allowed (in the licence of private conversation) that "Ralph Nickleby and Monk are too steep;"¹ and probably a cultivated taste will always find them a little precipitous.

"Too steep:" — the slang expresses that defect of an ardent genius, carried above itself, and out of the air we breathe, both in its grotesque and in its gloomy imaginations. To force the note, to press fantasy too hard, to deepen the gloom with black over the indigo, that was the failing which proved you mortal. To take an instance in little: when Pip went to Mr. Pumblechook's, the boy thought the seedsman "a very happy man to have so many little drawers in his shop." The reflection is thoroughly boyish; but then you add, "I wondered whether the flower-seeds and bulbs ever wanted of a fine day to break out of those jails and bloom." That is not boyish at all; that is the hard-driven, jaded literary fancy at work.

"So we arraign her; but she," the Genius of Charles Dickens, how brilliant, how kindly,

¹ R. L. S.

how beneficent she is ! dwelling by a fountain of laughter imperishable ; though there is something of an alien salt in the neighbouring fountain of tears. How poor the world of fancy would be, how " dispeopled of her dreams," if, in some ruin of the social system, the books of Dickens were lost ; and if The Dodger, and Charley Bates, and Mr. Crinkle, and Miss Squeers, and Sam Weller, and Mrs. Gamp, and Dick Swiveller were to perish, or to vanish with Menander's men and women ! We cannot think of our world without them ; and, children of dreams as they are, they seem more essential than great statesmen, artists, soldiers, who have actually worn flesh and blood, ribbons and orders, gowns and uniforms. May we not almost welcome " Free Education " ? for every Englishman who can read, unless he be an Ass, is a reader the more for you.

P.S.—Alas, how strangely are we tempered, and how strong is the national bias ! I have been saying things of you that I would not hear an enemy say. When I read, in the criticism of an American novelist, about your " hysterical emotionality " (for he writes in American), and your " waste of verbiage," I am almost tempted to deny that our Dickens has a single fault, to deem you impeccable !

III

To Pierre de Ronsard

(PRINCE OF POETS)

MASTER AND PRINCE OF POETS,—AS we know what choice thou madest of a sepulchre (a choice how ill fulfilled by the jealousy of Fate), so we know well the manner of thy chosen immortality. In the Plains Elysian, among the heroes and the ladies of old song, there was thy Love with thee to enjoy her paradise in an eternal spring.

*La du plaisant Avril la saison immortelle
Sans eschange le suit,
La terre sans labeur, de sa grasse mamelle,
Toute chose y produit ;
D'enbas la troupe sainte autrefois amoureuse,
Nous honorant sur tous,
Viendra nous saltier, s'estimant bien-heureuse
De s'accointer de nous.*

There thou dwellest, with the learned lovers of old days, with Belleau, and Du Bellay, and Baif, and the flower of the maidens of Anjou. Surely no rumour reaches thee, in that happy

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place of reconciled affections, no rumour of the rudeness of Time, the despite of men, and the change which stole from thy locks, so early grey, the crown of laurels and of thine own roses. How different from thy choice of a sepulchre have been the fortunes of thy tomb !

I will that none should break
The marble for my sake,
Wishful to make more fair
My sepulchre !

So didst thou sing, or so thy sweet numbers run in my rude English. Wearied of Courts and of priories, thou didst desire a grave beside thine own Loire, not remote from

The caves, the founts that fall
From the high mountain wall,
That fall and flash and fleet
With silver feet.

Only a laurel tree
Shall guard the grave of me ;
Only Apollo's bough
Shall shade me now !

Far other has been thy sepulchre : not in the free air, among the field flowers, but in thy priory of Saint Cosme, with marble for a monument and no green grass to cover thee. Restless wert thou in thy life; thy dust was not to be restful in thy death. The Huguenots, *ces nouveaux Chretiens qui la France ont pillee*,

destroyed thy tomb, and the warning of the later monument,

ABI, NEFASTE, QUAM CALCAS HUMUM SACRA EST,

has not scared away malicious men. The storm that passed over France a hundred years ago, more terrible than the religious wars that thou didst weep for, has swept the column from the tomb. The marble was broken by violent hands, and the shattered sepulchre of the Prince of Poets gained a dusty hospitality from the museum of a country town. Better had been the laurel of thy desire, the creeping vine and the ivy tree.

Scarce more fortunate, for long, than thy monument was thy memory. Thou hast not encountered, Master, in the Paradise of Poets, Messieurs Malherbe, De Balzac, and Boileau—Boileau who spoke of thee as *Ce poete orgueilleux trebuche de si hant !*

These gallant gentlemen, I make no doubt, are happy after their own fashion, backbiting each other and thee in the Paradise of Critics. In their time they wrought thee much evil, grumbling that thou wrotest in Greek and Latin (of which tongues certain of them had but little skill), and blaming thy many lyric melodies and the free flow of thy lines. What

said M. de Balzac to M. Chapelain ? " M. de Malherbe, M. de Grasse, and yourself must be very little poets, if Ronsard be a great one." Time has brought in his revenges, and Messieurs Chapelain and De Grasse are as well forgotten as thou art well remembered. Men could not always be deaf to thy sweet old songs, nor blind to the beauty of thy roses and thy loves. When they took out of their ears the wax that M. Boileau had given them lest they should hear the singing of thy Sirens, then they were deaf no longer, then they heard the old deaf poet singing and made answer to his lays. Hast thou not heard these sounds? have they not reached thee, the voices and the lyres of Theophile Gautier and Alfred de Musset? Methinks thou hast marked them, and been glad that the old notes were ringing again and the old French lyric measures tripping to thine ancient harmonies, echoing and replying to the Muses of Horace and Catullus. Returning to Nature, poets returned to thee. Thy monument has perished, but not thy music, and the Prince of Poets has returned to his own again in a glorious Restoration.

Through the dust and smoke of ages, and through the centuries of wars we strain our eyes and try to gain a glimpse of thee, Master, in

thy good days, when the Muses walked with thee. We seem to mark thee wandering silent through some little village, or dreaming in the woods, or loitering among thy lonely places, or in gardens where the roses blossom among wilder flowers, or on river-banks where the whispering poplars and sighing reeds make answer to the murmur of the waters. Such a picture hast thou drawn of thyself in the summer afternoons.

Je m'en vais pourmener tantost parmy la plaine,
Tantost en un village, et tantost en un bois,
Et tantost par les lieux solitaires et cois.
J'aime fort les jardins qui sentent le sauvage,
J'aime le flot de l'eau qui gazouille au rivage.

Still, methinks, there was a book in the hand of the grave and learned poet; still thou wouldst carry thy Horace, thy Catullus, thy Theocritus, through the gem-like weather of the *Renouvcau*, when the woods were enamelled with flowers, and the young Spring was lodged, like a wandering prince, in his great palaces hung with green:

Orgueilleux de ses fleurs, enfle de sa jeunesse,
Loge comme un grand Prince en ses vertes maisons!

Thou sawest, in these woods by Loire side, the fair shapes of old religion, Fauns, Nymphs, and Satyrs, and heard'st in the nightingale's music

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the plaint of Philomel. The ancient poets came back in the train of thyself and of the Spring, and learning was scarce less dear to thee than love ; and thy ladies seemed fairer for the names they borrowed from the beauties of forgotten days, Helen and Cassandra. How sweetly didst thou sing to them thine old morality, and how gravely didst thou teach the lesson of the Roses ! Well didst thou know it, well didst thou love the Rose, since thy nurse, carrying thee, an infant, to the holy font, let fall on thee the sacred water brimmed with floating blossoms of the Rose !

Mignonne, allons voir si la Rose,
Qui ce matin avoit desclose
Sa robe de pourpre au soldat,
A point perdu ceste, vespre
Les plis de sa robe pourpree,
Et son teint au votre pareil.

And again,

La belle Rose du Printemps,
Aubert, admoneste les hommes
Passer joyeusement le temps,
Et pendant que jeunes nous sommes,
Esbattre la fleur de nos ans.

In the same mood, looking far down the future, thou sangest of thy lady's age, the most sad, the most beautiful of thy sad and beautiful lays ;

for if thy bees gathered much honey 'twas somewhat bitter to taste, like that of the Sardinian yews. How clearly we see the great hall, the grey lady spinning and humming among her drowsy maids ; and how they waken at the word, and she sees her spring in their eyes, and they forecast their winter in her face, when she murmurs, "Twas Ronsard sang of me !"

Winter, and summer, and spring, how swiftly they pass, and how early time brought thee his sorrows, and grief cast her dust upon thy head !

Adieu ma Lyre, adieu fillettes,
Jadis mes douces amourettes
Adieu, je sens venir ma fin,
Nul passetemps de ma jeunesse
Ne m'accompagne en la vieillesse,
Que le feu, le lict et le vin.

Wine, and a soft bed, and a bright fire : to this trinity of poor pleasures we come soon, if, indeed, wine be left to us. Poetry herself deserts us ; is it not said that Bacchus never forgives a renegade? and most of us turn recreants to Bacchus. Even the bright fire, I fear, was not always there to warm thine old blood, Master, or, if fire there were, the wood was not bought with thy bookseller's money. When autumn was drawing in during thine early old age, in 1584, didst thou not write that thou hadst never

received a sou at the hands of all the publishers who vended thy books? And as thou wert about putting forth thy folio edition of 1584, thou didst pray Buon, the bookseller, to give thee sixty crowns to buy wood withal, and make thee a bright fire in winter weather, and comfort thine old age with thy friend Gallandius. And if Buon will not pay, then to try the other booksellers, "that wish to take everything and give nothing."

Was it knowledge of this passage, Master, or ignorance of everything else, that made certain of the common steadfast dunces of our days speak of thee as if thou hadst been a starveling, neglected poetaster, jealous forsooth of Maitre Francoys Rabelais? See how ignorantly M. Fleury writes, who teaches French literature withal to them of Muscovy, and hath indited a Life of Rabelais. "Rabelais etait revetu d'un emploi honorable; Ronsard etait traite en subalterne," quoth this wondrous professor. What! Pierre de Ronsard, a gentleman of a noble house, holding the revenue of many abbeys, the friend of Mary Stuart, (receiving from the most generous of women, in her captivity and poverty, a cupboard of plates), of the Duc d'Orleans, of Charles IX., *he is traite en subalterne*, and is jealous of a frocked or

unfrocked *manant* like Maitre Francoys! And then this amazing Fleury falls foul of thine epitaph on Maitre Francoys and cries, " Ronsard a voulu faire des vers mechants ; il n'a fait que de mechants vers." More truly saith M. Sainte-Beuve, ." If the good Rabelais had returned to Meudon on the day when this epitaph was made over the wine, he would, methinks, have laughed heartily." But what shall be said of a Professor like the egregious M. Fleury, who holds that Ronsard was despised at Court? Was there a party at tennis when the king would not fain have had thee on his side, declaring that he never won when Ronsard was his partner? Did he not give thee benefices, and many priories, and call thee his father in Apollo, and even, so they say, bid thee sit down beside him on his throne? Away, ye scandalous folk, who tell us that there was strife between the Prince of Poets and the King of Mirth. Naught have ye by way of proof of your slander but the talk of Jean Bernier, a scurrilous, starveling apothecary, who put forth his fables in 1697, a century and a half after Maitre Francoys died. Bayle quoted this fellow in a note, and ye all steal the tattle one from another in your dull manner, and know not whence it comes, nor even that Bayle would none of it and mocked

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its author. With so little knowledge is history written, and thus doth each chattering brook of a "Life" swell with its tribute "that great Mississippi of falsehood," Biography.¹

¹ Ronsard's epitaph for Rabelais was merely a translation from the Greek Anthology.

IV

To Herodotus

To Herodotus of Halicarnassus, greeting,—
Concerning the matters set forth in your histories, and the tales you tell about both Greeks and Barbarians, whether they be true, or whether they be false, men dispute not little but a great deal. Wherefore I, being concerned to know the verity, did set forth to make search in every manner, and came in my quest even unto the ends of the earth. For there is an island of the Cimmerians beyond the Straits of Heracles, some three days' voyage to a ship that hath a fair following wind in her sails ; and there it is said that men know many things from of old : thither, then, I came in my inquiry. Now, the island is not small, but large, greater than the whole of Hellas ; and they call it Britain. In that island the east wind blows for ten parts of the year, and the people know not how to cover themselves from the cold. But for the other two months of the year the sun shines fiercely,

so that some of them die thereof, and others die of the frozen mixed drinks ; for they have ice even in the summer, and this ice they put to their liquor. Through the whole of this island, from the west even to the east, there flows a river called Thames : a great river and a laborious, but not to be likened to the River of Egypt.

The mouth of this river, where I stepped out from my ship, is exceedingly foul and of an evil savour by reason of the city on the banks. Now this city is several hundred parasangs in circumference. Yet a man that needed not to breathe the air might go round it in one hour, in chariots that run under the earth ; and these chariots are drawn by creatures which breathe smoke and sulphur, such as Orpheus mentions in his " Argonautica," if it be by Orpheus. The people of the town, when I inquired of them concerning Herodotus of Halicarnassus, looked on me with amazement, and went straightway about their business—namely, to seek out whatsoever new thing is coming to pass all over the whole inhabited world, and as for things of old, they take no keep of them.

Nevertheless, by diligence I learned that he who in this land knew most concerning Herodotus was a priest, and dwelt in the priests' city

on the river which is called the City of the Ford of the Ox. But whether Io, when she wore a cow's shape, had passed by that way in her wanderings, and thence comes the name of that city, I could not (though I asked all men I met) learn aught with certainty. But to me, considering this, it seemed that Io must have come thither. And now farewell to Io.

To the City of the Priests there are two roads : one by land ; and one by water, following the river. To a well-girdled man, the land journey is but one day's travel ; by the river it is longer but more pleasant. Now that river flows, as I said, from the west to the east And there is in it a fish called chub, which they catch ; but they do not eat it, for a certain sacred reason. Also there is a fish called trout, and this is the manner of his catching. They build for this purpose great dams of wood, which they call weirs. Having built the weir, they sit upon it with rods in their hands, and a line on the rod, and at the end of the line a little fish. There then they "sit and spin in the sun," as one of their poets says, not for a short time but for many days, having rods in their hands and eating and drinking. In this wise they angle for the fish called trout ; but whether they ever catch him or not, not having

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seen it, I cannot say ; for it is not pleasant to me to speak things concerning which I know not the truth.

Now, after sailing and rowing against the stream for certain days, I came to the City of the Ford of the Ox. Here the river changes his name, and is called Isis, after the name of the goddess of the Egyptians. But whether the Britons brought the name from Egypt or whether the Egyptians took it from the Britons, not knowing I prefer not to say. But to me it seems that the Britons are a colony of the Egyptians, or the Egyptians a colony of the Britons. Moreover, when I was in Egypt I saw certain soldiers in white helmets, who were certainly British. But what they did there (as Egypt neither belongs to Britain nor Britain to Egypt) I know not, neither could they tell me. But one of them replied to me in that line of Homer (if the Odyssey be Homer's), " We have come to a sorry Cyprus, and a sad Egypt." Others told me that they once marched against **the** Ethiopians, and having defeated them several times, then came back again, leaving their property to the Ethiopians. But as to the **truth of this I** leave it to every man to form his own opinion.

Having come into the City of the Priests, I

went forth into the street, and found a priest of the baser sort, who for a piece of silver led me hither and thither among the temples, discoursing of many things.

Now it seemed to me a strange thing that the city was empty, and no man dwelling therein, save a few priests only, and their wives, and their children, who are drawn to and fro in little carriages dragged by women. But the priests told me that during half the year the city was desolate, for that there came somewhat called "The Long," or "The Vac," and drove out the young priests. And he said that these did no other thing but row boats, and throw balls from one to the other, and this they were made to do, he said, that the young priests might learn to be humble, for they are the proudest of men. But, whether he spoke truth or not I know not, only I set down what he told me. But to anyone considering it, this appears rather to jump with his story—namely, that the young priests have houses on the river, painted of divers colours, all of them empty.

Then the priest, at my desire, brought me to one of the temples, that I might seek out all things concerning Herodotus the Halicarnassian, from one who knew. Now this temple is not the fairest in the city, but less fair and goodly

than the old temples, yet goodlier and more fair than the new temples ; and over the roof there is the image of an eagle made of stone—no small marvel, but a great one, how men came to fashion him ; and that temple is called the House of Queens. Here they sacrifice a boar once every year ; and concerning this they tell a certain sacred story which I know but will not utter.

Then I was brought to the priest who had a name for knowing most about Egypt, and the Egyptians, and the Hittites, and the Cappadocians, and all the kingdoms of the Great King. He came out to me, being attired in a black robe, and wearing on his head a square cap. But why the priests have square caps I know, and he who has been initiated into the mysteries which they call " Matric " knows, but I prefer not to tell, Concerning the square cap, then, let this be sufficient. Now, the priest received me courteously, and when I asked him, concerning Herodotus, whether he were a true-man or not, he smiled, and answered, " Abu Goosh," which, in the tongue of the Arabians, means " The Father of Liars." Then he went on to speak concerning Herodotus, and he said in his discourse that Herodotus not only told the thing which was not, but that he did so wilfully,

as one knowing the truth but concealing it. For example, quoth he, "Solon never went to see Croesus, as Herodotus avers; nor did those about Xerxes ever dream dreams; but Herodotus, out of his abundant wickedness, invented these things.

"Now behold," he went on, "how the curse of the Gods falls upon Herodotus. For he pretends that he saw Cadmeian inscriptions at Thebes. Now I do not believe there were any Cadmeian inscriptions there: therefore Herodotus is most manifestly lying. Moreover, this Herodotus never speaks of Sophocles the Athenian, and why not? Because he, being a child at school, did not learn Sophocles by heart: for the tragedies of Sophocles could not have been learned at school before they were written, nor can any man quote a poet whom he never learned at school. Moreover, as all those about Herodotus knew Sophocles well, he could not appear to them to be learned by showing that he knew what they knew also." Then I thought the priest was making game and sport, saying first that Herodotus could know no poet whom he had not learned at school, and then saying that all the men of his time well knew this poet, "about whom everyone was talking." But the priest made little account of this, that Herodotus

and Sophocles were friends, which is proved for that Sophocles wrote an ode in praise of Herodotus.

Then he went on, and though I were to write with a hundred hands (like Briareus, of whom Homer makes mention) I could not tell you all the things that the priest said against Herodotus, speaking truly, or not truly, or sometimes correctly and sometimes not, as often befalls mortal men. For Herodotus, he said, was chiefly concerned to steal the lore of those who came before him, such as Hecatæus, and then to escape notice as having stolen it. Also he said that, being himself cunning and deceitful, Herodotus was easily beguiled by the cunning of others, and believed in things manifestly false, such as the story of the Phoenix-bird.

Then I spoke, and said that Herodotus himself declared that he could not believe that story ; but the priest regarded me not. And he said that Herodotus had never caught a crocodile with cold pig, nor did he ever visit Assyria, nor Babylon, nor Elephantine ; but, saying that he had been in these lands, said that which was not true. He also declared that Herodotus, when he travelled, knew none of the Fat Ones of the Egyptians, but only those of the baser sort. And he called Herodotus a thief and a

beguiler, and " the same with intent to deceive," as one of their own poets writes. And, to be short, Herodotus, I could not tell you in one day all the charges which are now brought against you ; but concerning the truth of these things, *you* know, not least, but most, as to yourself being guilty or innocent. Wherefore, if you have anything to show or set forth whereby you may be relieved from the burden of these accusations, now is the time. Be no longer silent ; but, whether through the Oracle of the Dead, or the Oracle of Branchidæ, or that in Delphi, or Dodona, or of Amphiarausat Oropus, speak to your friends and lovers (whereof I am one from of old) and let men know the very truth.

Now, concerning the priests in the City of the Ford of the Ox, it is to be said that of all men whom we know they receive strangers most gladly, feasting them all day. Moreover, they have many drinks, cunningly mixed, and of these the best is that they call Archdeacon, naming it from one of the priests' offices. Truly, as Homer says (if the *Odyssey* be Homer's), "when that draught is poured into the bowl then it is no pleasure to refrain."

Drinking of this wine, or nectar, Herodotus, I pledge you, and pour forth some deal on the

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ground, to Herodotus of Halicarnassus, in the House of Hades.

And I wish you farewell, and good be with you. Whether the priest spoke truly, or not truly, even so may such good things betide you as befall dead men.

Epistle to Mr. Alexander Pope

FROM mortal Gratitude, decide, my Pope,
 Have Wits Immortal more to fear or hope ?
 Wits toil and travail round the Plant of Fame,
 Their Works its Garden, and its Growth their
 Aim,

Then Commentators, in unwieldy Dance,
 Break down the Barriers of the trim Pleasance,
 Pursue the Poet, like Acæon's Hounds,
 Beyond the fences of his Garden Grounds,
 Rend from the singing Robes each borrowed
 Gem,

Rend from the laurel'd Brows the Diadem,
 And, if one Rag of Character they spare,
 Comes the Biographer, and strips it bare J

Such, Pope, has been thy Fortune, such thy
 Doom.

Swift the Ghouls gathered at the Poet's Tomb,
 With Dust of Notes to clog each lordly Line,
 Warburton, Warton, Croker, Bowles, combine !

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Collecting Cackle, Johnson condescends
To *interview* the Drudges of your Friends.
Thus though your Courthope holds your merits
 high,
And still proclaims your Poems *Poetry*,
Biographers, un-Boswell-like, have sneered,
And Dunces edit him whom Dunces feared !

"They say," "What say they?" Not in vain
 You ask ;
To tell you what they say, behold my Task !
"Methinks already I your Tears survey "
As I repeat "the horrid Things they say." ¹

Comes El—n first : I fancy you'll agree
Not frenzied Dennis smote so fell as he ;
For El—n's Introduction, crabbed and dry,
Like Churchill's Cudgel's² marked with *Lie*, and
 Lie !

"Too dull to know what his own System
 meant
Pope yet was skilled new Treasons to invent ;
A Snake that puffed himself and stung his
 Friends,
Few Lied so frequent, for such little Ends ;

¹ *Rape of the Lock.* ² In Mr. Hogarth's Caricatura.

His mind, like Flesh inflamed,¹ was raw and
 sore,
 And still, the more he writhed, he stung the
 more !
 Oft in a Quarrel, never in the Right,
 His Spirit sank when he was called to fight.
 Pope, in the Darkness mining like a Mole,
 Forged on Himself, as from Himself he
 stole,
 And what for Caryll once he feigned to feel,
 Transferred, in Letters never sent, to Steele !
 Still he denied the Letters he had writ,
 And still mistook Indecency for Wit.
 His very Grammar, so De Quincey cries,
 ' Detains the Reader, and at times defies ! ' "

Fierce El—n thus : no Line escapes his Rage,
 And furious Foot-notes growl 'neath every
 Page:
 See St-ph-n next take up the woful Tale,
 Prolong the Preaching, and protract the Wail !
 " Some forage Falsehoods from the North and
 South,
 But Pope, poor D—l, lied from Hand to
 Mouth;²

¹ Elwin's Pope, ii. 15.

² " Poor Pope was always a hand-to-mouth liar."¹—*Pope*, by Leslie Stephen, 139.

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Affected, hypocritical, and vain,
A Book in Breeches, and a Fop in Grain ;
A Fox that found not the high Clusters sour,
The Fanfaron of Vice beyond his power,
Pope yet possessed "—(the Praise will make you
start)—

" Mean, morbid, vain, he yet possessed a
Heart !

And still we marvel at the Man, and still
Admire his Finish, and applaud his Skill :
Though, as that fabled Barque, a phantom
Form,

Eternal strains, nor rounds the Cape of Storm,
Even so Pope strove, nor ever crossed the
Line

That from the Noble separates the Fine ! "

The Learned thus, and who can quite reply,
Reverse the Judgment, and Retort the Lie ?
You reap, in armed Hates that haunt your
Name,
Reap what you sowed, the Dragon's Teeth of
Fame:

You could not write, and from unenvious Time
Expect the Wreath that crowns the lofty
Rhyme,

You still must fight, retreat, attack, defend,
And oft, to snatch a Laurel, lose a Friend !

The Pity of it ! And the changing Taste
Of changing Time leaves half your Work a
Waste !

My Childhood fled your Couplet's clarion tone,
And sought for Homer in the Prose of Bohn.
Still through the Dust of that dim Prose
appears

The Flight of Arrows and the Sheen of Spears ;
Still we may trace what Hearts heroic feel,
And hear the Bronze that hurtles on the Steel !
But, ah, your Iliad seems a half-pretence,
Where Wits, not Heroes, prove their Skill in
Fence,

And great Achilles' Eloquence doth show
As if no Centaur trained him, but Boileau !
Again, your Verse is orderly,—and more,—
" The Waves behind impel the Waves before ;"
Monotonously musical they glide,
Till Couplet unto Couplet hath replied.

But turn to Homer ! How his Verses sweep !
Surge answers Surge and Deep doth call on
Deep ;

This Line in Foam and Thunder issues forth,
Spurred by the West or smitten by the North,
Sombre in all its sullen Deeps, and all
Clear at the Crest, and foaming to the Fall,
The next with silver Murmur dies away,
Like Tides that falter to Calypso's Bay !

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Thus Time, with sordid Alchemy and dread,
Turns half the Glory of your Gold to Lead ;
Thus Time,—at Ronsard's wreath that vainly
bit,—

Has marred the Poet to preserve the Wit,
Whose Knife cut cleanest with a poisoned
pain,—

Who almost left on Addison a stain,
Yet Thou (strange Fate that clings to all of
Thine !)

When most a Wit dost most a Poet shine.

In Poetry thy Dunciad expires,

When Wit has shot "her momentary Fires."

'Tis Tragedy that watches by the Bed

" Where tawdry Yellow strove with dirty Red,"

And Men, remembering all, can scarce deny

To lay the Laurel where thine Ashes lie !

VI

To Lucian of Samosata

IN what bower, oh Lucian, of your rediscovered Islands Fortunate are you now reclining ; the delight of the fair, the learned, the witty, and the brave ? In that clear and tranquil climate, whose air breathes of "violet and lily, myrtle, and the flower of the vine,"

*" Where the daisies are rose-scented,
And the Rose herself has got
Perfume which on earth is not,"*

among the music of all birds, and the wind-blown notes of flutes hanging on the trees, methinks that your laughter sounds most silvery sweet, and that Helen and fair Charmides are still of your company. Master of mirth, and Soul the best contented of all that have seen the world's ways clearly, most clear-sighted of all that have made tranquillity their bride, what other laughers dwell with you, where the crystal and fragrant waters wander round the shining palaces and the temples of amethyst ?

Heine surely is with you ; if, indeed, it was not one Syrian soul that dwelt among alien men, Germans and Romans, in the bodily tabernacles of Heine and of Lucian. But he was fallen on evil times and evil tongues ; while Lucian, as witty as he, as bitter in mockery, as happily dowered with the magic of words, lived long and happily and honoured, imprisoned in no "mattress-grave." Without Rabelais, without Voltaire, without Heine, you would find, methinks, even the joys of your Happy Islands lacking in zest ; and, unless Plato came by your way, none of the ancients could meet you in the lists of sportive dialogue.

There, among the vines that bear twelve times in the year, more excellent than all the vineyards of Touraine, while the song-birds bring you flowers from vales enchanted, and the shapes of the Blessed come and go, beautiful in wind-woven raiment of sunset hues ; there, in a land that knows not age, nor winter, midnight, nor autumn, nor noon, where the silver twilight of summer-dawn is perennial, where youth does not wax spectre-pale and die ; there, my Lucian, you are crowned the Prince of the Paradise of Mirth.

Who would bring you, if he had the power from the banquet where Homer sings : Homer,

who, in mockery of commentators, past and to come, German and Greek, informed you that he was by birth a Babylonian ? Yet, if you, who first wrote Dialogues of the Dead, could hear the prayer of an epistle wafted to "lands undiscoverable in the unheard-of West," you might visit once more a world so worthy of such a mocker, so like the world you knew so well of old.

Ah, Lucian, we have need of you, of your sense and of your mockery ! Here, where faith is sick and superstition is waking afresh ; where gods come rarely, and spectres appear at five shillings an interview ; where science is popular, and philosophy cries aloud in the market-place, and clamour does duty for government, and Thais and Lais are names of power—here, Lucian, is room and scope for you. Can I not imagine a new "Auction of Philosophers," and what wealth might be made by him who bought these popular sages and lecturers at his estimate, and vended them at their own ?

HERMES : Whom shall we put first up to auction ?

ZEUS : That German in spectacles ; he seems a highly respectable man.

HERMES : Ho, Pessimist, come down and let the public view you.

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ZEUS : Go on, put him up and have done with him.

HERMES : Who bids for the Life Miserable, for extreme, complete, perfect, unredeemable perdition? What offers for the universal extinction of the species, and the collapse of the Conscious ?

A PURCHASER : He does not look at all a bad lot. May one put him through his paces ?

HERMES : Certainly ; try your luck.

PURCHASER : What is your name ?

PESSIMIST : Hartmann.

PURCHASER : What can you teach me ?

PESSIMIST : That Life is not worth Living.

PURCHASER : Wonderful ! Most edifying !
How much for this lot ?

HERMES : Two hundred pounds.

PURCHASER : I will write you a cheque for the money. Come home, Pessimist, and begin your lessons without more ado.

HERMES : Attention ! Here is a magnificent article—the Positive Life, the Scientific Life, the Enthusiastic Life. Who bids for a possible place in the Calendar of the Future?

PURCHASER : What does he call himself? he has a very French air.

HERMES : Put your own questions.

PURCHASER: What's your pedigree, my Philosopher, and previous performances ?

POSITIVIST : I am by Rousseau out of Catholicism, with a strain of the Evolution blood.

PURCHASER : What do you believe in ?

POSITIVIST : In Man, with a large M.

PURCHASER : Not in individual Man ?

POSITIVIST: By no means ; not even always in Mr. Gladstone. All men, all Churches, all parties, all philosophies, and even the other sect of our own Church, are perpetually in the wrong. Buy me, and listen to me, and you will always be in the right.

PURCHASER : And, after this life, what have you to offer me ?

POSITIVIST : A distinguished position in the Choir Invisible ; but not, of course, conscious immortality.

PURCHASER : Take him away, and put up another lot.

Then the Hegelian, with his Notion, and the Darwinian, with his notions, and the Lotzian, with his Broad Church mixture of Religion and Evolution, and the Spencerian, with that Absolute which is a sort of something, might all be offered with their divers wares ; and cheaply enough, Lucian, you would value them in this auction of Sects. " There is but one way to

Corinth," as of old ; but which that way may be, oh master of Hermotimus, we know no more than he did of old ; and still we find, of all philosophies, that the Stoic route is most to be recommended. But we have our Cyrenaics too, though they are no longer "clothed in purple, and crowned with flowers, and fond of drink and of female flute-players." Ah, here too, you might laugh, and fail to see where the Pleasure lies, when the Cyrenaics are no "judges of cakes " (nor of ale, for that matter), and are strangers in the Courts of Princes. " To despise all things, to make use of all things, in all things to follow pleasure only : " that is not the manner of the new, if it were the secret of the older Hedonism.

Then, turning from the philosophers to the seekers after a sign, what change, Lucian, would you find in them and their ways ? None ; they are quite unaltered. Still our Peregrinus, and our Peregrina too, come to us from the East, or, if from the West, they take India on their way—India, that singular home of drivelling creeds, and of religion in its sacerdotage. Still they prattle of Brahmins and Buddhism ; though, unlike Peregrinus, they do not publicly burn themselves on pyres, at Epsom Downs, after the Derby. We are not so fortunate in the demise of our Theosophists ; and our police, less wise

than the Hellenodicæ, would probably not permit the Immolation of the Quack. Like your Alexander, they deal in marvels and miracles, oracles and warnings. All such boggy stories as those of your "Philopseudes," and the ghost of the lady who took to table-rapping because one of her best slippers had not been burned with her body, are gravely investigated.

Even your ignorant Bibliophile is still with us—the man without a tinge of letters, who buys up old manuscripts "because they are stained and gnawed, and who goes, for proof of valued antiquity, to the testimony of the book-worms." And the rich Bibliophile now, as in your satire, clothes his volumes in purple morocco and gay *dorures*, while their contents are sealed to him.

As to the topics of satire and gay curiosity which occupy the lady known as "Gyp," and M. Halevy in his "Les Petites Cardinal," if you had not exhausted the matter in your "Dialogues of Hetairai," you would be amused to find the same old traits surviving without a touch of change. One reads, in Halevy's French, of Madame Cardinal and, in your Greek, of the mother of Philinna, and one marvels that eighteen hundred years have not in one single trifle altered the mould. Still the old shabby light-loves, the

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old greed, the old luxury and squalor. Still the unconquerable superstition that now seeks to tell fortunes by the cards, and, in your time, resorted to the sorceress with her magical "bull-roarer," or *turndun*.¹

Yes, Lucian, we are the same vain creatures of doubt and dread, of unbelief and credulity, of avarice and pretence, that you knew, and at whom you smiled. Nay, our very "social question" is not altered. Do you not write, in "The Runaways," "The artisans will abandon their workshops, and leave their trades, when they see that, with all the labour that bows their bodies from dawn to dark, they make a petty and starveling pittance, while men that toil not nor spin are floating in Pactolus" ?

They see this again as of yore ; but whether the end of their vision will be a laughing matter, you, fortunate Lucian, do not need to care. Hail to you, and farewell !

¹ The Greek *βόμβος*, mentioned by Lucian and Theocritus, was the magical weapon of the Australians—the *turndun*.

VII

To Maitre Francoys Rabelais

OF THIS COMING OF THE COQCIGRUES

MASTER,—In the Boreal and Septentrional lands, turned aside from the noonday and the sun, there dwelt of old (as thou knowest, and as Olaus voucheth) a race of men, brave, strong, nimble, and adventurous, who had no other care but to fight and drink. There, by reason of the cold (as Virgil witnesseth), men break wine with axes. To their minds, when once they were dead and gotten to Valhalla, or the place of their Gods, there would be no other pleasure but to swig, tippie, drink, and boose till the coming of that last darkness and Twilight, wherein they, with their deities, should do battle against the enemies of all mankind ; which day they rather desired than dreaded.

So chanced it also with Pantagruel and Brother John and their company, after they had once partaken of the secret of the *Dive Bouteille*. Thereafter they searched no longer ;

but, abiding at their ease, were merry, frolic, jolly, gay, glad, and wise ; only that they always and ever did expect the awful Coming of the Coqcigrues. Now concerning the day of that coming, and the nature of them that should come, they knew nothing ; and for his part Panurge was all the more adread, as Aristotle testifieth that men (and Panurge above others) most fear that which they know least. Now it chanced one day, as they sat at meat, with viands rare, dainty, and precious as ever Apicius dreamed of, that there fluttered on the air a faint sound as of sermons, speeches, orations, addresses, discourses, lectures, and the like ; whereat Panurge, pricking up his ears, cried, " Methinks this wind bloweth from Midlothian," and so fell a trembling.¹

Next, to their aural orifices, and the avenues audient of the brain, was borne a very melancholy sound as of harmoniums, hymns, pianolas, psalteries, and the like, all playing different airs, in a kind most hateful to the Muses. Then said Panurge, as well as he might for the chattering of his teeth : " May I never drink if here come not the Coqcigrues !" and this saying and prophecy of his was true and inspired. But thereon the others began to mock, flout,

¹ *Consule Gladstonio.*

and gird at Panurge for his cowardice. "Here am I!" cried Brother John, "well armed and ready to stand a siege; being entrenched, fortified, hemmed in and surrounded with great pasties, huge pieces of salted beef, salads, fricassees, hams, tongues, pies, and a wilderness of pleasant little tarts, jellies, pastries, trifles, and fruits of all kinds, and I shall not thirst while I have good wells, founts, springs and sources of Bordeaux wine, Burgundy, wine of the Champagne country, sack and Canary. A fig for thy Coqcigrues!"

But even as he spoke there ran up suddenly a whole legion, or rather army, of physicians, each armed with laryngoscopes, stethoscopes, horoscopes, microscopes, weighing machines, and such other tools, engines, and arms as they had who, after thy time, persecuted Monsieur de Pourceaugnac! And they all, rushing on Brother John, cried out to him, "Abstain! Abstain!" And one said, "I have well diagnosed thee, and thou art in a fair way to have the gout." "I never did better in my days," said Brother John, "Away with thy meats and drinks!" they cried. And one said, "He must to Royat;" and another, "Hence with him to Aix;" and a third, "Banish him to Wiesbaden;" and a fourth, "Hale him to

Gastein;" and yet another, " To Barbouille with him in chains ! "

And while others felt his pulse and looked at his tongue, they all wrote prescriptions for him like men mad. " For thy eating," cried he that seemed to be their leader, " No soup ! " " No soup !" quoth Brother John ; and those cheeks of his, whereat you might have warmed your two hands in the winter solstice, grew white as lilies. " Nay ! and no salmon, nor any beef nor mutton ! A little chicken by times, but *periculo tuo* ! Nor any game, such as grouse, partridge, pheasant, capercailzie, wild duck ; nor any cheese, nor fruit, nor pastry, nor coffee, nor *eau de vie* ; and avoid all sweets. No veal, pork, nor made dishes of any kind." "Then what may I eat?" quoth the good Brother, whose valour had oozed out of the soles of his sandals. "A little cold bacon at breakfast—no eggs," quoth the leader of the strange folk, "and a slice of toast without butter." "And for thy drink" —("What?" gasped Brother John)—"one dessert-spoonful of whisky, with a pint of the water of Apollinaris at luncheon and dinner. No more !" At this Brother John fainted, falling like a great buttress of a hill, such as Taygetus or Erymanthus.

While they were busy with him, others of the

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frantic folk had buil
whereon they all sto
men and women. Ana of tnesse some wore
red crosses on their garments, which meaneth
" Salvation ;" and others wore white crosses,
with a little black button of crape, to signify
" Purity ;" and others bits of blue to mean
" Abstinence." While some of these pursued
Panurge others did beset Pantagruel ; asking
him very long questions, whereunto he gave
but short answers. Thus they asked :—

Have ye Local Option here ?—Pan.: What ?

May one man drink if his neighbour be not
athirst ?—Pan.: Yea !

Have ye Free Education ?—Pan.: What ?

Must they that have, pay to school them that
have not ?—Pan.: Nay !

Have ye free land ?—Pan.: What ?

Have ye taken the land from the farmer, and
given it to the tailor out of work and the candle-
maker masterless ?—Pan.: Nay !

Have your women folk votes ?—Pan.: Bosh !

Have ye got religion ?—Pan.: How ?

Do you go about the streets at night, brawl-
ing, blowing a trumpet before you, and making
long prayers ?—Pan.: Nay !

Have you manhood suffrage ?—Pan.: Eh ?

Is Jack as good as his master?—Pan.: Nay !

Have you joined the Arbitration Society?—

Pan.: *Quoy?*

Will you let another kick you, and will you ask his neighbour if you deserve the same?—

Pan.: Nay!

Do you eat what you list?—Pan.: Ay!

Do you drink when you are athirst?—Pan.: Ay!

Are you governed by the free expression of the popular will?—Pan.: How?

Are you servants of priests, pulpits, and half-penny papers?—Pan.: No!

Now, when they heard these answers of Pantagruel they all fell, some a weeping, some a praying, some a swearing, some an arbitrating, some a lecturing, some a caucussing, some a preaching, some a faith-healing, some a miracle-working, some a hypnotising, some a writing to the daily press; and while they were thus busy, like folk distraught, "reforming the island," Pantagruel burst out a laughing; whereat they were greatly dismayed; for laughter killeth the whole race of Coqcigrues, and they may not endure it.

Then Pantagruel and his company stole aboard a barque that Panurge had ready in the harbour. And having provisioned her well with store of meat and good drink, they set

sail for the kingdom of Entelechy, where, having landed, they were kindly entreated ; and there abide to this day ; drinking of the sweet and eating of the fat, and smoking of the herb Egyptian, under the protection of that intellectual sphere which hath in all places its centre and nowhere its circumference.

Such was their destiny ; there was their end appointed, and thither the Coqcigrues can never come. For all the air of that land is full of laughter, which killeth Coqcigrues ; and there aboundeth the herb Fantagruelion. But for thee, Master Francoys, thou art not well liked in this island of ours, where the Coqcigrues are abundant, very fierce, cruel, and tyrannical. Yet thou hast thy friends, that meet and drink to thee, and wish thee well wheresoever thou hast found thy *grand peut-etre*.

VIII

To Jane Austen

MADAM,—If to the enjoyments of your present state be lacking a few of the minor infirmities or foibles of men, I cannot but think (were the thought permitted) that your pleasures are yet incomplete. Moreover, it is certain that a woman of parts who has once meddled with literature will never wholly lose her love for the discussion of that delicious topic, nor cease to relish what (in the cant of our new age) is styled "literary shop." For these reasons I attempt to convey to you some inkling of the present state of that agreeable art which you, madam, raised to its highest pitch of perfection.

As to your own works (immortal, as I believe), I have but little that is wholly cheering to tell one who, among women of letters, was almost alone in her freedom from a lettered vanity. You are not a very popular author: your volumes are not found in gaudy covers on every bookstall; or, if found, are not perused

with avidity by the Emmas and Catherines of our generation. 'Tis not long since a blow was dealt (in the estimation of the unreasoning) at your character as an author by the publication of your familiar letters. The editor of these epistles, unfortunately, did not always take your witticisms, and he added others which were too unmistakably his own. While the injudicious were disappointed by the absence of your exquisite style and humour, the wiser sort were the more convinced of your wisdom. In your letters (knowing your correspondents) you gave but the small personal talk of the hour, for them sufficient ; for your books you reserved matter and expression which are imperishable. Your admirers, if not very numerous, include all persons of taste, who, in your favour, are apt somewhat to abate the rule, or shake off the habit, which commonly confines them to but temperate laudation.

'Tis the fault of all art to seem antiquated and faded in the eyes of the succeeding generation. The manners of your age were not the manners of to-day, and young gentlemen and ladies who think Scott "slow," think Miss Austen "prim" and "dreary." Yet, even could you return among us, I scarcely believe that, speaking the language of the hour, as you

might, and versed in its habits, you would win the general admiration. For how tame, madam, are your characters, especially your favourite heroines ! how limited the life which you knew and described ! how narrow the range of your incidents ! how correct your grammar !

As heroines, for example, you chose ladies like Emma, and Elizabeth, and Catherine : women remarkable neither for the brilliance nor for the degradation of their birth ; women wrapped up in their own and the parish's concerns, ignorant of evil, as it seems, and unacquainted with vain yearnings and interesting doubts. Who can engage his fancy with their match-makings and the conduct of their affections, when so many daring and dazzling heroines approach and solicit his regard ?

Here are princesses dressed in white velvet stamped with golden fleurs-de-lys—ladies with hearts of ice and lips of fire, who count their roubles by the million, their lovers by the score, and even their husbands, very often, in figures of some arithmetical importance. With these are the immaculate daughters of itinerant Italian musicians—maids whose souls are unsoiled amidst the contaminations of our streets, and whose acquaintance with the art of Phidias and Praxiteles, of Daedalus and Scopas, is the

more admirable, because entirely derived from loving study of the inexpensive collections vended by the plaster-of-Paris man round the corner. When such heroines are wooed by the nephews of Dukes, where are your Emmas and Elizabeths ? Your volumes neither excite nor satisfy the curiosities provoked by that modern and scientific fiction, which is greatly admired, I learn, in the United States, as well as in France and at home.

You erred, it cannot be denied, with your eyes open. Knowing Lydia and Kitty so intimately as you did, why did you make of them almost insignificant characters ? With Lydia for a heroine you might have gone far ; and, had you devoted three volumes, and the chief of your time, to the passions of Kitty, you might have held your own, even now, in the circulating library. How Lyddy, perched on a corner of the roof, first beheld her Wickham ; how, on her challenge, he climbed up by a ladder to her side ; how they kissed, caressed, swung on gates together, met at odd seasons, in strange places, and finally eloped : all this might have been put in the mouth of a jealous elder sister, say Elizabeth, and you would not have been less popular than several favourites of our time. Had you cast the whole narrative

into the present tense, and lingered lovingly over the thickness of Mary's legs and the softness of Kitty's cheeks, and the blond fluffiness of Wickham's whiskers, you would have left a romance still dear to young ladies.

Or, again, you might entrance fair students still, had you concentrated your attention on Mrs. Rushworth, who eloped with Henry Crawford. These should have been the chief figures of "Mansfield Park." But you timidly decline to tackle *Passion*. "Let other pens," you write, "dwell on guilt and misery. I quit such odious subjects as soon as I can." Ah, *there* is the secret of your failure! Need I add that the vulgarity and narrowness of the social circles you describe impair your popularity? I scarce remember more than one lady of title, and but very few lords (and these unessential) in all your tales. Now, when we all wish to be in society, we demand plenty of titles in our novels, at any rate, and we get lords (and very queer lords) even from Republican authors, born in a country which in your time was not renowned for its literature. I have heard a critic remark, with a decided air of fashion, on the brevity of the notice which your characters give each other when they offer invitations to dinner "An invitation to dinner next day

was despatched," and this demonstrates that your acquaintance "went out" very little, and had but few engagements. How vulgar, too, is one of your heroines, who bids Mr. Darcy "keep his breath to cool his porridge"! I blush for Elizabeth! It were superfluous to add that your characters are debased by being invariably mere members of the Church of England as by law established. The Dissenting enthusiast, the open soul that glides from Esoteric Buddhism to the Salvation Army, and from the Higher Pantheism to the Higher Paganism, we look for in vain among your studies of character. Nay, the very words I employ are of unknown sound to you; so how can you help us in the stress of the soul's travailings?

You may say that the soul's travailings are no affair of yours; proving thereby that you have indeed but a lowly conception of the duty of the novelist. I only remember one reference, in all your works, to that controversy which occupies the chief of our attention—the great controversy on Creation or Evolution. Your Jane Bennet cries: "I have no idea of there being so much Design in the world as some persons imagine." Nor do you touch on our mighty social question, the Land Laws, save when Mrs. Bennet appears as a Land Reformer,

and rails bitterly against the cruelty " of settling an estate away from a family of five daughters, in favour of a man whom nobody cared anything about." There, madam, in that cruelly unjust performance, what a text you had for a *tendenz-romanz* ! Nay, you can allow Kitty to report that a Private had been flogged, without introducing a chapter on Flogging in the Army. But you formally declined to stretch your matter out, here and there, " with solemn specious nonsense about something unconnected with the story." No "padding" for Miss Austen ! In fact, madam, as you were born before Analysis came in, or Passion, or Realism, or Naturalism, or Irreverence, or Religious Open-mindedness, you really cannot hope to rival your literary sisters in the minds of a perplexed generation. Your heroines are not passionate, we do not see their red wet cheeks, and tresses dishevelled in the manner of our frank young Mænads. What says your best successor, a lady who adds fresh lustre to a name that in fiction equals yours ? She says of Miss Austen : " Her heroines have a stamp of their own. They have *a certain gentle self-respect and humour and hardness of heart. . . .* Love with them does not mean a passion as much as an interest, deep and silent." I think

one prefers them so, and that Englishwomen should be more like Anne Elliot than Maggie Tulliver. "All the privilege I claim for my own sex is that of loving longest when existence or when hope is gone," said Anne ; perhaps she insisted on a monopoly that neither sex has all to itself. Ah, madam, what a relief it is to come back to your witty volumes, and forget the follies of to-day in those of Mr. Collins and of Mrs. Bennet ! How fine, nay, how noble is your art in its delicate reserve, never insisting, never forcing the note, never pushing the sketch into the caricature ! You worked, without thinking of it, in the spirit of Greece, on a labour happily limited, and exquisitely organised. "Dear books," we say, with Miss Thackeray—"dear books, bright, sparkling with wit and animation, in which the homely heroines charm, the dull hours fly, and the very bores are enchanting."

IX

To Master Isaak Walton

FATHER ISAAK,—When I would be quiet and go angling, it is my custom to carry in my wallet thy pretty book, "The Compleat Angler." Here, methinks, if I find not trout I shall find content, and good company, and sweet songs, fair milkmaids, and country mirth. For you are to know that trout be now scarce, and whereas he was ever a fearful fish, he hath of late become so wary that none but the cunningest anglers may be even with him.

It is not as it was in your time, Father, when a man might leave his shop in Fleet Street, of a holiday, and, when he had stretched his legs up Tottenham Hill, come lightly to meadows chequered with waterlilies and ladysmocks, and so fall to his sport. Nay, now have the houses so much increased, like a spreading sore (through the breaking of that excellent law of the Conscientious King and blessed Martyr, whereby building beyond the walls was forbidden), that the meadows are all swallowed up

in streets. And as to the River Lea, wherein you took many a good trout, I read in the news sheets that "its bed is many inches thick in horrible filth, and the air for more than half a mile on each side of it is polluted with a horrible, sickening stench," so that we stand in dread of a new Plague, called the Cholera. And so it is all about London for many miles, and if a man, at heavy charges, betake himself to the fields, lo you, folk are grown so greedy that none will suffer a stranger to fish in his water.

So poor anglers are in sore straits. Unless a man be rich and can pay great rents, he may not fish in England, and hence spring the discontents of the times, for the angler is full of content, if he do but take trout, but if he be driven from the waterside, he falls, perchance, into evil company, and cries out to divide the property of the gentle folk. As many now do, even among Parliamentmen, whom you loved not, Father Isaak, nor do I love them more than Reason and Scripture bid each of us be kindly to his neighbour. But, behold, the causes of the ill content are not yet all expressed, for even where a man hath licence to fish, he will hardly take trout in our age, unless he be all the more cunning. For the fish, harried this way and that by so many of your disciples, is exceeding

shy and artful, nor will he bite at a fly unless it falleth lightly, just above his mouth, and floateth dry over him, for all the world like your natural *epliemeris*. And we may no longer angle with worm for him, nor with penk or minnow, nor with the natural fly, as was your manner, but only with the artificial, for the more difficulty the more diversion. For my part I may cry, like Viator in your book, "Master, I can neither catch with the first nor second Angle: I have no fortune."

So we fare in England, but somewhat better north of the Tweed, where trout are less wary, but for the most part small, except in the extreme rough north, among horrid hills and lakes. Thither, Master, as methinks you may remember, went Richard Franck, that called himself *Philanthropus*, and was, as it were, the Columbus of anglers, discovering for them a new Hyperborean world. But Franck, doubtless, is now an angler in the Lake of Darkness, with Nero and other tyrants, for he followed after Cromwell, the man of blood, in the old riding days. How wickedly doth Franck boast of that leader of the giddy multitude, "when they raged and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others, and the rabble would herd themselves together," as you said, "and

endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority." So you wrote; and what said Franck, that recreant Angler? Doth he not praise "Ireton, Vane, Nevill, and Martin, and the most renowned, valorous, and victorious conqueror, Oliver Cromwell"? Natheless, with all his sins on his head, this Franck discovered Scotland for anglers, and knew the worth of the great Montrose, and my heart turns to him when he praises "the glittering and resolute streams of Tweed."

In those wilds of Assynt and Loch Rannoch, Father, we, thy followers, may yet take trout, and forget the evils of the times. But, to be done with Franck, how harshly he speaks of thee and thy book. "For you may dedicate your opinion to what scribbling putationer you please; the *Compleat Angler* if you will, who tells you of a tedious fly story, extravagantly collected from antiquated authors, such as Gesner and Dubravius." Again he speaks of "Isaak Walton, whose authority to me seems alike authentick, as is the general opinion of the vulgar prophet," &c.

Certain I am that Franck, if a better angler than thou, was a worse man, who, writing his "Dialogues Piscatorial" or "Northern Memoirs" five years after the world welcomed thy

"Compleat Angler," was jealous of thy favour with the people, and, may be, hated thee for thy loyalty and sound faith. But, Master, like a peaceful man avoiding contention, thou didst never answer this blustering Franck, but wentest quietly about thy quiet Lea, and left him his roaring Brora and windy Assynt. How could this noisy man know thee—and know thee he did, having argued with thee in Stafford—and not love Isaak Walton? A pedant angler, I call him, a plaguy angler, so let him huff away, and turn we to thee and to thy sweet charm in fishing for men.

How often, studying in thy book, have I hummed to myself that of Horace—

*Laudis amore tumes ? Sunt certa piacula quæ te
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.*

So healing a book for the frenzy of fame is thy discourse on meadows, and pure streams, and the country life. How peaceful, men say, and blessed must have been the life of this old man, how lapped in content, and hedged about by his own humility from the world! They forget, who speak thus, that thy years, which were many, were also evil, or would have seemed evil to others that had tasted of thy fortunes. Thou wert poor, but that, to thee, was no sorrow, for

greed of money was thy detestation. Thou wert of lowly rank, in an age when gentle blood was alone held in regard ; yet thy virtues made thee hosts of friends, and chiefly among religious men, bishops, and doctors of the Church. Thy private life was not unacquainted with sorrow ; thy first wife and all her fair children were taken from thee like flowers in spring, though, in thine age, new love and new offspring comforted thee like "the primrose of the later year." Thy private griefs might have made thee bitter, or melancholy, so might the sorrows of the State and of the Church, which were deprived of their heads by cruel men, despoiled of their wealth, the pious driven, like thee, from their homes ; fear everywhere, everywhere robbery and confusion : all this ruin might have angered another temper. But thou, Father, didst bear all with so much sweetness as perhaps neither natural temperament, nor a firm faith, nor the love of angling could alone have displayed. For we see many anglers (as witness Richard Franck aforesaid) who are angry men, and myself, when I get my hooks entangled at every cast in a tree, have come nigh to swear prophane.

Also we see religious men that are sour and fanatical, no rare thing in the party that professes godliness. But neither private sorrow

nor public grief could abate thy natural kindliness, nor shake a religion which was not untried, but had, indeed, passed through the furnace like fine gold. For if we find not Faith at all times easy, because of the oppositions of Science, and the searching curiosity of men's minds, neither was Faith a matter of course in thy day. For the learned and pious were greatly tossed about, like worthy Mr. Chillingworth, by doubts wavering between the Church of Rome and the Reformed Church of England. The humbler folk, also, were invited, now here, now there, by the clamours of fanatical Nonconformists, who gave themselves out to be somebody, while Atheism itself was not without many to witness to it. Therefore, such a religion as thine was not, so to say, a mere innocence of evil in the things of our Belief, but a reasonable and grounded faith, strong in despite of oppositions. Happy was the man in whom temper, and religion, and the love of the sweet country and an angler's pastime so conveniently combined ; happy the long life which held in its hand that threefold clue through the labyrinth of human fortunes ! Around thee Church and State might fall in ruins, and might be rebuilt, and thy tears would not be bitter, nor thy triumph cruel.

Thus, by God's blessing, it befell the

*Nec turpem senectam
Degere, nec cithara carentem.*

I would, Father, that I could get at the verity about thy poems. Those commendatory verses with which thou didst grace the Lives of Dr. Donne and others of thy friends, redound more to the praise of thy kind heart than of thy fancy. But what or whose was the pastoral poem of "Thealma and Clearchus," which thou didst set about printing in 1678, and gavest to the world in 1683? Thou gavest John Chalkhill for the author's name, and a John Chalkhill of thy kindred died at Winchester, being eighty years of his age, in 1679. Now, thou speakest of John Chalkhill as "a friend of Edmund Spenser's," and how could this be?

Are they right who hold that John Chalkhill was but a name of a friend, borrowed by thee out of modesty, and used as a cloak to cover poetry of thine own inditing? When Mr. Flatman writes of Chalkhill, 'tis in words well fitted to thine own merit :

Happy old man, whose worth all mankind knows
Except himself, who charitably shows
The ready road to virtue and to praise,
The road to many long and happy days.

However it be, in that road, by quiet streams

and through green pastures, thou didst walk all thine almost century of years, and we, who stray into thy path out of the highway of life, we seem to hold thy hand, and listen to thy cheerful voice. If our sport be worse, may our content be equal, and our praise, therefore, none the less. Father, if Master Stoddard, the great fisher of Tweedside, be with thee, greet him for me, and thank him for those songs of his, and perchance he will troll thee a catch of our dear River.

Tweed ! winding and wild ! where the heart is unbound,
They know not, they dream not, who linger around,
How the saddened will smile, and the wasted rewine
From thee—the bliss withered within.

Or perhaps thou wilt better love,

The lanesome Tala and the Lyne,
And Manor wi' its mountain rills,
An' Etterick, whose waters twine
Wi' Yarrow frae the forest hills ;
An' Gala, too, and Teviot bright,
An' mony a stream o' playfu' speed,
Their kindred valleys a' unite
Amang the braes o' bonnie Tweed !

So, Master, may you sing against each other, you two good old anglers, like Peter and Corydon, that sang in your golden age.

X

To M. Chapelain

MONSIEUR,—You were a popular poet, and an honourable, over-educated, upright gentleman. Of the latter character you can never be deprived, and I doubt not it stands you in better stead where you are, than the laurels which flourished so gaily, and faded so soon.

Laurel is green for a season, and Love is fair for a day,
But Love grows bitter with treason, and laurel outlives not
May.

I know not if Mr. Swinburne is correct in his botany, but *your* laurel certainly outlived not May, nor can we hope that you dwell where Orpheus and where Homer are. Some other crown, some other Paradise, we cannot doubt it, awaited *un si ban homme*. But the moral excellence that even Boileau admitted, *la foi l'honneur la probite*, do not in Parnassus avail the popular poet, and some luckless Glatigny or Theophile, Regnier or Gilbert, attains a kind of

immortality denied to the man of many contemporary editions, and of a great commercial success.

If ever, for the confusion of Horace, any Poet was Made, you, Sir, should have been that fortunately manufactured article. You were, in matters of the Muses, the child of many prayers. Never, since Adam's day, have any parents but yours prayed for a poet-child. Then Destiny, that mocks the desires of men in general, and fathers in particular, heard the appeal, and presented M. Chapelain and Jeanne Corbiere his wife with the future author of "La Pucelle." Oh futile hopes of men, *O pectora cæca!* All was done that education could do for a genius which, among other qualities, "especially lacked fire and imagination," and an ear for verse—sad defects these in a child of the Muses. Your training in all the mechanics and metaphysics of criticism might have made you exclaim, like Rasselas, "Enough! Thou hast convinced me that no human being can ever be a Poet." Unhappily, you succeeded in convincing Cardinal Richelieu that to be a Poet was well within your powers, you received a pension of one thousand crowns, and were made Captain of the Cardinal's Minstrels, as M. de Treville was Captain of the King's Musketeers.

Ah, pleasant age to live in, when good intentions in poetry were more richly endowed than ever is Research, even Research in Pre-historic English, among us niggard moderns ! How I wish I knew a Cardinal, or even, as you did, a Prime Minister, who would praise and pension *me* ; but Envy be still ! Your existence was made happy indeed ; you constructed odes, corrected sonnets, presided at the Hotel Rambouillet, while the learned ladies were still young and fair, and you enjoyed a prodigious celebrity on the score of your yet unpublished Epic. "Who, indeed," says a sympathetic author, M. Theophile Gautier, "who could expect less than a miracle from a man so deeply learned in the laws of art—a perfect Turk in the science of poetry, a person so well pensioned, and so favoured by the great ? " Bishops and politicians combined in perfect good faith to advertise your merits. Hard must have been the heart that could resist the testimonials of your skill as a poet offered by the Duc de Montausier, and the learned Huet, Bishop of Avranches, and Monseigneur Godeau, Bishop of Venice, and M. Colbert, who had such a genius for finance.

If bishops and politicians and Prime Ministers skilled in finance, and some critics (Menage

and Sarrazin and Vaugelas), if ladies of birth and taste, if all the world in fact, combined to tell you that you were a great poet, how can we blame you for taking yourself seriously, and appraising yourself at the public estimate ?

It was not in human nature to resist the evidence of the bishops especially, and when every minor poet believes in himself on the testimony of his own conceit, you may be acquitted of vanity if you listened to the plaudits of your friends. Nay, you ventured to pronounce judgment on contemporaries whom Posterity has preferred to your perfections. "Moliere," said you, "understands the genius of comedy, and presents it in a natural style. The plot of his best pieces is borrowed, but not without judgment ; his *morale* is fair, and he has only to avoid scurrility."

Excellent, unconscious, popular Chapelain !

Of yourself you observed, in a report on contemporary literature, that your "courage and sincerity never allowed you to tolerate work not absolutely good." And yet you regarded "La Pucelle" with some complacency.

On the "Pucelle" you were occupied during a generation of mortal men. I marvel not at the length of your labours, as you received a yearly pension till the Epic was finished, but

your Muse was no Alcmena, and no Hercules was the result of that prolonged night of creation. First you gravely wrote out all the composition in prose : the task occupied you for five whole years. Ah, why did you not leave it in that commonplace but appropriate medium ? What says the Precieuse about you in Boileau's satire ?

In Chapelain, for all his foes have said,
She finds but one defect, he can't be read ;
Yet thinks the world might taste his Maiden's woes,
If only he would turn his verse to prose !

The verse had been prose, and prose, perhaps, it should have remained. Yet for this precious "Pucelle," in the age when "Paradise Lost" was sold for five pounds, you are believed to have received about four thousand. Horace was wrong, mediocre poets *may* exist (now and then), and he was a wise man who first spoke of *aurea mediocritas*. At length the great work was achieved, a work thrice blessed in its theme, that divine Maiden to whom France owes all, and whom you and Voltaire have recompensed so strangely. In folio, in italics, with a score of portraits and engravings, and *culs de lampe*, the great work was given to the world, and had a success. Six editions in eighteen months are figures which fill the poetic

heart with envy and admiration. And then, alas ! the bubble burst. A great lady, Madame de Longueville, hearing the "Pucelle" read aloud, murmured that it was "perfect indeed, but perfectly wearisome." Then the satires began, and the satirists never left you till your poetic reputation was a rag, till the mildest *Abb6* at Menage's had his cheap sneer for Chapelain.

I make no doubt, Sir, that envy and jealousy had much to do with the onslaught on your "Pucelle." These qualities, alas ! are not strange to literary minds ; does not even Hesiod tell us that "potter hates potter, and poet hates poet" ? But contemporary spites do not harm true genius. Who suffered more than Moliere from cabals? Yet neither the court nor the town ever deserted him, and he is still the joy of the world. I admit that his adversaries were weaker than yours. What were Boursault and Le Boulanger, and Thomas Corneille and De Vise, what were they all compared to your enemy, Boileau ? Brossette tells a story which really makes a man pity you. You remember M. de Puimorin, who, to be in the fashion, laughed at your once popular Epic. "It is all very well," said you, "for a man to laugh who cannot even read." Whereon M. de Puimorin

replied: "Qu'il n'avoit que trop su lire, depuis que Chapelain s'etoit avise de faire imprimer." A new horror had been added to the accomplishment of reading since Chapelain had published. This repartee was applauded, and M. de Puimorin tried to turn it into an epigram. He did complete the last couplet,

Helas ! pour mes peches, je n'ai su que trop lire
Depuis que tu fais imprimer.

But by no labour would M. de Puimorin achieve the first two lines of his epigram. Then you remember what great allies came to his assistance. I almost blush to think that M. Despreaux, M. Racine, and M. de Moliere, the three most renowned wits of the time, conspired to complete the poor jest, and assail you. Well, bubble as your poetry was, you may be proud that it needed all these sharpest of pens to prick the bubble. Other poets, as popular as you, have been annihilated by an article. Macaulay put forth his hand, and "Satan Montgomery" was no more. It did not need a Macaulay, the laughter of a mob of little critics was enough to blow him into space ; but **you** probably have met Montgomery, and of contemporary failures or successes I do not speak.

I wonder, sometimes, whether the consensus of criticism ever made you doubt for a moment whether, after all, you were not a false child of Apollo? Was your complacency tortured, as the complacency of true poets has occasionally been, by doubts? Did you expect posterity to reverse the verdict of the satirists, and to do you justice? You answered your earliest assailant, *Linier*, and, by a few changes of words, turned his epigrams into flattery. But I fancy on the whole, you remained calm, unmoved wrapped up in admiration of yourself. According to *M. de Marivaux*, who reviewed, as I am doing, the spirits of the mighty dead, you "conceived, on the strength of your reputation, a great and serious veneration for yourself and your genius." Probably you were protected by the invulnerable armour of an honest vanity; probably you declared that mere jealousy dictated the lines of *Boileau*, that *Chapelain's* real fault was his popularity, and his pecuniary success,

Qu'il soit le mieux rente de tous les beaux-esprits.

This, you would avow, was your offence, and perhaps you were not altogether mistaken. Yet posterity declines to read a line of yours, and, as we think of you, we are again set face

to face with that eternal problem, how far is popularity a test of poetry? Burns was a poet, and popular: Byron was a popular poet, and the world agrees in the verdict of their own generations. But Montgomery, though he sold so well, was no poet, nor, Sir, I fear, was your verse made of the stuff of immortality. Criticism cannot hurt what is truly great; the Cardinal and the Academy left Chimene as fair as ever, and as adorable. It is only pinchbeck that perishes under the acids of satire: gold defies them. Yet I sometimes ask myself, does the existence of popularity like yours justify the malignity of satire, which blesses neither him who gives, nor him who takes? Are poisoned arrows fair against a bad poet? I doubt it, Sir, holding that, even unpricked, a poetic bubble must soon burst by its own nature. Yet satire will assuredly be written so long as bad poets are successful, and bad poets will assuredly reflect that their assailants are merely envious, and (while their vogue lasts) that the purchasing public is the only judge. After all, the bad poet who is popular and "sells" is not a whit worse than the bad poets who are unpopular, and who deride his songs.

Monsieur,

Votre tres-humble serviteur, &c.

XI

To Sir John Maundeville, Kt.

(OF THE WAYS INTO YNDE)

SIR JOHN,—Wit you well that men holden you but light, and some clepen you a Liar. And they say that you never were born in Englund, in the town of Seynt Albones, nor have seen and gone through manye diverse Londes. And there goeth an old knight at arms, and one that connes Latyn, and hath been beyond the sea, and hath seen Prester John's country. And he hath been in an Yle that men clepen Burmah, and there bin women bearded. Now men called him Colonel Henry Yule, and he hath writ of thee in his great booke, Sir John, and he holds thee but lightly. For he saith that ye did pill your tales out of Odoric his book, and that ye never saw snails with shells as big as houses, nor never met no Devyls, but part of that ye say, ye took it out of William of Boldensele his book, yet ye

took not his wisdom, withal, but put in thine own foolishness. Nevertheless, Sir John, for the frailty of Mankynde, ye are held a good fellow, and a merry ; so now, come, let me tell you of the new ways into Ynde.

In that Lond they have a Queen that governeth all the Lond, and all they ben obeysant to her. And she is the Queen of Englund ; for Englishmen have taken all the Lond of Ynde. For they were right good werryoures of old, and wyse, noble, and worthy. But of late hath risen a new sort of Englishman, very puny and fearful, and these men clepen Radicals. And they go ever in fear, and they scream on high for dread in the streets and the houses, and they fain would flee away from all that their fathers gat them with the sword. And this sort men call Scuttleres, but the mean folk and certain of the baser sort hear them gladly, and they say ever that Englishmen should flee out of Ynde.

Fro Englund men gon to Ynde by many dyverse Contreyes. For Englishmen ben very stirring and nymble. For they been in the seventh climate, that is of the Moon. And the Moon (ye have said it yourself, Sir John, natheless, is it true) is of lightly moving, for to go diverse ways, and see strange things, and other

diversities of the Worlde. Wherefore Englishmen be lightly moving, and far wandering. And they gon to Ynde by the great Sea Ocean. First come they to Gibraltar, that was the point of Spain, and builded upon a rock ; and there ben apes, and it is so strong that no man may take it. Natheless did Englishmen take it fro the Spanyard, and all to hold the way to Ynde. For ye may sail all about Africa, and past the Cape men clepen of Good Hope, but that way unto Ynde is long and the sea is weary, Wherefore men rather go by the Midland sea, and Englishmen have taken many Yles in that sea.

For first they have taken an Yle that is clept Malta ; and therein built they great castles, to hold it against them of Fraunce, and Italy, and of Spain. And from this He of Malta Men gon to Cipse. And Cipse is right a good Yle, and a fair, and a great, and it had 4 principal Cytees within him. And at Famagost is one of the principal Havens of the sea that is in the world, and Englishmen have but a lytel while gone won that Yle from the Sarazynes. Yet say that sort of Englishmen where of I told you, that is puny and sore adread, that the Lond is poisonous and barren and of no avail, for that Lond is much more hotter than it is here. Yet the Englishmen that ben werryoures dwell there

in tents, and the skill is that they may ben the more fresh.

From Cypre, Men gon to the Lond of Egypte, and in a Day and a Night he that hath a good wind may come to the Haven of Alessandrie. Now the Lond of Egypte longeth to the Soudan, yet the Soudan longeth not to the Lond of Egypt. And when I say this, I do jape with words, and may hap ye understond me not Now Englishmen went in shippes to Alessandrie, and brent it, and over ran the Lond, and their soudyours warred agen the Bedoynes, and all to hold the way to Ynde. For it is not long past since Frenchmen let dig a dyke, through the narrow spit of lond, from the Midland sea to the Red sea, wherein was Pharaoh drowned. So this is the shortest way to Ynde there may be, to sail through that dyke, if men gon by sea.

But all the Lond of Egypt is clepen the Vale enchanted ; for no man may do his business well that goes thither, but always fares he evil, and therefore clepen they Egypt the Vale perilous, and the sepulchre of reputations. And men say that there is one of the entrees of Helle. In that Vale is plentiful lack of Gold and Silver, for many misbelieving men, and many Christian men also, have gone often time for to take of the Thresoure that there was of

old, and have pilled the Thresoure, wherefore there is none left. And Englishmen have let carry thither great store of our Thresoure, 9,000,000 of Pounds sterling, and whether they will see it agen I misdoubt me. For that Vale is alle fulle of Develes and Fiendes that men clepen Bondholderes, for that Egypt from of olde is the Lond of Bondage. And whatsoever Thresoure cometh into the Lond, these Devylys of Bondholderes grabben the same. Natheless by that Vale do Englishmen go unto Ynde, and they gon by Aden, even to Kurrachee, at the mouth of the Flood of Ynde. Thereby they send their souldyours, when they are adread of them of Muscovy.

For, look you, there is another way into Ynde, and thereby the men of Muscovy are fain to come, if the Englishmen let them not. That way cometh by Desert and Wildernesse, from the sea that is clept Caspian, even to Khiva, and so to Merv ; and then come ye to Zulfikar and Penjdeh, and anon to Herat, that is called the Key of the Gates of Ynde. Then ye win the lond of the Emir of the Afghauns, a great prince and a rich, and he hath in his Thresoure more crosses, and stars, and coats that captains wearen, than any other man on earth.

For all they of Muscovy, and all Englishmen

maken him gifts, and he keepeth the gifts, and he keepeth his own counsel. For his lond lieth between Ynde and the folk of Muscovy, wherefore both Englishmen and men of Muscovy would fain have him friendly, yea, and independent. Wherefore they of both parties give him clocks, and watches, and stars, and crosses, and culverins, and now and again they let cut the throats of his men some deal, and pill his country. Thereby they both set up their rest that the Emir will be independent, yea, and friendly. But his men love him not, neither love they the English, nor the Muscovy folk, for they are worshippers of Mahound, and endure not Christian men. And they love not them that cut their throats, and burn their country.

Now they of Muscovy ben Devyls, and they ben subtle for to make a thing seme otherwise than it is, for to deceive mankind. Wherefore Englishmen putten no trust in them of Muscovy, save only the Englishmen clept Radicals, for they make as if they loved these Develes, out of the fear and dread of war wherein they go, and would be slaves sooner than fight. But the folk of Ynde know not what shall befall, nor whether they of Muscovy will take the Lond, or Englishmen shall keep it, so that their hearts

may not endure for drede. And methinks that soon Shall Englishmen and Muscovy folk put their bodies in adventure, and war one with another, and all for the way to Ynde.

But St. George for Englonde, I say, and so enough ; and may the Seyntes hele thee, Sir John, of thy Gowtes Artetykes, that thee tormenten. But to thy Booke I list not to give no credence.

XII

To Alexandre Dumas

SIR,—There are moments when the wheels of life, even of such a life as yours, run slow, and when mistrust and doubt overshadow even the most intrepid disposition. In such a moment, towards the ending of your days, you said to your son, M. Alexandre Dumas, " I seem to see myself set on a pedestal which trembles as if it were founded on the sands." These sands, your uncounted volumes, are all of gold, and make a foundation more solid than the rock. As well might the singer of Odysseus, or the authors of the "Arabian Nights," or the first inventors of the stories of Boccaccio, believe that their works were perishable (their names, indeed, have perished), as the creator of " Les Trois Mousquetaires " alarm himself with the thought that the world could ever forget Alexandre Dumas.

Than yours there has been no greater nor more kindly and beneficent force in modern

letters. To Scott, indeed, you owed the first impulse of your genius ; but, once set in motion, what miracles could it not accomplish? Our dear Porthos was overcome, at last, by a super-human burden ; but your imaginative strength never found a task too great for it. What an extraordinary vigour, what health, what an overflow of force was yours ! It is good, in a day of small and laborious ingenuities, to breathe the free air of your books, and dwell in the company of Dumas's men—so gallant, so frank, so indomitable, such swordsmen, and such trenchermen. Like M. de Rochefort in "Vingt Ans Apres," like that prisoner of the Bastille, your genius "n'est que d'un parti, c'est du parti du grand air."

There seems to radiate from you a still persistent energy and enjoyment ; in that current of strength not only your characters live, frolic, kindly, and sane, but even your very collaborators were animated by the virtue which went out of you. How else can we explain it, the dreary charge which feeble and envious tongues have brought against you, in England and at home ? They say you employed in your novels and dramas that vicarious aid which, in the slang of the studio, the "sculptor's ghost" is fabled to afford.

Well, let it be so ; these ghosts, when un-inspired by you, were faint and impotent as " the strengthless tribes of the dead " in Homer's Hades, before Odysseus had poured forth the blood that gave them a momentary valour. It was from you and your inexhaustible vitality that these collaborating spectres drew what life they possessed ; and when they parted from you they shuddered back into their nothingness. Where are the plays, where the romances which Maquet and the rest wrote in their own strength ? They are forgotten with last year's snows ; they have passed into the wide waste-paper basket of the world. You say of D'Artagnan, when severed from his three friends—from Porthos, Athos, and Aramis—"he felt that he could do nothing, save on the condition that each of these companions yielded to him, if one may so speak, a share of that electric fluid which was his gift from heaven."

No man of letters ever had so great a measure of that gift as you ; none gave of it more freely to all who came—to the chance associate of the hour, as to the characters, all so burly and full-blooded, who flocked from your brain. Thus it was that you failed when you approached the supernatural. Your ghosts had too much flesh and blood, more than the living persons of

feebler fancies. A writer so fertile, so rapid, so masterly in the ease with which he worked, could not escape the reproaches of barren envy. Because you overflowed with wit, you could not be "serious;" because you created with a word, you were said to scamp your work; because you were never dull, never pedantic, incapable of greed, you were to be censured as desultory, inaccurate, and prodigal.

A generation suffering from mental and physical anaemia—a generation devoted to the "chiselled phrase," to accumulated "documents," to microscopic porings over human baseness, to minute and disgustful records of what in humanity is least human—may readily bring these unregarded and railing accusations. Like one of the great and good-humoured Giants of Rabelais, you may hear the murmurs from afar, and smile with disdain. To you, who can amuse the world—to you who offer it the fresh air of the highway, the battlefield, and the sea—the world must always return: escaping gladly from the boudoirs and the *douges*, from the surgeries and hospitals, and dead rooms, of M. Daudet and M. Zola and of the wearisome De Goncourt.

With all your frankness, and with **that queer** morality of the Camp which, if it swallows a

camel now and again, never strains at a gnat, how healthy and wholesome, and even pure, are your romances ! You never gloat over sin, nor dabble with an ugly curiosity in the corruptions of sense. The passions in your tales are honourable and brave, the motives are clearly human. Honour, Love, Friendship make the threefold cord, the clue your knights and dames follow through how delightful a labyrinth of adventures ! Your greatest books, I take the liberty to maintain, are the Cycle of the Valois (" La Reine Margot," " La Dame de Montsoreau," " Les Quarante-cinq "), and the Cycle of Louis Treize and Louis Quatorze (" Les Trois Mousquetaires," " Vingt Ans Apres," " Le Vicomte de Bragelonne ") ; and, beside these two trilogies—a lonely monument, like the sphinx hard by the three pyramids—" Monte Cristo."

In these romances how easy it would have been for you to burn incense to that great goddess, Lubricity, whom our critic says your people worship ! You had Brantôme, you had Tallemant, you had Retif, and a dozen others, to furnish materials for scenes of voluptuousness and of blood that would have outdone even the present *naturalistes*. From these alcoves of " Les Dames Galantes," and from the torture chambers (M. Zola would not have spared us

one starting sinew of brave La Mole on the rack) you turned, as Scott would have turned, without a thought of their profitable literary uses. You had other metal to work on : you gave us that superstitious and tragical true love of La Mole's, that devotion—how tender and how pure!—of Bussy for the Dame de Montsoreau. You gave us the valour of D'Artagnan, the strength of Porthos, the melancholy nobility of Athos : Honour, Chivalry, and Friendship. I declare your characters are real people to me and old friends. I cannot bear to read the end of " Bragelonne," and to part with them for ever. " Suppose Porthos, Athos, and Aramis should enter with a noiseless swagger, curling their moustaches." How we would welcome them, forgiving D'Artagnan even his hateful *fourberie* in the case of Milady ! The brilliance of your dialogue has never been approached : there is wit everywhere ; repartees glitter and ring like the flash and clink of small-swords. Then what duels are yours ! and what inimitable battle-pieces ! I know four good fights of one against a multitude, in literature. These are the Death of Gretir the Strong, the Death of Gunnar of Lithend, the Death of Hereward the Wake, the Death of Bussy d'Amboise. We can compare the strokes of the heroic fighting-times

with those described in latter days ; and, upon my word, I do not know that the short sword of Gretir, or the bill of Skarphedin, or the bow of Gunnar was better wielded than the rapier of your Bussy or the sword and shield of Kingsley's Hereward.

They say your fencing is unhistorical ; no doubt it is so, and you knew it. La Mole could not have lunged on Coconnas " after deceiving circle ; " for the parry was not invented except by your immortal Chicot, a genius in advance of his time. Even so Hamlet and Laertes would have fought with shields and axes, not with small swords. But what matters this pedantry ? In your works we hear the Homeric Muse again, rejoicing in the clash of steel ; and even, at times, your very phrases are unconsciously Homeric.

Look at these men of murder, on the Eve of St. Bartholomew, who flee in terror from the Queen's chamber, and " find the door too narrow for their flight : " the very words were anticipated in a line of the " Odyssey " concerning the massacre of the Wooers. And the picture of Catherine de Medicis, prowling " like a wolf among the bodies and the blood, " in a passage of the Louvre—the picture is taken unwittingly from the " Iliad. " There was in

you that reserve of primitive force, that epic grandeur and simplicity of diction. This is the force that animates "Monte Cristo," the earlier chapters, the prison, and the escape. In later volumes of that romance, methinks, you stoop your wing. Of your dramas I have little room, and less skill, to speak. "Antony," they tell me, was "the greatest literary event of its time," was a restoration of the stage. "While Victor Hugo needs the cast-off clothes of history, the wardrobe and custome, the sepulchre of Charlemagne, the ghost of Barbarossa, the coffins of Lucretia Borgia, Alexandre Dumas requires no more than a room in an inn, where people meet in riding-cloaks, to move the soul with the last degree of terror and of pity."

The reproach of being amusing has somewhat dimmed your fame—for a moment. The shadow of this tyranny will soon be overpast; and when "La Curee" and "Pot-Bouille" are more forgotten than "Le Grand Cyrus," men and women—and, above all, boys—will laugh and weep over the page of Alexandre Dumas. Like Scott himself, you take us captive in our childhood. I remember a very idle little boy who was busy with the "Three Musketeers" when he should have been occupied with "Wilkins's Latin Prose." "Twenty years after"

(alas ! and more) he is still constant to that gallant company ; and, at this very moment, is breathlessly wondering whether Grimaud will steal M. de Beaufort out of the Cardinal's prison.

XIII

To Theocritus

" SWEET, methinks, is the whispering sound of yonder pine-tree," so, Theocritus, with that sweet word *ἄδύ*, didst thou begin and strike the keynote of thy songs. " Sweet," and didst thou find aught of sweet, when thou, like thy Daphnis, didst "go down the stream, when the whirling wave closed over the man the Muses loved, the man not hated of the Nymphs " ? Perchance below those waters of death thou didst find, like thine own Hylas, the lovely Nereids waiting thee, Eunice, and Malis, and Nycheia with her April eyes. In the House of Hades, Theocritus, doth there dwell aught that is fair, and can the low light on the fields of asphodel make thee forget thy Sicily ? Nay, methinks thou hast not forgotten, and perchance for poets dead there is prepared a place more beautiful than their dreams. It was well for the later minstrels of another day, it was well for Ronsard and Du Bellay, to desire a dim Elysium of their own,

where the sunlight comes faintly through the shadow of the earth, where the poplars are duskier, and the waters more pale than in the meadows of Anjou.

There, in that restful twilight, far remote from war and plot, from sword and fire, and from religions that sharpened the steel and lit the torch, there these learned singers would fain have wandered with their learned ladies, satiated with life and in love with an unearthly quiet. But to thee, Theocritus, no twilight of the Hollow Land was dear, but the high suns of Sicily and the brown cheeks of the country maidens were happiness enough. For thee, therefore, methinks, surely is reserved an Elysium beneath the summer of a far-off system, with stars not ours and alien seasons. There, as Bion prayed, shall Spring, the thrice desirable, be with thee the whole year through, where there is neither frost, nor is the heat so heavy on men, but all is fruitful, and all sweet things blossom, and evenly meted are darkness and dawn. Space is wide, and there be many worlds, and suns enow, and the Sun-god surely has had a care of his own. Little didst thou need, in thy native land, the isle of the three capes, little didst thou need but sunlight on land and sea. Death can have shown thee naught dearer than

the fragrant shadow of the pines, where the dry needles of the fir are strewn, or glades where feathered ferns make "a couch more soft than Sleep." The short grass of the cliffs, too, thou didst love, where thou wouldst lie, and watch with the tunny watcher till the deep blue sea was broken by the burnished sides of the tunny shoal, and afoam with their gambols in the brine. There the Muses met thee, and the Nymphs ; and there Apollo, remembering his old thralldom with Admetus, would lead once more a mortal's flocks, and listen and learn, Theocritus, while thou, like thine own Comatas, " didst sweetly sing."

There, methinks, I see thee as in thy happy days, "reclined on deep beds of fragrant lentisk, lowly strewn, and rejoicing in new-stript leaves of the vine, while far above thy head waved many a poplar, many an elm-tree, and close at hand the sacred waters sang from the mouth of the cavern of the nymphs." And when night came, methinks thou wouldst flee from the merry company and the dancing girls, from the fading crowns of roses or white violets, from the cottabos, and the minstrelsy, and the Bibline wine, from these thou wouldst slip away into the summer night. Then the beauty of life and of the summer would keep thee from thy couch,

and wandering away from Syracuse by the sand-hills and the sea, thou wouldst watch the low cabin, roofed with grass, where the fishing-rods of reed were leaning against the door, while the Mediterranean floated up her waves, and filled the waste with sound. There didst thou see thine ancient fishermen rising ere the dawn from their bed of dry seaweed, and heardst them stirring, drowsy, among their fishing gear, and heardst them tell their dreams.

Or again thou wouldst wander with dusty feet through the ways that the dust makes silent, whilst the breath of the kine, as they were driven forth with the morning, came fresh to thee, and the trailing dewy branch of honeysuckle struck sudden on thy cheek. Thou wouldst see the Dawn awake in rose and saffron across the waters, and Etna, grey and pale against the sky, and the setting crescent would dip strangely in the glow, on her way to the sea. Then, methinks, thou wouldst murmur, like thine own Simaetha, the love-lorn witch, "Farewell, Selene, bright and fair; farewell, ye other stars, that follow the wheels of the quiet Night." Nay, surely it was in such an hour that thou didst behold the girl as she burned the laurel leaves and the barley grain, and melted the waxen image, and called on Selene to bring her

lover home. Even so, even now, in the islands of Greece, the setting Moon may listen to the prayers of maidens. "Bright golden Moon, that now art near the waters, go thou and salute my lover, he that stole my love, and that kissed me, saying, 'Never will I leave thee.' And lo, he hath left me as men leave a field reaped and gleaned, like a church where none cometh to pray, like a city desolate."

So the girls still sing in Greece, for though the Temples have fallen, and the wandering shepherds sleep beneath the broken columns of the god's house in Selinus, yet these ancient fires burn still to the old divinities in the shrines of the hearths of the peasants. It is none of the new creeds that cries, in the dirge of the Sicilian shepherds of our time, "Ah, light of mine eyes, what gift shall I send thee, what offering to the other world? The apple fadeth, the quince decayeth, and one by one they perish, the petals of the rose. I will send thee my tears shed on a napkin, and what though it burneth in the flame, if my tears reach thee at the last?"

Yes, little is altered, Theocritus, on these shores beneath the sun, where thou didst wear a tawny skin stripped from the roughest of he-goats, and about thy breast an old cloak buckled with a plaited belt. Thou wert happier there,

in Sicily, methinks, and among vines and shadowy lime-trees of Cos, than in the dust, and heat, and noise of Alexandria. What love of fame, what lust of gold, tempted thee away from the red cliffs, and grey olives, and wells of black water wreathed with maidenhair ?

The music of thy rustic flute
Kept not for long its happy country tone ;
Lost it too soon, and learned a stormy note
Of men contention tost, of men who groan,
Which tasked thy pipe too sore, and tired thy throat—
It failed, and thou wast mute !

What hadst *thou* to make in cities, and what could Ptolemies and Princes give thee better than the goat-milk cheese and the Ptelean wine ? Thy Muses were meant to be the delight of peaceful men, not of tyrants and wealthy merchants, to whom they vainly went on a begging errand. "Who will open his door and gladly receive our Muses within his house, who is there that will not send them back again without a gift? And they with naked feet and looks askance come homewards, and sorely they upbraid me when they have gone on a vain journey, and listless again in the bottom of their empty coffer they dwell with heads bowed over their chilly knees, where is their drear abode when portionless they return." How far happier was

the prisoned goat-herd, Comatas, in the fragrant cedar chest where the blunt-faced bees from the meadow feed him with food of tender flowers, because still the Muse dropped sweet nectar on his lips!

Thou didst leave the neat-herds and the kine, and the oaks of Himera, the galingale hummed over by the bees, and the pine that dropped her cones, and Amaryllis in her cave, and Bombyca with her feet of carven ivory. Thou soughtest the City, and strife with other singers, and the learned write still on thy quarrels with Apollonius and Callimachus, and Antagoras of Rhodes. So ancient are the hatreds of poets, envy, jealousy, and all unkindness.

Not to the wits of Courts couldst thou teach thy rural song, though all these centuries, more than two thousand years, they have laboured to vie with thee. There has come no new pastoral poet, though Virgil copied thee, and Pope, and Phillips, and all the buckram band of the teacup time ; and all the modish swains of France have sung against thee, as the *sow challenged Athene*. They never knew the shepherd's life, the long winter nights on dried heather by the fire, the long summer days, when over the parched grass all is quiet, and only the insects hum, and the shrunken burn whispers a silver tune. Swains

in high-heeled shoon, and lace, shepherdesses in rouge and diamonds, the world is weary of all concerning them, save their images in porcelain, effigies how unlike thy golden figures, dedicate to Aphrodite, of Bombyca and Battus ! Somewhat, Theocritus, thou hast to answer for, thou that first of men brought the shepherd to Court, and made courtiers wild to go a Maying with the shepherds.

XIV

To Edgar Allan Poe

SIR,—Your English readers, better acquainted with your poems and romances than with your criticisms, have long wondered at the indefatigable hatred which pursues your memory. You, who knew the men, will not marvel that certain microbes of letters, the survivors of your own generation, still harass your name with their malevolence, while old women twitter out their incredible and unheeded slanders in the literary papers of New York. But their persistent animosity does not quite suffice to explain the dislike with which many American critics regard the greatest poet, perhaps the greatest literary genius, of their country. With a commendable patriotism, they are not apt to rate native merit too low ; and you, I think, are the only example of an American prophet almost without honour in his own country.

The recent publication of a cold, careful, and in many respects admirable study of your career

("Edgar Allan Poe," by George Woodberry: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston) reminds English readers who have forgotten it, and teaches those who never knew it, that you were, unfortunately, a Reviewer. How unhappy were the necessities, how deplorable the vein, that compelled or seduced a man of your eminence into the dusty and stony ways of contemporary criticism ! About the writers of his own generation a leader of that generation should hold his peace. He should neither praise nor blame nor defend his equals ; he should not strike one blow at the buzzing ephemerae of letters. The breath of their life is in the columns of "Literary Gossip ;" and they should be allowed to perish with the weekly advertisements on which they pasture. Reviewing, of course, there must needs be ; but great minds should only criticise the great who have passed beyond the reach of eulogy or fault-finding.

Unhappily, taste and circumstances combined to make you a censor ; you vexed a continent, and you are still unforgiven. What "irritation of a sensitive nature, chafed by some indefinite sense of wrong," drove you (in Mr. Longfellow's own words) to attack his pure and beneficent Muse we may never ascertain. But Mr. Longfellow forgave you easily ; for pardon comes

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easily to the good. It was the smaller men, the Daweses, Griswolds, and the like, that knew not how to forget. "The New Yorkers never forgave him," says your latest biographer; and one scarcely marvels at the inveteracy of their malice. It was not individual vanity alone, but the whole literary class that you assailed. "As a literary people," you wrote, "we are one vast perambulating humbug." After that declaration of war you died, and left your reputation to the vanities yet writhing beneath your scorn. They are writhing and writhing still. He who knows them need not linger over the attacks and defences of your personal character; he will not waste time on calumnies, tale-bearing, private letters, and all the noisome dust which takes so long in settling above your tomb.

For us it is enough to know that you were compelled to live by your pen, and that in an age when the author of "To Helen" and "The Cask of Amontillado" was paid at the rate of a dollar a column. When such poverty was the mate of such pride as yours, a misery more deep than that of Burns, an agony longer than Chatterton's, were inevitable and assured. No man was less fortunate than you in the moment of his birth—*infelix opportunitate vitæ*. Had you lived a generation later, honour, wealth,

applause, success in Europe and at home, would all have been yours. Within thirty years so great a change has passed over the profession of letters in America; and it is impossible to estimate the rewards which would have fallen to Edgar Poe, had chance made him the contemporary of Mark Twain and of Sherlock Holmes. It may be that your criticisms helped to bring in the new era, and to lift letters out of the reach of quite unlettered scribblers. Though not a scholar, at least you had a respect for scholarship. You might still marvel over such words as "objectional" in a new biography of yourself, and might ask what is meant by such a sentence as "his connection with it had inured to his own benefit by the frequent puffs of himself," and so forth.

Best known in your own day as a critic, it is as a poet and a writer of short tales that you must live. But to discuss your few and elaborate poems is a waste of time, so completely does your own brief definition of poetry, the "rhythmic creation of the beautiful," exhaust your theory, and so perfectly is the theory illustrated by the poems. Natural bent, and reaction against the example of Mr. Longfellow, combined to make you too intolerant of what you call the "didactic" element in verse. Even if morality

be not seven-eighths of our life (the exact proportion as at present estimated), there was a place even on the Hellenic Parnassus for gnomic bards, and theirs in the nature of the case must always be the largest public.

" Music is the perfection of the soul or the idea of poetry," so you wrote ; " the vagueness of exaltation aroused by a sweet air (which should be indefinite and never too strongly suggestive) is precisely what we should aim at in poetry." You aimed at that mark, and struck it again and again, notably in " Helen, thy beauty is to me," in " The Haunted Palace," " The Valley of Unrest," and " The City in the Sea." But by some Nemesis, which might, perhaps, have been foreseen, you are, to the world, the poet of one poem—" The Raven : " a piece in which the music is highly artificial, and the " exaltation " (what there is of it) by no means particularly " vague." So a portion of the public know little of Shelley but the " Skylark," and those two incongruous birds, the lark and the raven, bear each of them a poet's name, *vivu' per orav irum*. Your theory of poetry, if accepted, would make you (after the author of " Kubla Khan ") the foremost of the poets of the world ; at no long distance would come Mr. William Morris as he was when he wrote

"Golden Wings," "The Blue Closet," and "The Sailing of the Sword;" and, close up, Mr. Lear, the author of "The Yongi Bongi Bo," and the lay of the "Jumblies."

On the other hand, Homer would sink into the limbo to which you consigned Moliere. If we may judge a theory by its results, when compared with the deliberate verdict of the world, your aesthetic does not seem to hold water. The "Odyssey" is not really inferior to "Ulalume," as it ought to be if your doctrine of poetry were correct, nor "Le Festin de Pierre" to "Undine." Yet you deserve the praise of having been constant, in your poetic practice, to your poetic principles—principles commonly deserted by poets who, like Wordsworth, have published their aesthetic system. Your pieces are few; and Dr. Johnson would have called you, like Fielding, "a barren rascal." But how can a writer's verses be numerous if with him, as with you, "poetry is not a pursuit but a passion . . . which cannot at will be excited with an eye to the paltry compensations or the more paltry commendations of mankind!" Of you it may be said, more truly than Shelley said it of himself, that "to ask you for anything human, is like asking at a gin-shop for a leg of mutton."

Humanity must always be, to the majority of men, the true stuff of poetry ; and only a minority will thank you for that rare music which (like the strains of the fiddler in the story) is touched on a single string, and on an instrument fashioned from the spoils of the grave. You chose, or you were destined

To vary from the kindly race of men ;

and the consequences, which wasted your life, pursue your reputation.

For your stories has been reserved a boundless popularity, and that highest success—the success of a perfectly sympathetic translation. By this time, of course, you have made the acquaintance of your translator, M. Charles Baudelaire, who so strenuously shared your views about Mr. Emerson and the Transcendentalists, and who so energetically resisted all those ideas of "progress" which "came from Hell or Boston." On this point, however, the world continues to differ from you and M. Baudelaire, and perhaps there is only the choice between our optimism and universal suicide or universal opium-eating. But to discuss your ultimate ideas is perhaps a profitless digression from the topic of your prose romances.

An English critic (probably a Northerner at

heart) has described them as "Hawthorne and delirium tremens." I am not aware that extreme orderliness, masterly elaboration, and unchecked progress towards a predetermined effect are characteristics of the visions of delirium. If they be, then there is a deal of truth in the criticism, and a good deal of delirium tremens in your style. But your ingenuity, your completeness, your occasional luxuriance of fancy, and wealth of jewel-like words, are not, perhaps, gifts which Mr. Hawthorne had at his command. He was a great writer—the greatest writer in prose fiction whom America has produced. But you and he have not much in common, except a certain mortuary turn of mind and a taste for gloomy allegories about the workings of conscience.

I forbear to anticipate your verdict about the latest essays of American fiction. These by no means follow in the lines which you laid down about brevity and the steady working to one single effect. Probably you would not be very tolerant (tolerance was not your leading virtue) of Mr. Roe, once your countrymen's favourite novelist. He is long, he is didactic, he is eminently uninspired. In the works of one who is *not* what you once called yourself, a Bostonian, you would admire, at least, the acute

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observation, the subtlety, and the unfailing distinction. But, destitute of humour as you unhappily but undeniably were, you would miss, I fear, the charm of "Daisy Miller." You would admit the unity of effect secured in "Washington Square," though that effect is as remote as possible from the terror of "The House of Usher" or the vindictive triumph of "The Cask of Amontillado."

Farewell, farewell, thou sombre and solitary spirit: a genius tethered to the hack-work of the press, a gentleman among *canaille*,¹ a poet among poetasters, dowered with a scholar's taste without a scholar's training, embittered by his sensitive scorn, and all unsupported by his consolations.

¹ No reference, of course, is intended to the great American writers of Poe's day, but to the lower set of hacks who were his enemies.

X V

To Sir Walter Scott, Bart.

Rodono, St. Mary's Loch :
Sept. 8, 1855.

SIR,—In your biography it is recorded that you not only won the favour of all men and women ; but that a domestic fowl conceived an affection for you, and that a pig, by his will, had never been severed from your company. If some Circe had repeated in my case her favourite miracle of turning mortals into swine, and had given me a choice, into that fortunate pig, blessed among his race, would I have been converted ! You, almost alone among men of letters, still, like a living friend, win and charm us out of the past ; and if one might call up a poet, as the scholiast tried to call Homer, from the shades, who would not, out of all the rest, demand some hours of your society ? Who that ever meddled with letters, what child of the irritable race, possessed even a tithe of your simple manliness, of the heart that never knew

a touch of jealousy, that envied no man his laurels, that took honour and wealth as they came, but never would have deplored them had you missed both and remained but the Border sportsman and the Border antiquary ?

Were the word "genial" not so much profaned, were it not misused in easy good-nature, to extenuate lettered and sensual indolence, that worn old term might be applied, above all men, to "the Shirra." But perhaps we scarcely need a word (it would be seldom in use) for a character so rare, or rather so lonely, in its nobility and charm as that of Walter Scott. Here, in the heart of your own country, among your own grey round-shouldered hills (each so like the other that the shadow of one falling on its neighbour exactly outlines that neighbour's shape), it is of you and of your works that a native of the Forest is most frequently brought in mind. All the spirits of the river and the hill, all the dying refrains of ballad and the fading echoes of story, all the memory of the wild past, each legend of burn and loch, seem to have combined to inform your spirit, and to secure themselves an immortal life in your song. It is through you that we remember them ; and in recalling them, as in treading each hillside in this land, we again remember you and bless you.

SIR WALTER SCOTT

It is not "Sixty Years Since"¹ the echo of Tweed among his pebbles fell for the last time on your ear ; not sixty years since, and how much is altered ! But two generations have passed ; the lad who used to ride from Edinburgh to Abbotsford, carrying new books for you, and old, is still vending, in George Street, old books and new. Of politics I have not the heart to speak. Little joy would you have had in most that has befallen since the Reform Bill was passed, to the chivalrous cry of "burke Sir Walter." We are still very Radical in the Forest, and you were taken away from many evils to come. How would the cheek of Walter Scott, or of Leyden, have blushed at the names of Majuba, The Soudan, Maiwand, and many others that recall political cowardice or military incapacity ! On the other hand, who but you could have sung the dirge of Gordon, or wedded with immortal verse the names of Hamilton (who fell with Cavagnari), of the two Stewarts, of many another clansman, brave among the bravest ! Only he who told how

The stubborn spearmen still made good
Their dark impenetrable wood

could have fitly rhymed a score of feats of arms

¹ At the date of writing, 1886.

in which, as at M'Neill's Zareba and at Abu Klea,

Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well.

Ah, Sir, the hearts of the rulers may wax faint,
and the voting classes may forget that they are Britons ; but when it comes to blows our fighting men might cry, with Leyden,

My name is little Jock Elliot,
And wha daur meddle wi' me !

Much is changed, in the countryside as well as in the country ; but much remains. The little towns of your time are populous and excessively black with the smoke of factories—not, I fear, at present very flourishing. In Galashiels you still see the little change-house and the cluster of cottages round the Laird's lodge, like the clachan of Tully Veolan. But these plain remnants of the old Scotch towns are almost buried in a multitude of " smoky dwarf houses "—a living poet, Mr. Matthew Arnold, has found the fitting phrase for these dwellings, once for all. All over the Forest the waters are dirty and poisoned : I think they are filthiest below Hawick ; but this may be mere local prejudice in a Selkirk man. To keep them clean costs money; and, though improvements are often

promised, I cannot see much change for the better. Abbotsford, luckily, is above Galashiels, and only receives the dirt and dyes of Selkirk, Peebles, Walkerburn, and Innerleithen. On the other hand, your ill-omened later dwelling, "the unhappy palace of your race," is overlooked by villas that prick a cockney ear among their larches, hotels of the future. Ah, Sir, Scotland is a strange place. Whisky is exiled from some of our caravanserais, and they have banished Sir John Barleycorn. It seems as if the views of the excellent critic (who wrote your life lately, and said you had left no descendants, *le pauvre homme!*) were beginning to prevail. This pious biographer was greatly shocked by that capital story about the keg of whisky that arrived at the Liddesdale farmer's during family prayers. Your Toryism also was an offence to him.

Among these vicissitudes of things and the overthrow of customs, let us be thankful that, beyond the reach of the manufacturers, the Border country remains as kind and homely as ever. I looked at Ashiestiel some days ago: the house seemed just as it may have been when you left it for Abbotsford, only there was a lawn-tennis net on the lawn, the hill on the opposite bank of the Tweed was covered to the

crest with turnips, and the burn did not sing below the little bridge, for in this arid summer the burn was dry. But there was still a grilse that rose to a big March brown in the shrunken stream below Elibank. This may not interest you, who styled yourself

No fisher,
But a well-wisher
To the game !

Still, as when you were thinking over Mar-mion, a man might have "grand gallops among the hills"—those grave wastes of heather and bent that sever all the watercourses and roll their sheep-covered pastures from Dollar Law to White Combe, and from White Combe to the Three Brethren Cairn and the Windburg and Skelf-hill Pen. Yes, Teviotdale is pleasant still, and there is not a drop of dye in the water, *purior electro*, of Yarrow. St. Mary's Loch lies beneath me, smitten with wind and rain—the St. Mary's of North and of the Shepherd. Only the trout, that see a myriad of artificial flies, are shyer than of yore. The Shepherd could no longer fill a cart up Meggat with trout so much of a size that the country people took them for herrings.

The grave of Piers Cockburn is still not desecrated : hard by it lies, within a little

SIR WALTER SCOTT

wood ; and beneath that slab of old sandstone, and the graven letters, and the sword and shield, sleep " Piers Cockburn and Marjory his wife." Not a hundred yards off was the castle-door where they hanged him ; this is the tomb of the ballad, and the lady that buried him rests now with her wild lord.

Oh, wat ye no my heart was sair,
When I happit the mouls on his yellow hair ;
Oh, wat ye no my heart was wae,
When I turned about and went my way !¹

Here too hearts have broken, and there is a sacredness in the shadow and beneath these clustering berries of the rowan-trees. That sacredness, that reverent memory of our old land, it is always and inextricably blended

¹ Lord Napier and Ettrick points out to me that, unluckily, the tradition is erroneous. Piers was not executed at all. William Cockburn suffered in Edinburgh. But the *Border Minstrelsy* overrides History.

Criminal Trials in Scotland, by Robert Pitcairn, Esq. Vol. i. part i. p. 144, A.D. 1530. 17 Jac. V.

May 16. William Cokburne, of Henderland, convicted (in presence of the King) of high treason committed by him in bringing Alexander Forestare and his son, Englishmen, to the plundering of Archibald Somerville ; and for treasonably bringing certain Englishmen to the lands of Glenquhome ; and for common theft, common reset of theft, out-putting and in-putting thereof. Sentence. For which causes and crimes he has forfeited his life, lands, and goods, movable and immovable ; which shall be escheated to the King. Beheaded.

with our memories, with our thoughts, with our love of you. Scotchmen, methinks, who owe so much to you, owe you most for the example you gave of the beauty of a life of honour, showing them what, by heaven's blessing, a Scotchman still might be.

Words, empty and unavailing—for what words of ours can speak our thoughts or interpret our affections ! From you first, as we followed the deer with King James, or rode with William of Deloraine on his midnight errand, did we learn what Poetry means and all the happiness that is in the gift of song. This and more than may be told you gave us, that are not forgetful, not ungrateful, though our praise be unequal to our gratitude. *Fungor inani munere !*

XVI

To Eusebius of Cæsarea

(CONCERNING THE GODS OF THE HEATHEN)

TOUCHING the Gods of the Heathen, most reverend Father, thou art not ignorant that even now, as in the time of thy probation on earth, there is great dissension. That these feigned Deities and idols, the work of men's hands, are no longer worshipped thou knowest ; neither do men eat meat offered to idols. Even as spake that last Oracle which murmured forth, the latest and the only true voice from Delphi, even so " the fair-wrought court divine hath fallen ; no more hath Phoebus his home, no more his laurel-bough, nor the singing well of water ; nay, the sweet-voiced water is silent." The fane is ruinous, and the images of men's idolatry are dust.

Nevertheless, most worshipful, men do still dispute about the beginnings of those sinful Gods : such as Zeus, Athene, and Dionysus : and marvel how first they won their dominion

over the souls of the foolish peoples. Now, concerning these things there is not one belief but many; howbeit, there are two main kinds of opinion. One sect of philosophers believes—as thyself, with heavenly learning, didst not vainly persuade—that the Gods were the inventions of wild and bestial folk, who, long before cities were builded or life was honourably ordained, fashioned forth evil spirits in their own savage likeness; ay, or in the likeness of the very beasts that perish. To this judgment, as it is set forth in thy Book of the Preparation for the Gospel, I, humble as I am, do give my consent. But on the other side are many and learned men, chiefly of the tribes of the Alemanni, who have almost conquered the whole inhabited world. These, being unwilling to suppose that the Hellenes were in bondage to superstitions handed down from times of utter darkness and a bestial life, do chiefly hold with the heathen philosophers, even with the writers whom thou, most venerable, didst confound with thy wisdom and chasten with the scourge of small cords of thy wit.

Thus, like the heathen, our doctors and teachers maintain that the gods of the nations were, in the beginning, such pure natural creatures as the blue sky, the sun, the air, the

bright dawn, and the fire ; but as time went on, men, forgetting the meaning of their own speech and no longer understanding the tongue of their own fathers, were misled and beguiled into fashioning all those lamentable tales : as that Zeus, for love of mortal women, took the shape of a bull, a ram, a serpent, an ant, an eagle, and sinned in such wise as it is a shame even to speak of.

Behold, then, most worshipful, how these doctors and learned men argue, even like the philosophers of the heathen whom thou didst confound. For they declare the gods to have been natural elements, sun and sky and storm, even as did thy opponents ; and, like them, as thou saidst, " they are nowise at one with each other in their explanations." For of old some boasted that Hera was the Air ; and some that she signified the love of woman and man ; and some that she was the waters above the Earth ; and others that she was the earth beneath the waters ; and yet others that she was the Night, for that Night is the shadow of Earth: as if, forsooth, the men who first worshipped Hera had understanding of these things ! And when Hera and Zeus quarrel unseemly (as Homer declareth), this meant (said the learned in thy days) no more than the strife and confusion of

the elements, and was not in the beginning an idle slanderous tale.

To all which, most worshipful, thou didst answer wisely: saying that Hera could not be both night, and earth, and water, and air, and the love of sexes, and the confusion of the elements ; but that all these opinions were vain dreams, and the guesses of the learned. And why—thou saidst—even if the Gods were pure natural creatures, are such foul things told of them in the Mysteries as it is not fitting for me to declare. " These wanderings, and drinkings, and loves, and seductions, that would be shameful in men, why," thou saidst, " were they attributed to the natural elements ; and wherefore did the Gods constantly show themselves, like the sorcerers called were-wolves, in the shape of the perishable beasts ?" But, mainly, thou didst argue that, till the philosophers of the heathen were agreed among themselves, not all contradicting each the other, they had no semblance of a sure foundation for their doctrine.

To all this and more, most worshipful Father, I know not what the heathen answered thee. But, in our time, the learned men who stand to it that the heathen Gods were in the beginning the pure elements, and that the nations, forgetting their first love and the significance of their

own speech, became confused and were betrayed into foul stories about the pure Gods—these learned men, I say, agree no whit among themselves. Nay, they differ one from another, not less than did Plutarch and Porphyry and Theagenes, and the rest whom thou didst laugh to scorn. Bear with me, Father, while I tell thee how the new Plutarchs and Porphyrys do contend among themselves ; and yet these differences of theirs they call " Science " !

Consider the goddess Athene, who sprang armed from the head of Zeus, even as—among the fables of the poor heathen folk of seas thou never knewest—goddesses are fabled to leap out from the armpits or feet of their fathers. Thou must know that what Plato, in the " Cratylus," made Socrates say in jest, the learned among us practise in sad earnest. For when they wish to explain the nature of any God, they first examine his name, and torment the letters thereof, arranging and altering them according to their will, and flying off to the speech of the Indians and Medes and Chaldeans, and other Barbarians, if Greek will not serve their turn. How saith Socrates ? " I bethink me of a very new and ingenious idea that occurs to me ; and, if I do not mind, I shall be wiser than I should be by to-morrow's dawn. My

notion is that we may put in and pull out letters at pleasure and alter the accents."

Even so do the learned—not at pleasure, maybe, but according to certain fixed laws (so they declare) ; yet none the more do they agree among themselves. And I deny not that they discover many things true and good to be known ; but, as touching the names of the Gods, their learning, as it standeth, is confusion. Look, then, at the goddess Athene : taking one example out of hundreds. We have dwelling in our coasts Muellerus, the most erudite of the doctors of the Alemanni, and the most golden-mouthed. Concerning Athene, he said that her name is none other than, in the ancient tongue of the Brachmanæ, *Ahana*, which, being interpreted, means the Dawn. " And that the morning light," saith he, " offers the best starting-point for the later growth of Athene has been proved, I believe, beyond the reach of doubt or even cavil."¹

Yet this same doctor candidly lets us know that another of his nation, the witty Benfeius, hath devised another sense and origin of Athene, taken from the speech of the old Medes. But Muellerus declares to us that whosoever shall

¹ "The Lesson of Jupiter."—*Nineteenth Century*, October, 1885.

examine the contention of Benfeius "will be bound, in common honesty, to confess that it is untenable." This, Father, is "one for Benfeius," as the saying goes. And as Muellerus holds that these matters "admit of almost mathematical precision," it would seem that Benfeius is but a *Dummkopf*, as the Alemanni say, in their own language, when they would be pleasant among themselves.

Now, wouldst thou credit it? despite the mathematical plainness of the facts, other Alemanni agree neither with Muellerus, nor yet with Benfeius, and will neither hear that Athene was the Dawn, nor yet that she is "the feminine of the Zend *Thraetana athwyana*." Lo, you! how Prellerus goes about to show that her name is drawn not from *A hana* and the old Brachmanæ, nor *athwyana* and the old Medes, but from "the root *aiθ*, whence *aiθηρ*, the air, or *ἄθ*, whence *ἄρθος*, a flower." Yea, and Prellerus will have it that no man knows the verity of this matter. None the less he is very bold, and will none of the Dawn; but holds to it that Athene was, from the first, "the clear pure height of the Air, which is exceeding pure in Attica."

Next, Father, as if all this were not enough, comes one Roscherus in, with a mighty great

volume on the Gods, and Furtwaenglerus, among others, for his ally. And these doctors will neither with Rueckertus and Hermannus, take Athene for "wisdom in person;" nor with Welckerus and Prellerus, for "the goddess of air;" nor even, with Muellerus and mathematical certainty, for "the Morning-Red:" but they say that Athene is the "black thundercloud, and the lightning that leapeth therefrom"! I make no doubt that other Alemanni are of other minds: *quot Alemanni tot sententiæ.*

Yea, as thou saidst of the learned heathen, **Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις σύμφωνα φυσιολογοῦσιν.** Yet these disputes of theirs they call "Science"! But if any man says to the learned: "Best of men, you are erudite, and laborious and witty; but, till you are more of the same mind, your opinions cannot be styled knowledge. Nay, they are at present of no avail whereon to found any doctrine concerning the Gods"—that man is railed at for his "mean" and "weak" arguments.

Was it thus, Father, that the heathen railed against thee? But I must still believe, with thee, that these evil tales of the Gods were invented "when man's life was yet brutish and wandering" (as is the life of many tribes that

even now tell like tales), and were maintained in honour by the later Greeks "because none dared alter the ancient beliefs of his ancestors." Farewell, Father; and all good be with thee, wishes thy well-wisher and thy disciple.

XVII

To Percy Bysshe Shelley

SIR,—In your lifetime on earth you were not more than commonly curious as to what was said by "the herd of mankind," if I may quote your own phrase. It was that of one who loved his fellow-men, but did not in his less enthusiastic moments overestimate their virtues and their discretion. Removed so far away from our hubbub, and that world where, as you say, we "pursue our serious folly as of old," you are, one may guess, but moderately concerned about the fate of your writings and your reputation. As to the first, you have somewhere said, in one of your letters, that the final judgment on your merits as a poet is in the hands of posterity, and that you fear the verdict will be "Guilty," and the sentence "Death." Such apprehensions cannot have been fixed or frequent in the mind of one whose genius burned always with a clearer and steadier flame to the last. The jury of which you spoke has met: a mixed jury and

a merciful. The verdict is "Well done," and the sentence Immortality of Fame. There have been, there are, dissenters ; yet probably they will be less and less heard as the years go on.

One judge, or juryman, has made up his mind that prose was your true province, and that your letters will outlive your lays.¹ I know not whether it was the same or an equally well-inspired critic, who spoke of your most perfect lyrics (so Beau Brummell spoke of his ill-tied cravats) as "a gallery of your failures." But the general voice does not echo these utterances of a too subtle intellect. At a famous University (not your own) once existed a band of men known as "The Trinity Sniffers." Perhaps the spirit of the sniffer may still inspire some of the jurors who from time to time make themselves heard in your case. The "Quarterly Review," I fear, is still unreconciled. It regards your attempts as tainted by the spirit of "The Liberal Movement in English Literature ;" and it is impossible, alas ! to maintain with any success that you were a Throne and Altar Tory. At Oxford you are forgiven ; and the old rooms where you let the oysters burn (was not your founder, King Alfred, once guilty of similar negligence ?) are now shown to pious pilgrims.

¹ Mr. Matthew Arnold.

Some Conservatives, 'tis rumoured, are still averse to your opinions, and are believed to prefer to yours the works of the Reverend Mr. Keble, and, indeed, of the clergy in general. But, in spite of all this, your poems, like the affections of the true lovers in Theocritus, are yet "in the mouths of all, and chiefly on the lips of the young." It is in your lyrics that you live, and I do not mean that every one could pass an examination in the plot of "Prometheus Unbound." Talking of this piece, by the way, a Cambridge critic finds that it reveals in you a hankering after life in a cave—doubtless an unconsciously inherited memory from cave-man. Speaking of cave-man reminds me that you once spoke of deserting song for prose, and of producing a history of the moral, intellectual, and political elements in human society, which, we now agree, began, as Asia would fain have ended, in a cave.

Fortunately you gave us "Adonais" and "Hellas" instead of this treatise, and we have now successfully written the natural history of Man for ourselves. Science tells us that before becoming a cave-dweller he was a Brute; Experience daily proclaims that he constantly reverts to his original condition. *L'homme est un mechant animal*, in spite of your boyish

efforts to add pretty girls "to the list of the good, the disinterested, and the free."

Ah, not in the wastes of Speculation, nor the sterile din of Politics, were "the haunts meet for thee." Watching the yellow bees in the ivy bloom, and the reflected pine forest in the water-pools, watching the sunset as it faded, and the dawn as it fired, and weaving all fair and fleeting things into a tissue where light and music were at one, that was the task of Shelley ! "To ask you for anything human," you said, "was like asking for a leg of mutton at a gin-shop." Nay, rather, like asking Apollo and Hebe, in the Olympian abodes, to give us beef for ambrosia, and port for nectar. Each poet gives what he has, and what he can offer ; you spread before us fairy bread, and enchanted wine, and shall we turn away, with a sneer, because, out of all the multitudes of singers, one is spiritual and strange, one has seen Artemis unveiled ? One, like Anchises, has been beloved of the Goddess, and his eyes, when he looks on the common world of common men, are, like the eyes of Anchises, blind with excess of light. Let Shelley sing of what he saw, what none saw but Shelley !

Notwithstanding the popularity of your poems (the most romantic of things didactic), our world

is no better than the world you knew. This will disappoint you, who had "a passion for reforming it." Moreover, chemical science has discovered new and ingenious ways of destroying principalities and powers. You would be interested in the methods, but your peaceful Revolutionism, which disdained physical force, would regret their application.

Our foreign affairs are not in a state which even you would consider satisfactory ; for we have just had to contend with a Revolt of Islam, and we still find in Russia exactly the qualities which you recognised and described. We have a great statesman¹ whose methods and eloquence somewhat resemble those you attribute to Laon and Prince Athanase. Alas ! he is a youth of more than seventy summers ; and not in his time will Prometheus retire to a cavern and pass a peaceful millennium in twining buds and beams.

As to your private life, many biographers contrive to make public as much of it as possible. Your name, even in life, was, alas ! a kind of *duc-dame* to bring people of no very great sense into your circle. This curious fascination has attracted round your memory a feeble folk of commentators, biographers, anecdotists, and

¹ Written in 1886.

others of the tribe. They swarm round you like carrion-flies round a sensitive plant, like nightbirds bewildered by the sun. Men of sense and taste have written on you, indeed ; but your weaker admirers are now disputing as to whether it was your heart, or a less dignified and most troublesome organ, which escaped the flames of the funereal pyre. These biographers fight terribly among themselves, and vainly prolong the memory of " old unhappy far-off things, and *sorrows* long ago." Let us leave them and their squabbles over what is unessential, their raking up of old letters and old stories.

The town, or the wits, at least, yawned a weary laugh over an enemy of yours, who produced two heavy volumes, styled by him "The Real Shelley." The real Shelley, it appears, was Shelley as conceived of by a worthy gentleman so prejudiced and so skilled in taking up things by the wrong handle that I wonder he has not made a name in the exact science of Comparative Mythology. He criticises you in the spirit of that Christian Apologist, the Englishman who called you " a damned Atheist " in the post-office at Pisa. He finds that you had " a little turned-up nose," a feature no less important in his system than was the nose of

Cleopatra (according to Pascal) in the history of the world. To be in harmony with your nose, you were a "phenomenal" liar, and an ill-bred, ill-born, profligate, partly insane, evil-tempered monster, a self-righteous person, full of self-approbation—in fact you were the Beast of this pious Apocalypse. Your friend Dr. Lind was an embittered and scurrilous apothecary, "a bad old man." But enough of this inopportune brawler.

For Humanity, of which you hoped such great things, Science predicts extinction in a night of Frost. The sun will grow cold, slowly—as slowly as doom came on Jupiter in your "Prometheus," but as surely. If this nightmare be fulfilled, perhaps the Last Man, in some fetid hut on the ice-bound Equator, will read, by a fading lamp charged with the dregs of the oil in his cruse, the poetry of Shelley. So reading, he, the latest of his race, will not wholly be deprived of those sights which alone (says the nameless Greek) make life worth enduring. In your verse he will have sight of sky, and sea, and cloud, the gold of dawn and the gloom of earthquake and eclipse. He will be face to face, in fancy, with the great powers that are dead, sun, and ocean, and the illimitable azure of the heavens. In Shelley's poetry, while Man

endures, all those will survive; for your "voice is as the voice of winds and tides," and perhaps more deathless than all of these, and only perishable with the perishing of the human spirit.

XVIII

*To Monsieur de Moliere, Valet de Chambre
du Roi*

MONSIEUR,—With what awe does a writer venture into the presence of the great Moliere ! As a courtier in your time would scratch humbly (with his comb !) at the door of the Grand Monarch, so I presume to draw near your dwelling among the Immortals. You, like the king who, among all his titles, has now none so proud as that of the friend of Moliere—you found your dominions small, humble, and distracted ; you raised them to the dignity of an empire : what Louis XIV. did for France you achieved for French comedy ; and the baton of Scapin still wields its sway though the sword of Louis was broken at Blenheim. For the King, or so he fancied, the Pyrenees, ceased to exist ; by a more magnificent conquest you overcame the Channel. If England vanquished your country's arms, it was through you that France *ferum victorem cepit*, and restored the dynasty of

Comedy to the land whence she had been driven. Ever since Dryden borrowed "L'Etourdi," our tardy apish nation has lived (in matters theatrical) on the spoils of the wits of France.

In one respect, to be sure, times and manners have altered. While you lived, taste kept the French drama pure ; and it was the congenial business of English playwrights to foist their rustic grossness and their large Fescennine jests into the urbane page of Molière. Now they are diversely occupied ; and it is their affair to lend modesty where they borrow wit, and to spare a blush to the cheek of the Lord Chamberlain. But still, as has ever been our wont since Etherege saw, and envied, and imitated your successes—still we pilfer the plays of France, and take our *bien*, as you said in your lordly manner, wherever we can find it. We are the privateers of the stage ; and it is rarely, to be sure, that a comedy pleases the town which has not first been "cut out" from the countrymen of Molière. Why this should be, and what "tenebriferous star" (as Paracelsus, your companion in the "Dialogues des Morts," would have believed) thus darkens the sun of English humour, we know not ; but certainly our dependence on France is the sincerest tribute to you. Without you, neither Rotrou, nor

Corneille, nor "a wilderness of monkeys " like Scarron, could ever have given Comedy to France and restored her to Europe.

While we owe to you, Monsieur, the beautiful advent of Comedy, fair and beneficent as Peace in the play of Aristophanes, it is still to you that we must turn when of comedies we desire the best. If you studied with daily and nightly care the works of Plautus and Terence, if you " let no musty *bouquin* escape you " (so your enemies declared), it was to some purpose that you laboured. Shakespeare excepted, you eclipsed all who came before you ; and from those that follow, however fresh, we turn : we turn from Regnard and Beaumarchais, from Sheridan and Goldsmith, from Musset and Pailleron and Labiche, to that crowded world of your creations. " Creations " one may well say, for you anticipated Nature herself: you gave us, before she did, in *Alceste* a Rousseau who was a gentleman not a lacquey ; in a *mot* of Don Juan's, the secret of the new Religion and the watchword of Comte, *l'amour de l'humanite*.

Before you where can we find, save in Rabelais, a Frenchman with humour ; and where, unless it be in Montaigne, the wise philosophy of a secular civilisation ? With a heart the most tender, delicate, loving, and

generous, a heart often in agony and torment, you had to make life endurable (we cannot doubt it) without any whisper of promise, or hope, or warning from Religion. Yes, in an age when the greatest mind of all, the mind of Pascal, proclaimed that the only help was in voluntary blindness, that the only chance was to hazard all on a bet at evens, you, Monsieur, refused to be blinded, or to pretend to see what you found invisible.

In Religion you beheld no promise of help. When the Jesuits and Jansenists of your time saw, each of them, in *Tartufe* the portrait of their rivals (as each of the laughable Marquises in your play conceived that you were girding at his neighbour), you all the while were mocking every credulous excess of Faith. In the sermons preached to Agnes we surely hear your private laughter ; in the arguments for credulity which are presented to Don Juan by his valet we listen to the eternal self-defence of superstition. Thus, desolate of belief, you sought for the permanent element of life—precisely where Pascal recognised all that was most fleeting and unsubstantial—in *divertissement* ; in the pleasure of looking on, a spectator of the accidents of existence, an observer of the follies of mankind. Like the Gods of the Epicurean, you seem to

regard our life as a play that is played, as a comedy ; yet how often the tragic note comes in ! What pity, and in the laughter what an accent of tears, as of rain in the wind ! No comedian has been so kindly and human as you ; none has had a heart, like you, to feel for his butts, and to leave them sometimes, in a sense, superior to their tormentors. Sganarelle, M. de Pourceaugnac, George Dandin, and the rest—our sympathy, somehow, is with them, after all ; and M. de Pourceaugnac is a gentleman, despite his misadventures.

Though triumphant Youth and malicious Love in your plays may batter and defeat Jealousy and Old Age, yet they have not all the victory, or you did not mean that they should win it. They go off with laughter, and their victim with a grimace ; but in him we, that are past our youth, behold an actor in an unending tragedy, the defeat of a generation. Your sympathy is not wholly with the dogs that are having their day ; you can throw a bone or a crust to the dog that has had his, and has been taught that it is over and ended. Yourself not unlearned in shame, in jealousy, in endurance of the wanton pride of men (how could the poor player and the husband of Celimene be untaught in that experience?), you never sided

quite heartily, as other comedians have done, with young prosperity and rank and power.

I am not the first who has dared to approach you in the Shades ; for just after your own death the author of " *Les Dialogues des Morts* " gave you Paracelsus as a companion, and the author of " *Le Jugement de Pluton* " made the " mighty warder " decide that " Moliere should not talk philosophy." These writers, like most of us, feel that, after all, the comedies of the *Contemplateur*, of the translator of Lucretius, are a philosophy of life in themselves, and that in them we read the lessons of human experience writ small and clear.

What comedian but Moliere has combined with such depths—with the indignation of *Alceste*, the self-deception of *Tartufe*, the blasphemy of *Don Juan*—such wildness of irresponsible mirth, such humour, such wit ! Even now, when more than two hundred years have sped by, when so much water has flowed under the bridges and has borne away so many trifles of contemporary mirth (*cetera fluminis ritu feruntur*), even now we never laugh so well as when *Mascarille* and *Vadius* and *M. Jourdain* tread the boards in the *Maison de Moliere*. Since those mobile dark brows of yours ceased to make men laugh, since your voice denounced

the "demoniac" manner of contemporary tragedians, I take leave to think that no player has been more worthy to wear the *canons* of Mascarille or the gown of Vadius than M. Coquelin of the Comedie Francaise. In him you have a successor to your Mascarille so perfect, that the ghosts of playgoers of your date might cry, could they see him, that Moliere had come again. But, with all respect to the efforts of the fair, I doubt if any lady, however fair, would reconcile the town to the loss of the fair De Brie, and Madeleine, and the first, the true Celimene, Armande. Yet had you ever so merry a *sonbrette* as Mdme. Samary, so exquisite a Nicole ?

Denounced, persecuted, and buried hugger-mugger two hundred years ago, you are now not over-praised, but more worshipped, with more servility and ostentation, studied with more prying curiosity than you may approve. Are not the Molieristes a body who carry adoration to fanaticism ? Any scrap of your handwriting (so few are these), any anecdote even remotely touching on your life, any fact that may prove your house was numbered 15 not 22, is eagerly seized and discussed by your too minute historians. Concerning your private life, these men often speak more like malicious enemies

than friends ; repeating the fabulous scandals of Le Boulanger, and trying vainly to support them by grubbing in dusty parish registers. It is most necessary to defend you from your friends—from such friends as the veteran and inveterate M. Arsene Houssaye, or the industrious but puzzled-headed M. Loiseleur. Truly they seek the living among the dead, and the immortal Moliere among the sweepings of attorneys' offices. As I regard them (for I have tarried in their tents) and as I behold their trivialities—the exercises of men who neglect Moliere's works to gossip about Moliere's great-grandmother's second-best bed—I sometimes wish that Moliere were here to write on his devotees a new comedy, " Les Molieristes." How fortunate were they, Monsieur, who lived and worked with you, who saw you day by day, who were attached, as Lagrange tells us, by the kindest loyalty to the best and most honourable of men, the most open-handed in friendship, in charity the most delicate, of the heartiest sympathy ! Ah, that for one day I could behold you, writing in the study, rehearsing on the stage, musing in the lace-seller's shop, strolling through the Palais, turning over the new books at Billaine's, dusting your ruffles among the old volumes on the sunny stalls.

150 LETTERS TO DEAD AUTHORS

Would that, through the ages, we could hear you after supper, merry with Boileau, and with Racine,—not yet estranged,—laughing over Chapelain, combining to gird at him in an epigram, or mocking at Cotin, or talking your favourite philosophy, mindful of Descartes. Surely of all the wits none was ever so good a man, none ever made life so rich with humour and friendship.

XIX

To Robert Burns

SIR,—Among men of Genius, and especially among Poets, there are some to whom we turn with a peculiar and unfeigned affection ; there are others whom we admire rather than love. By some we are won with our will, by others conquered against our desire. It has been your peculiar fortune to capture the hearts of a whole people—a people not usually prone to praise, but devoted with a personal and patriotic loyalty to you and to your reputation. In you every Scot who *is* a Scot sees, admires, and compliments himself, his ideal self—independent, fond of whisky, fonder of the lasses ; you are the true representative of him and of his nation. It is a cruel thing for any of your countrymen to feel that, where all the rest love, he can only admire ; where all the rest are idolaters, he may not bend the knee ; but stands apart and beats upon his breast, observing, not adoring—a critic. Yes, to some critics—petty

souls, perhaps, and envious—that loud indiscriminating praise of "Robbie Burns" (for so they style you in their Change-house familiarity) has long been ungrateful; and, among the treasures of your songs, we venture to select and even to reject. So it must be! We cannot all love Haggis, nor painch, tripe, and thairm," and all those rural dainties which you celebrate as "warm-reckin, rich!" "Rather too rich," as the Young Lady said on an occasion recorded by Sam Weller.

Auld Scotland wants nae skinking ware
That jaups in luggies;
But, if ye wish her gratefu' prayer,
Gie her a Haggis!

You *have* given her a Haggis, with a vengeance, and her "gratefu' prayer" is yours for ever. But if even an eternity of partridge may pall on the epicure, so of Haggis too, as of all earthly delights, cometh satiety at last. And yet what a glorious Haggis it is—the more emphatically rustic and even Fescennine part of your verse! We have had many a rural bard since Theocritus "watched the visionary flocks," but you are the only one of them all who has spoken the sincere Doric. Yours is the talk of the byre and the plough-tail; yours is that large utterance of the early hinds. Even Theocritus

minces matters, save where Lacon and Comatas quite outdo the swains of Ayrshire. " But thee, Theocritus, wha matches ? " you ask, and yourself out-match him in this wide rude region, trodden only by the rural Muse. " *Thy* rural loves are nature's sel' ;" and the wooer of Jean Armour speaks more like a true shepherd than the elegant Daphnis of the " Oaristys."

Indeed it is with this that moral critics of your life reproach you, forgetting, perhaps, that in your amours you were but as other Scotch ploughmen and shepherds of the past and present. Ettrick may still, with Afghanistan, offer matter for idylls, as Mr. Carlyle (your antithesis, and the complement of the Scotch character) supposed ; but the morals of Ettrick are not wholly unlike those of rural Sicily in old days, or of Mossgiel in your days. Over these matters the Kirk, with all her power, and the Free Kirk too, have had absolutely no influence whatever. To leave so delicate a topic, you were but as other swains, or, as " that Birkie ca'd a lord," Lord Byron ; only you combined (in certain of your letters) a libertine theory with your practice ; you poured out in song your audacious raptures, your half-hearted repentance, your shame and your scorn. You spoke the truth about rural lives and loves.

We may like it or dislike it ; but we cannot deny the verity.

Was it not as unhappy a thing, Sir, for you, as it was fortunate for Letters and for Scotland, that you were born at the meeting of two ages and of two worlds—precisely in the moment when bookish literature was beginning to reach the people, and when Society was first learning to admit the low-born to her Minor Mysteries ? Before you how many singers not less truly poets than yourself—though less versatile not less passionate, though less sensuous not less simple—had been born and had died in poor men's cottages ! There abides not even the shadow of a name of the old Scotch song-smiths, of the old ballad-makers. The authors of "Clerk Saunders," of "The Wife of Usher's Well," of "Fair Annie," and "Sir Patrick Spens," and the "Bonny Hind," are as unknown to us as Homer, whom in their directness and force they resemble. They never, perhaps, gave their poems to writing ; certainly they never gave them to the press. On the lips and in the hearts of the people they have their lives ; and the singers, after a life obscure and untroubled by society or by fame, are forgotten. " The Iniquity of Oblivion blindly scattereth his Poppy."

Had you been born some years earlier you would have been even as these unnamed Immortals, leaving great verses to a little clan—verses retained only by Memory. You would have been but the minstrel of your native valley : the wider world would not have known you, nor you the world. Great thoughts of independence and revolt would never have burned in you ; indignation would not have vexed you. Society would not have given and denied her caresses. You would have been happy. Your songs would have lingered in all "the circle of the summer hills ;" and your scorn, your satire, your narrative verse, would have been unwritten or unknown. To the world what a loss! and what a gain to you ! We should have possessed but a few of your lyrics, as

When o'er the hill the eastern star
Tells bughtin-time is near, my jo ;
And owsen frae the furrowed field,
Return sae dowf and wearie O !

How noble that is, how natural, how unconsciously Greek ! You found, oddly, in good Mrs. Barbauld, the merits of the tenth Muse :

In thy sweet sang, Barbauld, survives
Even Sappho's flame !

But how unconsciously you remind us both of

Sappho and of Homer in these strains about the Evening Star and the hour when the Day
μετενίσσεται βουλευτόνδε? Had you lived and died the pastoral poet of some silent glen, such lyrics could not but have survived ; free, too, of all that in your songs reminds us of the Poet's Corner in the "Kirkcudbright Advertiser." We should not have read how—

Phoebus, gilding the brow o' morning,
 Banishes ilk darksome shade !

Still we might keep a love-poem unexcelled by Catullus—

Had we never loved sæ kindly,
 Had we never loved sæ blindly,
 Never met—or never parted,
 We had ne'er been broken-hearted.

But the letters to Clarinda would have been unwritten, and the thrush would have been untaught in "the style of the Bird of Paradise."

A quiet life of song, *fallentis semita vitæ*, was not to be yours. Fate otherwise decreed it. The touch of a lettered society, the strife with the Kirk, discontent with the State, poverty and pride, neglect and success, were needed to make your Genius what it was, and to endow the world with "Tarn o' Shanter," the "Jolly Beggars," and "Holy Willie's Prayer." Who

can praise them too highly—who admire in them too much the humour, the scorn, the wisdom, the unsurpassed energy and courage ? So powerful, so commanding, is the movement of that Beggars' Chorus, that, methinks, it unconsciously echoed in the brain of our greatest recent poet when he conceived the " Vision of Sin." You shall judge for yourself. Recall—

Here's to budgets, bags, and wallets !
 Here's to all the wandering train !
 Here's our ragged bairns and callets !
 One and all cry out, Amen !

A fig for those by law protected !
 Liberty's a glorious feast !
 Courts for cowards were erected !
 Churches built to please the priest !

Then read this :

Drink to lofty hopes that cool—
 Visions of a perfect state :
 Drink we, last, the public fool,
 Frantic love and frantic hate.

Drink to Fortune, drink to Chance,
 While we keep a little breath !
 Drink to heavy Ignorance,
 Hob and nob with brother Death !

Is not the movement the same, though the modern speaks a wilder recklessness ?

So in the best company we leave you, who

were the life and soul of so much company, good and bad. No poet, since the Psalmist of Israel, ever gave the world more assurance of a man ; none lived a life more strenuous, engaged in an eternal conflict of the passions, and by them overcome—"mighty and mightily fallen." When we think of you, Byron seems, as Plato would have said, remote by one degree from actual truth, and Musset by a degree more remote than Byron.

XX

To Lord Byron

MY LORD,

(Do you remember how Leigh Hunt
Enraged you once by writing *My dear Byron* ?)
Books have their fates,—as mortals have who
punt,

And *yours* have entered on an age of iron.
Critics there be who think your satire blunt,
Your pathos, fudge ; such perils must environ
Poets who in their time were quite the rage,
Though now there's not a soul to turn their
page.

Yes, there is much dispute about your worth,
And much is said which you might like to
know

By modern poets here upon the earth,
Where singers live, and love each other so ;
And, in Elysium, it may move your mirth
To hear of bards that pitch your praises low,
Though there be some that for your credit stickle,
As—Glorious Mat,—and not inglorious Nichol.

160 LETTERS TO DEAD AUTHORS

(This kind of writing is my pet aversion,
I hate the slang, I hate the personalities,
I loathe the aimless, reckless, loose dispersion,
Of every rhyme that in the singer's wallet is,
I hate it as you hated the *Excursion*,
But, while no man a hero to his valet is,
The hero's still the model ; I indite
The kind of rhymes that Byron oft would
write.)

There's a Swiss critic whom I cannot rhyme to,
One Scherer, dry as sawdust, grim and prim.
Of him there's much to say, if I had time to
Concern myself in any wise with *him*.
He seems to hate the heights he cannot climb to,
He thinks your poetry a coxcomb's whim,
A good deal of his sawdust he has spilt on
Shakespeare, and Moliere, and you, and Milton.

Ay, much his temper is like Vivian's mood,
Which found not Galahad pure, nor Lancelot
brave ;
Cold as a hailstorm on an April wood,
He buries poets in an icy grave,
His Essays—he of the Genevan hood !
Nothing so fine, but better doth he crave.
So stupid and so solemn in his spite
He dares to print that Moliere could not write!

Enough of these excursions ; I was saying
That half our English Bards are turned
Reviewers,

And Arnold was discussing and assaying
The weight and value of that work of yours,
Examining and testing it and weighing,
And proved, the gems are pure, the goldendures.
While Swinburne cries with an exceeding joy,
The stones are paste, and half the gold, alloy.

In Byron, Arnold finds the greatest force,
Poetic, in this later age of ours ;
His song, a torrent from a mountain source,
Clear as the crystal, singing with the showers
Sweeps to the sea in unrestricted course
Through banks o'erhung with rocks and sweet
with flowers ;

None of your brooks that modestly meander,
But swift as Awe along the Pass of Brander.

And when our century has clomb its crest,
And backward gazes o'er the plains of Time,
And counts its harvest, yours is still the best,
The richest garner in the field of rhyme
(The metaphoric mixture, 'tis confest,
Is all my own, and is not quite sublime).
But fame's not yours alone ; you must divide all
The plums and pudding with the Bard of
Rydal!

162 LETTERS TO DEAD AUTHORS

WORDSWORTH and BYRON, these the lordly
names

And these the gods to whom most incense burns.
" Absurd ! " cries Swinburne, and in anger flames,
And in an Æschylean fury spurns
With impious foot your altar, and exclaims
And wreathes his laurels on the golden urns
Where Coleridge's and Shelley's ashes lie,
Deaf to the din and heedless of the cry.

For Byron (Swinburne shouts) has never woven
One honest thread of life within his song ;
As Offenbach is to divine Beethoven
So Byron is to Shelley (*This* is strong !),
And on Parnassus' peak, divinely cloven,
He may not stand, or stands by cruel wrong ;
For Byron's rank (the examiner has reckoned)
Is in the third class or a feeble second.

" A Bernesque poet " at the very most,
And " never earnest save in politics,"
The Pegasus that he was wont to boast
Ablundering, floundering hackney, full of tricks,
A beast that must be driven to the post
By whips and spurs and oaths and kicks and
sticks,
A gasping, ranting, broken-winded brute,
That any judge of Pegasi would shoot ;

In sooth, a half-bred Pegasus, and far gone
In spavin, curb, and half a hundred woes.
And Byron's style is "jolter-headed jargon ;"
His verse is "only bearable in prose."
So living poets write of those that *are* gone,
And o'er the Eagle thus the Bantam crows ;
And Swinburne ends where Verisopht began,
By owning you " a very clever man."

Or rather does not end : he still must utter
A quantity of the unkindest things.
Ah! were you here, I marvel, would you
flutter
O'er such a foe the tempest of your wings ?
'Tis "rant and cant and glare and splash and
splutter "
That rend the modest air when Byron sings.
There Swinburne stops : a critic rather fiery.
Animis cælestibus tantæne iræ ?

But whether he or Arnold in the right is,
Long is the argument, the quarrel long ;
Non nobis est to settle *tantas lites* ;
No poet I, to judge of right or wrong :
But of all things I always think a fight is
The *most* unpleasant in the lists of song ;
When Marsyas of old was flayed, Apollo
Set an example which we need not follow.

The fashion changes ! Maidens do not wear,
 As once they wore, in necklaces and loquets
 A curl ambrosial of Lord Byron's hair ;
 " Don Juan " is not always in our pockets—
 Nay, a New Writer's readers do not care
 Much for your verse, but are inclined to mock
 its
 Manners and morals. Ay, and most young
 ladies
 To yours prefer the "Epic" called "of
 Hades " !

I do not blame them ; I'm inclined to think
 That with the reigning taste 'tis vain to
 quarrel,
 And Bums might teach his votaries to drink,
 And Byron never meant to make them
 moral.
 You yet have lovers true, who will not shrink
 From lauding you and giving you the
 laurel ;
 The Germans too, those men of blood and iron,
 Of all our poets chiefly swear by Byron,

Farewell, thou Titan fairer than the Gods !
 Farewell, farewell, thou swift and lovely spirit,
 Thou splendid warrior with the world at odds,
 Unpraised, unpraisable, beyond thy merit ;

Chased, like Orestes, by the Furies' rods,
Like him at length thy peace dost thou
inherit!
Beholding whom, men think how fairer far
Than all the steadfast stars the wandering
star!¹

¹ Mr. Swinburne's and Mr. Arnold's diverse views of Byron will be found in the *Selections* by Mr. Arnold and in the *Nineteenth Century* (April, 1884).

XXI

To Omar Khayyam

WISE Omar, do the Southern Breezes fling
Above your Grave, at ending of the Spring,
The Snowdrift of the Petals of the Rose,
The wild white Roses you were wont to sing ?

Far in the South I know a Land divine,¹
And there is many a Saint and many a Shrine,
And over all the Shrines the Blossom blows
Of Roses that were dear to you as Wine.

You were a Saint of unbelieving Days,
Liking your Life and happy in Men's Praise ;
Enough for you the Shade beneath the Bough,
Enough to watch the wild World go its Ways.

Dreadless and hopeless thou of Heaven or Hell,
Careless of Words thou hadst not Skill to spell,
Content to know not all thou knowest now,
What's Death? Doth any Pitcher dread the Well?

¹ The hills above San Remo, where rose-bushes are planted by the shrines. Omar desired that his grave might be where the wind would scatter rose-leaves over it.

The Pitchers we, whose Maker makes them ill,
Shall He torment them if they chance to spill ?

Nay, like the broken Potsherds are we cast
Forth and forgotten,—and what will be will !

So still were we, before the Months began
That rounded us and shaped us into Man.

So still we *shall* be, surely, at the last,
Dreamless, untouched of Blessing or of Ban !

Ah, strange it seems that this thy common
Thought—

How all Things have been, ay, and shall be
nought—

Was ancient Wisdom in thine ancient East,
In those old Days when Senlac Fight was fought,

Which gave our England for a captive Land
To pious Chiefs of a believing Band,

A gift to the Believer from the Priest,
Tossed from the holy to the blood-red Hand !¹

Yea, thou wert singing when that Arrow clave
Through Helm and Brain of him who could not
save

His England, even of Harold Godwin's son ;
The high Tide murmurs by the Hero's Grave !²

¹ Omar was contemporary with the battle of Hastings.

² *Per mandata Ducts, Rex hic, Haroldde, quiescis,
Ut custos maneat litloris et pelagi.*

And *thou* wert wreathing Roses—who can tell?—
 Or chanting for some Girl that pleased thee
 well,

Or satst at Wine in Nashapur, when dun
 The twilight veiled the Field where Harold fell !

The salt Sea-waves above him rage and roam !
 Along the white Walls of his guarded Home

No Zephyr stirs the Rose, but o'er the Wave
 The wild Wind beats the Breakers into Foam !

And dear to him, as Roses were to thee,
 Rings the long Roar of Onset on the Sea ;
 The *Swan's Path* of his Father's is his Grave :
 His Sleep, methinks, is sound as thine can be.

His was the Age of Faith, when all the West
 Looked to the Priest for Torment or for Rest ;
 And thou wert living then, and didst not
 heed
 The Saint who banned thee or the Saint who
 blessed !

Ages of Progress ! These eight hundred Years
 Hath Europe shuddered with her Hopes or
 Fears,

And now! to thee she listened indeed,—
 To *thee*, and half believeth what she hears !

Hadst *thou* THE SECRET? Ah, and who may tell?

"An Hour we have," thou saidst; "Ah, waste it well!"

An Hour we have, and yet Eternity
Looms o'er us, and the Thought of Heaven or Hell!

Nay, we can never be as wise as thou,
O idle Singer 'neath the blossomed Bough.

Nay, and we cannot be content to die.
We cannot shirk the Questions "Where?" and
"How?"

Ah, not from learned Peace and gay Content
Shall we of England go the way *he* went—

The Singer of the Red Wine and the Rose—
Nay, otherwise than *his* our Day is spent!

Serene he dwelt in fragrant Nashapur,
But we must wander while the Stars endure.

He knew THE SECRET: we have none that
knows,
No Man so sure as Omar once was sure!

XXII

To Q. Horatius Flaccus

IN what manner of Paradise are we to conceive that you, Horace, are dwelling, or what region of immortality can give you such pleasures as this life afforded? The country and the town, nature and men, who knew them so well as you, or who ever so wisely made the best of those two worlds? Truly here you had good things, nor do you ever, in all your poems, look for more delight in the life beyond; you never expect consolation for present sorrow, and when you once have shaken hands with a friend the parting seems to you eternal,

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis?

So you sing, for the dear head you mourn has sunk, for ever, beneath the wave. Virgil might wander forth bearing that golden branch "the Sibyl doth to singing men allow," and might visit, as one not wholly without hope, the

dim dwellings of the dead and the unborn. To him it was permitted to see and sing "mothers and men, and the bodies outworn of mighty heroes, boys and unwedded maids, and young men borne to the funeral fire before their parents' eyes." The endless caravan swept past him—"many as fluttering leaves that drop and fall in autumn woods when the first frost begins; many as birds that flock landwards from the great sea when now the chill air drives them o'er the deep and leads them to sunnier lands." Such things was it given to the sacred poet to behold, and "the happy seats and sweet pleasancesses of fortunate souls, where a larger light clothes all the plains and dips them in a rosier gleam, plains with their own new sun and stars before unseen." Ah, not *frustra pius* was Virgil, as you say, Horace, in your melancholy song. In him, we fancy, there was a happier mood than your melancholy patience, "Not, though thou wert sweeter of song than Thracian Orpheus, with that lyre whose lay led the dancing trees, not so would the blood return to the empty shade of him whom once with dread wand, the inexorable God hath folded among his shadowy flocks; but patience lighteneth what heaven forbids us to undo."

Durum, sed levius fit patientia!

This was all your philosophy in that last sad resort to which we are pushed so often—

" With close-lipped Patience for our only friend,
Sad Patience, loo near neighbour of Despair."

The Epicurean is at one with the Stoic at last, and Horace with Marcus Aurelius. "To go away from among men, if there are Gods, is not a thing to be afraid of; but if indeed they do not exist, or if they have no concern about human affairs, what is it to me to live in a universe devoid of gods or devoid of providence ?"

An excellent philosophy, but easier to those for whom no Hope had dawned or seemed to set. Yes ! it is harder than common, Horace, for us to think of *you*, still glad somewhere, among rivers like Liris and plains and vine-clad hills, that

Solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

It is hard, for you look for no such thing.

*Omnes una manet nox
Et calcanda semel via leti.*

You could not tell Maecenas that you would meet him again ; you could only promise to tread the dark path with him.

*Ibimus, ibimus,
Utcunq̄ue præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.*

Enough, Horace, of these mortuary musings. You loved the lesson of the roses, and now and again would speak somewhat like a death's head over your temperate cups of Sabine *ordinaire*. Your melancholy moral was but meant to heighten the joy of your pleasant life, when wearied Italy, after all her wars and civic bloodshed, had won a peaceful haven. The harbour might be treacherous ; the prince might turn to the tyrant ; far away on the wide Roman marches might be heard, as it were, the endless, ceaseless monotone of beating horses' hoofs and marching feet of men. They were coming, they were nearing, like footsteps heard on wool ; there was a sound of multitudes and millions of barbarians, all the North, *officina gentium*, mustering and marshalling her peoples. But their coming was not to be to-day, nor to-morrow, nor to-day was the budding Empire to blossom into the blood-red flower of Nero. In the lull between the two tempests of Republic and Empire your odes sound "like linnets in the pauses of the wind."

What joy there is in these songs ! what delight of life, what an exquisite Hellenic grace of

art, what a manly nature to endure, what tenderness and constancy of friendship, what a sense of all that is fair in the glittering stream, the music of the waterfall, the hum of bees, the silvery grey of the olive woods on the hillside ! How human are all your verses, Horace ! what a pleasure is yours in the straining poplars, swaying in the wind ! what gladness you gain from the white crest of Socrate, beheld through the fluttering snowflakes while the logs are being piled higher on the hearth ! You sing of women and wine — not all whole-hearted in your praise of them, perhaps, for passion frightens you, and 'tis pleasure more than love that you commend to the young. Lydia and Glycera, and the others, are but passing guests of a heart at ease in itself, and happy enough when their facile reign is ended. You seem to me like a man who welcomes middle age, and is more glad than Sophocles was to "flee from these hard masters " the passions. In the fallow leisure of life you glance round contented, *and* find all very good save the need to leave all behind. Even that you take with an Italian good-humour, as the folk of your sunny country bear poverty and hunger.

Durum, sed levius fit patientia !

To them, to you, the loveliness of your land is, and was, a thing to live for. None of the Latin poets your fellows, or none but Virgil, seem to me to have known so well as you, Horace, how happy and fortunate a thing it was to be born in Italy. You do not say so, like your Virgil, in one splendid passage, numbering the glories of the land as a lover might count the perfections of his mistress. But the sentiment is ever in your heart and often on your lips.

Me nec tarn patiens Lacedremon,
 Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
 Quam domus Albuneæ resonantis
 Et præceps Anio, ac Tiburni lucus, et uda
 Mobilibus pomaria rivis.¹

So a poet should speak, and to every singer his own land should be dearest. Beautiful is Italy with the grave and delicate outlines of her sacred hills, her dark groves, her little cities perched like eyries on the crags, her rivers gliding under ancient walls; beautiful is Italy, her seas, and her suns: but dearer to me the long grey wave that bites the rock below the minster in the north; dearer are the barren

¹ " Me neither resolute Sparta nor the rich Larissæan plain so enraptures as the fane of echoing Albunea, the headlong Anio, the grove of Tibur, the orchards watered by the wandering rills."

moor and black peat-water swirling in tawny foam, and the scent of bog myrtle and the bloom of heather ; and, watching over the lochs, the green round-shouldered hills.

In affection for your native land, Horace, certainly the pride in great Romans dead and gone made part, and you were, in all senses, a lover of your country, your country's heroes, your country's gods. None but a patriot could have sung that ode on Regulus, who died, as our own hero died on an evil day, for the honour of Rome, as Gordon for the honour of England.

Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,
Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
Ab se removisse, et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse voltum :

Donec labantes consilio patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
Interque mærentes amicos
Egregius properaret exul.

Atqui sciebat, quæ sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet : non aliter tamen
Dimovit obstantes propinquos,
Et populum reditus morantem,

Quam si clientum longa negotia
Dijudicata lite relinqueret,
Tendens Venafranos in agros
Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum.¹

¹ " They say he put aside from him the pure lips of his wife and his little children, like a man unfree, and with his brave

We talk of the Greeks as your teachers. Your teachers they were, but that poem could only have been written by a Roman! The strength, the tenderness, the noble and monumental resolution and resignation—these are the gifts of the lords of human things, the masters of the world.

Your country's heroes are dear to you, Horace, but you did not sing them better than your country's Gods, the pious protecting spirits of the hearth, the farm, the field; kindly ghosts, it may be, of Latin fathers dead or Gods framed in the image of these. What you actually believed we know not, *you* knew not. Who knows what he believes? *Parcus Deorum cultor*, you bowed not often, it may be, in the temples of the state religion and before the statues of the great Olympians; but the pure and pious worship of rustic tradition, the faith handed down by the homely elders, with *that you* never

face bowed earthward sternly he waited till with such counsel as never mortal gave he might strengthen the hearts of the Fathers, and through his mourning friends go forth, a hero, into exile. Yet well he knew what things were being prepared for him at the hands of the tormentors: who, none the less, put aside the kinsmen that barred his path and the people that would fain have delayed his return, passing through their midst as he might have done if, his retainers' weary business ended and the suits adjudged, he were faring to his Venafran lands or to Dorian Tarentum."

broke. Clean hands and a pure heart, these, with a sacred cake and shining grains of salt, you could offer to the Lares. It was a benignant religion, uniting old times and new, men living and men long dead and gone, in a kind of service and sacrifice solemn yet familiar.

*Te nihil attinet
Tentare multa cæde bidentium
Parvos coronantem marino
Rore deos fragilique myrto.*

*Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumphluosa blandior hostia
Mollivit aversos Penates
Farre pio et saliente mica.¹*

Farewell, dear Horace ; farewell, thou wise and kindly heathen ; of mortals the most human, the friend of my friends and of so many generations of men.

¹ " Thou, Phidyle, hast no need to besiege the gods with slaughter so great of sheep, thou who crownest thy tiny deities with myrtle rare and rosemary. If but the hand be clean that touches the altar, then richest sacrifice will not more appease the angered Penates than the duteous cake and salt that crackles in the blaze."

XXIII

To Master Geoffrey Chaucer

SIR,—I read of late the book of a learned clerk who said of you, that you were the most English of all poets, and the least read by Englishmen. Now Englishmen and even Englishwomen, read two Knights cleped Sir Edwin and Sir Lewis. The second is a Knight of the Welsh Marches, but the first dwelt hard by Fleet Street, wherein men say that you broke the head of a Gray Friar, how truly I know not. They take much delight also in a good Squire, Master Kipling, who has been in Inde and other far lands, and prays oft to St. George that he will help England, and put a stout heart into her men-at-arms. That Englishmen read not much in your books is no marvel, for, *imprimis*, the fashion of our speech is altered, and they neither know what your words mean, nor can they readily understand the letters of your spelling to-day. For consider, fair sir, in your timeless Paradise, and

eternity of joy, that five hundred mortal years of time have passed since you wrote,

" And for ther is so gret diversite
 In Englissh, and in writing of our tonge
 So prey to God that none miswrite thee
 Nor thee mismetre for defaute of tonge !
 And, red whereso thou be, or elles songe,
 That thou be understonde God Biseche ! "

But you be not understonde—though your speech is plain English—because of the diversity of writing. Our manner of spelling is changed. To-day, I read the letter of a Queen, Dame Margaret of Scotland, to her brother Henry, the Eighth of that name ; she subscribed herself his loving "cystyr." We are now in use to write "sister," and as your Englishman is not quick-brained, he cannot guess what "cystyr" should signify. Consider then, Sir, how we shall read these verses of yours concerning Cressida and her love, which I write just as I find them in a book of your poems, that I bought for three marks,

" And whan that she was comen into halle,
 ' Now em,' quod she, ' we wol go dine anon !'
 And gan some of her women for to calle, (1172)
 And streight into her chaumbre gan she gon ;
 But of her businesse this was oon (1174)
 Amonges othre thinges, out of drede,
 Full prively this lettre for to reade.

" Avised word by word in every line,
 And fond no lak, she thoughte he coulde good,
 And up it putte, and wente her into dine ;
 But Pandarus, that in a study stood,
 Or he was war, she took him by the hood (1181)
 And seide ' Ye were caught or that ye wiste !'
 ' I vouche sauf !' quod he, ' Do what you liste !' "

Hereto the learned add the following elucidations—

(1172) *for to*, so J. G ; a2 Cx. omit ; 114 115 *in to* ; R *gan she* ; y8 *to her*.

(1174) *bisinesse*. Cp. *businesses*.

(1181) *him* by 3 omit ; R *tho*.

Here you paint for us the prettiest picture of the prettiest maid, catching her uncle by the hood while he muses, and thrusting the prettiest face into it. But think you that your Englishman understands a word of it, or of these commentaries, "D, y3 omit," and the like, more akin to the cunning of the Paynim in that magic art called *Al Gebra*, than any Christian speech? No, sir, this is matter too hard for him, and indeed I know not nor care, what the crabbed commentaries may signify.

For this is the second thing which hinders men from reading you, first, the hardness of the old words (though simple enough to him that carefully considers them), and, next, the craft of the learned, who sprinkle dots and accents

about, like a cook with her pepper-caster. For, Sir, you are an author that feeds many a learned man, almost as the ancient Greeks and Romans do, for we read neither the ancients nor you, but we pay the learned to write about you and them. Yet, marry, what they write we read not, for it is as dry as sawdust, also much of it is made in Almayne, and is brought hither without paying dues and customs. Yet, if one be not too hurried up and down, as many now are, to sit in a nook with your Tale of Troilus, his love and broken heart, is as pleasant as to lie beneath the hawthorn bough, where the clear brook flows by our feet, and the thrushes carol in May. What I do love is to meet your memories of old poets, as here,

"The swalwe Proigne, with a sorwful lay (64)
 Whan morwe com gan make her waymentinge
 Why she forshapen was ; and evere lay
 Pandare a-bedde, half in a slomberinge,
 Til she so nigh him made her cheteringe
 How Tereus gan forth his suster take, (69)
 That with the noise of her he gan awake."

The learned clerk adds to make all clear—

(64) *Proigne*. See L. G. W., vii.

(69) *Tereus*, so H₄ R Cx.; a2 *Thereus* ; J. *Tereux* ; y *Tireux*.

For this verse of yours minds me how

Rufinus bade the swallow cease her singing in the dawn, and let him sleep and forget the cruel Rhodocleia.

For this reason, methinks, you old poets are dear, because you tell of life and men's hearts, ever the same, whether Penelope complained upon the nightingale in days when Israel was yet in Egypt, or Rufinus heard the swallows cry, or *you* speak of the throstles, or Tennyson of the " pipe of half awakened birds " as if all the ages were but one, and ever the birds chanting, and man setting the thought of his heart to their unchanging music. Time alters our speech and manners and habit, but never alters our hearts, or the birds' song. This, also, is a delight in you, that you marked not the change in these little things of the outside and appearance, as of arms and dress, but Troilus rides back from battle into Troy, like a knight who has kept the barriers below the walls of Orleans or Compiegne, and does not drive in a chariot, as was his manner while he lived.

" So lik a man of armes and a knight,
 He was to sen, fulfil'd of heigh prowessse ;
 For bothe he hadde a body and a might
 To don that thing, as well as hardinesse ;
 And ek to sen him in his gere him dresse,
 So fressh, so yong, so weldy semed he
 It was an hevene upon him for to see !

" His helm to-hewen was in twenty places,
 That by a tissu heng his bak bihinde ;
 His sheld to-dasshed was with swerdes and maces,
 In which men mighte many an arwe finde
 That Thirled hadde horn and nerf and rinde ;
 And ay the peple cri'de, ' Her com'th our joye !
 And next his brother, holder up of Troye ! "

No maker, methinks, has sung so well as
 you the joyful surprise of two lovers brought
 together beyond hope :

" O blissful night, of hem so longe y-sought,
 How blithe unto hem bothe two thou were !
 Why n'had I swich oon with my soule y-bought !
 Ye, or the leeste joye that was there ?
 Away, thou foule daunger and thou fere,
 And lat hem in this hevене blisse dwelle,
 That is so heigh that no man can it telle ! "

You could not endure to punish fair Cresseid
 for her perfidy, but the tale is told out, and the
 punishment meted by a Scottish clerk, Robert
 Henryson, who shows us how Cresseid became
 a leper among the leper folk, and how Troilus,
 riding back once more from battle into Troy,
 saw her, and knew her not in her altered
 guise—

" And with ane blenk it come into his thocht
 That he sumtyme hir face befoir had sene.

" Ane spark of lufe than till his hert culd spring,
 And kendlit all his bodie in ane fyre
 With hait fevir ane sweit and trimbilling

Him tuik, quhill he was reddie to expyre;
 To beir his scheild, his l)reit began to tyre ;
 Within ane quhyle he changit mony hew
 And nevertheless not ane ane uther knew.

" For knichtlie pietie and memoriall
 Of fair Cresseid, ane gyrdill can he tak,
 Ane purs of gold and mony gay jowall,
 And in the skirt of Cresseid doun can swak ;
 Than raid away, and not ane word he spak.
 Pensive in hart, quhill he come to the toun,
 And for greit cair oft syis almaist fell doun."

Surely if yours be the sweetest first meeting of young lovers, Master Henryson's is the saddest last meeting of old lovers parted, and shamed and smitten over hard by change of fortune and stroke of time. Nothing of yours is so bitter and true, and nothing of his so beautiful : thus poet helps poet, though you are remembered, and the solitary of the Dunfermline cloister is forgotten. For you, Sir, are the father of your country's makers, from Edmund Spencer onwards, and you are the father of the poets of my own land, Henryson and Dunbar, and the best of them, the crowned singer, the only King of all the poets in Paradise, King James.

From you they all came, but you are far greater than all of them, in music and in mirth, in tenderness and laughter, and knowledge

of the hearts and ways of women and men. Humour and beauty are both in your gift, as in the gift of no other but the lord of all worlds, all knowledge, all heights and depths, Master Shakespeare. Neither the deep places nor the high places were trodden by you, but the middle path of life, whereby men ride on pilgrimage or about their business, with telling of amorous or sad tales, and pleasure in wine and in meat, flowers, and the sun and the birds' song. So they rode to Canterbury, Knight and Monk, and Reeve and Nun. Knights we have still, (as witness Sir Lewis aforesaid), but "at mortal battles they have" *not* "been fifteen." A few Nuns we may see, but never a pretty Prioress, and a Mammoth is not more extinct than the wanton merry Frere and the Pardoner. Time may bring wisdom, but, for all that I can see men were wiser in merry England, with pretty Prioresses and the Pardoners and Freres, than in moody England, where we and our wisdom speed by steam under black smoke, beside poisoned rivers. Master, I see not that we have bettered the world, since the Miller told his tale, though we have scattered the bones of St. Thomas, and the Frere's occupation is gone with the ploughmen's tabors. In your world were room enough, and pure light, clear

air, colour, variety, and the crown of all (when Wat Tyler was not up) content. How, prithe, have we bettered the world by abjuring the Saints and robbing the monks, and teaching the ploughman to read the ribald newspapers? Indeed, Sir, we have nothing left of your age, but the Clerks of Oxenford, that own "but litel gold in cofre," and of "study take moost cure and moost hede." It is an old Clerk of Oxenford and one "that is not right fat I undertake,"

" But lookes holwe and thereto soberly "

who bids Geoffrey Chaucer hail and goodbye.

XXIV

To James Anthony Froude, Esq.

SIR,—It was by your own desire that public curiosity was deprived of your Biography till it was written of late by Mr. Herbert Paul. We may easily sympathize with your impatience of the curiosity of the public. Caring little for a man's work displayed before the sun, the world loves to hear about his private affairs. My own curiosity does not extend to your domestic existence, but I would gladly read, were it permitted, such literary letters as you may have written when engaged on your great "History of England." The book fascinates and irritates; it is so interesting, so clear and luminous, so conscientious a statement of how the Reformation appeared in your eyes; so vivid it is, yet so far from being persuasive (if one knows the facts), and so far from being—well, you know the drawbacks to the masterpiece. How you arrived at your "personal equation," that is what one is anxious to learn.

We know that there was an hour when the revival of Anglicanism enticed you ; that the nascent criticism of the age reached you and caused you to write the "Nemesis of Faith," one of the best, if one of the least read, romances of theological scepticism. We know that you abandoned your profession, and, looking about for "something craggy to break your mind upon," as Byron says, you betook yourself to writing the history of the great religious revolution which ended the Middle Ages and brought in our modern times. We can applaud the energy of the pioneer who explored the dusty archives of Simancas, and revived life in the dry bones of history by transcribing and translating the letters of dead kings, reformers, soldiers, and diplomatists. No pioneer's work, perhaps no historical work, can be done once for all; it constantly needs re-doing, both because old materials must be more closely examined, and because new materials are discovered, and finally because points of view alter and the perspective changes with the changing of time. But, you, at least, have told the story of the Reformation which most Englishmen, who read at all, are likely to read most ; you are the Macaulay of the central moment of our national development.

Scholars of more exact judgment, better

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balanced, arise, and new books are written on your theme ; they are written, but they are not read ! These new scholars tell the tale without the song, and design in sepia what you painted in the colours of Titian. "Judgments better balanced !" — it seems as if a historian of cool impartiality could not be more popular than Hallam. You, like Macaulay, were undeniably a partisan. But Macaulay really was a convinced Whig ; he believed in his whiggery as an Islamite believes in his Koran. You, on the other hand, strike one as a purely platonic Protestant, who does no more believe in the "Trewth" of John Knox than in the "Idolatry" of Rome. But you dislike the latter more, and so you become the historical partisan of men who would have been delighted to treat you as Calvin treated Servetus.

Probably your attitude may be explained thus : Had you lived when Gospel light first dawned from Boleyn's eyes, you would have been a Gospeller. I would have been on the side of Erasmus or Ninian Winzet—a hopeless party was his in Scotland, the party of reform *within* the church. Again, you were extremely English, and so, almost alone of historians, you could palliate the beefy ruffianism of Henry VIII. Mr. Carlyle's influence, too, may have inclined

you to seek a hero in a "stalwart bully," the "Reformation in boots," as Napoleon was *la Revolution bottee*. It is natural for literary men, "mild, monastic faces, in quiet collegiate cloisters," to adore a trampling conqueror, as Mommsen admires Caesar, as a girl dotes on a red-coat. And thus, in reaction against Anglicanism (not a logically tenable faith, I agree), and in patriotism, and because of Mr. Carlyle, you fell in love with Henry VIII., that Bluebeard, whom we know to have been a conqueror of hearts. Hence arises that not logically tenable attitude of platonic Protestantism, from which you look at our religious revolution. From that perch your readers, too, must look, for who is to write the history of the Reformation again in a shape that can be read by the British public? Perhaps it might be done by a platonic Catholic, who believes no more in the Mass than you did in Justification by Faith. But, alas! that historian would not excite popular enthusiasm.

I do not myself think that the attitude of platonic Catholicism, of sentimental sympathy with things old, and no longer so true as they once were, is more honest than your own dilettante enthusiasm for things new, and "the Trewth." *Moi qui parle*—I have the sentiment,

the love of what is ancient and fair, the hatred of preaching agitators, of hireling cut-throats, of paid " professors of Christ Jesus " like the early Protestant nobles in Scotland. Baser and bloodier hypocrites, I dare say, never existed—than Morton, Ruthven, and the Postulant. But one cannot pile up an historical standpoint out of these ideas, because one cannot defend the representatives of the Church that was falling, much as one loathes many representatives of the Kirk that was rising. The Protestants (the leaders) were probably the worse men, but they had what we must consider the better, or, at all events, the inevitably successful, cause. Persecutors as they were, they incidentally broke down the hedge, lightened the bonds, made it less impossible that, in the future, men might have leave to say what they think and to think what they please.

Nothing in the world was more remote than this toleration from the principles of your Protestant heroes. I entirely decline to be grateful to them for religious toleration, a result which they would have contemplated with horror. Their courage one can admire. Latimer, who would preach from a platform at some poor heretic that Henry VIII. was burning, stood being burned himself very manfully. Platonic

Protestants, or platonic Catholics, I fear, would not come so well out of the test of fire. We lose the virtue of courage as we lose the vice of cruelty ; at least we lose the virtue of that kind of courage.

But to return to your historical position : surely, sir, you carried platonic Protestantism very far ! I could defend Beaton for strangling heretics (Henry preferred burning them all alive), because he only carried out the law of his country. But I could not defend Beaton or any man for suborning assassins, and organizing a system of waylaying and kidnapping his adversaries. These were the favourite, the darling devices, of *your* Henry's holy shade ! The reputation of Napoleon (who had not much to lose) was sensibly tarnished by the murder of the Duc d'Enghien. But Henry had hardly an arrow in his quiver except those of trepanning and assassination. His letters are a series of foul conspiracies—mainly futile. His own council stood aghast and refused to be concerned when he wanted to seize his royal nephew, who was certain to be slain in the operation.

Now this is the point at which your platonic affection for an open Bible, and for your Henry, carries you to heights which a platonic Catholic

could never hope to scale. Cardinal Beaton, alone, by sheer force of courage and genius, was defending the freedom of his country and my country. Thereon a set of "earnest professors of Christ Jesus," Scottish nobles and gentry with whose taste for public robbery Beaton had interfered, offered to murder Beaton "for a small reward." Richard I. or Edward I. would have known how to answer those pious *Sicarii*—but your Henry! Your Henry's "position obliged him to look at the facts as they were, rather than through conventional forms," so you write. What is a "conventional form"? Is the sixth commandment a conventional form? Are honour and manly honesty mere conventions?

The historian who dares to write thus is what M. Daudet called "a strugforlifeur" on a heroic scale, and we return to the enigma—how did an honourable gentleman and scholar become capable of writing such a sentence about a purchase of daggers and a transaction in murder? That an inflamed Knox might rejoice in the deed when done is intelligible, for his passions were engaged, his friend and teacher was avenged, and he thought of Ehud and Eglon. But Mr. Froude can scarcely plead excuse of passion after three hundred years,

and we know, if Knox did not, the difference between the morality of the Old and New Testaments.

Thus your attitude, your historical temperament, remain that mystery which, we can never hope to see explained. Perhaps it is thus that readable history is written.

XXV

To Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford

MY LORD,—Other men have been made illustrious by Titles : your fame is of the kind which the gewgaws of Rank serve only to obscure. To many ears Orford is but a name, nor would it surprise me if it served to confound you, in the memories of the frivolous and forgetful, with Oxford, with Harley, the Minister of Anne, and the "Dragon" of the Dean of St. Patrick's. Oxfords come and are gone ; there is but one Horace Walpole, and he is immortal. It may hurt that ardent, loyal and filial affection which we admire in you, to learn that the minister, your father, is known to few compared with his son, whom I know not how to describe without offence. " Author " you would not suffer yourself to be called : the title of "the learned gentleman" or "scholar" is refused by the historian of the Second George, and the apologist of the Third Richard. He who builded the Castle of Otranto out of

dreams will not choose to be styled a novelist, and, when we think of your delightful and unsurpassed correspondence, it seems a calembour to call you "a Man of Letters." Antiquary we may style you, and among Collectors and patrons of Art, your taste ran out in front of your age, anticipating, in your love of early Italian paintings, of your Grecian eagle (I have seen it of late, it is indeed admirable), your Petitots and Zinckes, the knowledge and *gout* of our time.

Indeed, my lord, you have too many claims on our regard, and these claims too varied, as the best of sons ; of friends the most constant, affectionate, and eager ; of wits the brightest ; of political observers the keenest (as even surly Mr. Carlyle has confessed) and of patriots the most ardent. Few have sorrowed so deeply as you with the sorrows, though others have more noisily applauded the triumphs of England. It is in these lights that the fame of Horace Walpole shines before the eyes of one who certainly has nothing to gain by flattery.

Yet, as you know well, one of the most renowned of modern Scottish writers has endeavoured to blacken your fame in the opinion of the hasty and unthinking. I refer, of course, to the late Lord Macaulay. What fly had

stung his Lordship ; on what maleficent herb had he trodden ? You were not a Tory ; you were not a Jacobite ; you did not admire that adventurous Prince whose head Lord Macaulay's preaching ancestor endeavoured to secure as an *objet de vertu* priced at £30,000. Like your blasphemer himself, you were a Whig, and, moreover, the son of the greatest of the Whigs. Yet he treats you as if you were a Dundee or even a Marlborough, a good Tory, or not a sound Whig. "The faults of Horace Walpole's head and heart," he says, "are sufficiently glaring," and he goes further, comparing them to another diseased organ, the liver of the goose, "the wretched animal" who furnishes us with Strasbourg pies. You recognize the wit of the vulgar ; the taste of the public penman ! Lord Macaulay's criticism, indeed, reminds us of the tone and voice with which "the wretched pie-producing animal" proclaims dissent, dislike, and defiance.

Your mind, he cries, "was a bundle of inconsistent whims and affectations." Thus "you scoffed at literary fame, and left fair copies of your private letters, with copious notes, to be published after your decease." Indeed, and happily for us, you did so ; and where is the inconsistency ? Where is the affectation ? Did

Scott not scoff at literary fame—and leave his journal? You, my lord, had too lofty an idea of what letters ought to be ; too clear an estimate of contemporary notoriety, to suppose that the " Castle of Otranto " deserved renown, as an austere masterpiece of genius ; or to neglect the interests of posterity and of history, by leaving your invaluable correspondence to the caprice of chance, and accidents of time.

"Whatever was little seemed to you great, and whatever was great seemed to you little." England, and friendship, and true learning seemed great to you, and therefore, not from affectation, you refused to be called learned, and abstained from very active occupation in affairs for which you knew yourself unfit. "To know one's self" was reckoned wisdom by the wisest of men, and, knowing yourself, you restricted yourself at last to your proper function, the amusement and instruction of friends remote and of a generation unborn. A true historian, you recorded not only the hurrying political facts, but the changeful face of the life of your time: "Miss Chudleigh's absurdities, George Selwyn's good sayings"—and also what Pelham proposed, what Pitt achieved. It was among your crimes to seek for "Queen Mary's comb and the spur which King William struck into

the flank of Sorrel." Both are most interesting relics, and King William's spur is not less important than the name of his nag.

"When Walpole recorded gossip, he fancied that he was writing history." And he *was* writing history, the history of Life, even when he recorded gossip. Moreover, that narrative in your books which even Mr. Carlyle reckoned as gossip, concerning the Jacobite machinations of "our nephew," the great Frederick, was veracious history also, as the letters of the Prussian Protestant hero testify. You "liked Revolution. . . . only when it was a hundred years old," There are Revolutions and Revolutions—for me, I like none of them,—but there is a difference between 1688 and 1793, nor do I conceive that Lord Macaulay himself would have enjoyed a *regifugium* in his own day.

To say that you "cared more about a miniature of Grammont than about the American Revolution" is entirely characteristic of Lord Macaulay. You say "the phrenzy of the American war was pushed so far and so long, that, besides flinging away all we had acquired in near two centuries, doors have been thrown open to a thousand collateral misfortunes." You felt so bitterly that you had "neither

youth nor perseverance " *eversò succurrere sæclo*, you so deeply lamented the world out of joint, that you vainly affected an indifference, while your heart was bleeding for your country. It is not thus that you approach the purchase of a miniature of Grammont, in itself a most desirable object.

Like Scott, in dark days of England, you sought relief in the distraction of "antiquarian old womanries," and to forget that "I have out-lived the glory of my family and my country." That was impossible—you were the glory of your family! "I may, at sixty-five, say that I have never varied, but one may be tired out,"—alas, before sixty-five. So old a child, as you say, may be permitted to play with its toys. Presently Lord Howe cured your melancholy, "with the majesty of a sedate triumph." I do not think that the loss of a miniature would have dashed your delight in the victories of Howe and Hawke. What can Lord Macaulay have intended? American affairs mainly occupied your mind; to the exclusion of miniatures. We had to confess "that the opposition have been in the right from the beginning to the end." "I have lived long, but never saw such a day as Tuesday last." Was there a sale of curios? No, we had yielded to Congress!

As you justly say, the King over the water, Charles, was "happy in missing a crown," under which such things were done, such losses endured. "*His* reign will be stained with no crimes and blunders," like those of the monarch *de facto*.

I would not flatter you as being always consistent—who is or should be ?—as never peevish, as, like Charity, thinking no evil, but as you remark to Mann, "it is not enough to be indignant, if one does not mend oneself. I had much to mend, and corrections made in age have very little grace"; very much grace one would suppose, when faults have grown inveterate. Faults you had, as of petulance in youth to Mr. Grey, but you had the heart to confess and amend them. Of all your faults, the collector's passion appears most to have offended Lord Macaulay. At least it was hereditary, and from the uncultivated Squire, as he foolishly called your father, you received these desirable gems of Caracalla, Lord Burleigh, and Queen Elizabeth. Why was such a collection ever dispersed? Merely to read the catalogue is a pleasure.

We wish you had loved Dr. Johnson, but you knew not what you lost in missing the acquaintance of that great man. He was a Tory, and

you probably dreaded such a scene as ended his acquaintance with Mr. Adam Smith.

Our gratitude to you is unfeigned ; you are of the few writers who never weary us, and it seems to me that diffidence, no great defect, accounts for most of what Lord Macaulay took to be vices in you. He, too, never wearies, but ah, what a habit he has of dissecting character with a cleaver ! To correct his estimate of Lord Orford, it is only necessary to read the letters of Mr. Horace Walpole.

XXVI

*To the Reverend Master John Barbour,
sometime Archdeacon of Aberdeen*

REVEREND SIR,—He who writes to you this epistle is perturbed in mind by the changes "that fleeting time procureth." For, verily, the letter will cross the Western sea, from the city of the Holy Apostle, St Andrew, in Scotland, to a land in your life-days not discovered, but concealed by the wisdom of God beyond a great waste of waters.¹ There shall this letter be copied by a cunning engine called "the press," which, in your time, was not known, "but Heaven" (as one piously says) "permitted it, to punish the sins of the learned." Thereby the very *pitaille* may read; though fear not, Father, the *pitaille* will not read this epistle.

Nay, few now take keep of things long past, and the memory of famous men, such as that worthy Robert, King of Scots, whose history was by you compiled. Thus grievously all

¹ Originally written for publication in America.

things are altered ; it is a new world, and new ways, and a new faith in the land, and the old churches are dinged down, and the grave of King Robert is broken. The marble thereof is dust, and the fine gold has perished. All these things came about for that we listened to our old enemies of England, one hundred and fifty years after thou wert with the blessed. We cast off thy faith, and took up a fiercer form of the new English creed. Few enough are they who read thy poem now, for the fashion of this world changeth, and the old words grow strange to our ears, and new poets arise, and one every two months is called the greatest, and speedily is as forgotten as thyself. Nevertheless, in one matter, thy words may please them of the New World, for they speak much of liberty (having no kings or princes), and tell how " freedom is a goodly thing," especially they do thus on the 4th of July every year as it comes round.

Go to ! let us show them that they did not invent freedom, which, methinks, was first discovered among men by the old Greeks, but never was more fitly praised by Greeks than by thee. But, if thy praise of liberty is now to be understood, I must render it out of the old English into the new, though the rhymes may suffer in the rendering :

" Ah, Freedom is a noble thing !
 Freedom makes men to have liking,
 Freedom to all men solace gives,
 He lives at ease that freely lives !
 A noble heart may have none ease
 Nor aught else that him may please
 If Freedom fail, for free liking
 Is loved above all other thing,
 And he that ever has lived free
 May not endure the misery,
 The anger, nay, the wretched doom
 That coupled is with false thraldom."

This is the way of praising freedom that the old Greeks used, who fought all the power of Asia and the Persian King. But I know not if such words are found in any poetry, between Lucan, the Roman wit, and yours, which was written, I take it, about the year of Grace, thirteen hundred and eighty. Yet, surely, the Greek minstrels, such as Messire Æschylus, never thought to show men what an ill thing thraldom is, by likening it to the bondage of holy matrimony, whereof thou couldst know but by report, as being a priest and unwedded:

" You may see well, though none you tell,
 How hard a thing this thraldom is,
 For men may well see, that are wise,
 That wedding is the hardest band
 That any man may take on hand."

Thus, no married men are free, nay, not in the

new world, where no kings are, lords, nor princes. For this reason the chief lovers of freedom in our time desire that no man should be married, but live in sin, for that is the most free estate of any, wherefore they praise it in their romances, being themselves married men. Nay, our very bishops are now married, such as Bishop Proudie, of whom the romance tells that he found

" Wedding the hardest band
That any man may take on hand."

The Englishmen who write history say that thy book is no true tale, but mere legends, not of saints. Herein they err, though thou hast written history like a romance. For, whereas there were three Robert Bruces, namely, Robert, the grandson of the Earl of Huntingdon, who sought the crown ; Robert, his son, and Robert, the King, who won Bannockburn, thou hast deemed well to make them all a single person, " three single gentlemen rolled into one," as the poet says. History is not usually written by us in this manner, but the manner is vastly convenient. Our common country of Scotland groaned under the thraldom of four usurpers from Almayn, named George. It would make learning more easy and simple, if we could speak of them all as one man, as thou

makest one man of the three Bruces. Indeed, we of Scotland are still apt to think that the Edward who turned his back at Bannockburn, was that Edward, *Malleus Scotorum*, the Hammer of the Scots, of whom we never got the better. Moreover, it is kindly to our hearts to be told that Bruce refused to be King, saying to Edward :

"Sir, as God me save,
The Kingdom yearn I not to have ;
But if it fall of right to me,
And if God will that it so be,
I shall as freely in all thing,
Hold it as befits a King,
Or as my fathers before me
Held it in freest royalty."

Would that it had been so, and that your hero had spoken such words as these ! But he changed sides many a time, and broke many an oath, before his worst deed, the slaying of Comyn before the altar, made him turn to virtue for the rest of his life, like one baptised into heroism through crime. In such matters thou didst write like a poet, rather than like a true chronicler, and, for the rest, thou didst not stick at a trifle, if thereby thou mightst improve thy story. But how excellent is the story, and how plain and strong the words ! thus, in speaking of the good Sir James Douglas :

"He never would for mischief fail,
But drive the thing right to the end,
And take the fortune God would send."

Then of loyalty, or honour :

"Where it faileth, no virtue
May be of price, nor of value,
To make a man so good that he
May simply called good man be."

Now the learned tell us that there was no siege of Troy town, and no knight Hector, for we are bidden to believe little that we are told by our fathers that were before us. Therefore, it is like a charm of birds to read thy verses, as of one who might have seen Hector of Troy, and knew that he greatly favoured the Black Douglas :

"To good Hector of Troy might he
In things many likened be,
Hector had black hair, as he had ;
And stark limbs, and right well made,
And lisped also as did he,
And was fulfilled of loyalty."

Be Hector what he might, such was Sir James. Surely, we have had no poet, save one (and he a Scot), who could draw with words such pictures of stark fighting as thou, the peaceful Arch-deacon of Aberdeen, and scholar of Oxford. In an old Greek poet who told of Troy town, Quintus of Smyrna, we read concerning the

battle between Sir Achilles, the son of the Lady of the Sea, and Sir Memnon, the son of the Lady of the Dawn, that the dust and vapour of heat rose above them like a cloud, and hid them from the eyes of men. So it was, thou singest, when Randolph and his men fought Beaumont and Grey, on the day before Bannockburn:

" For the right great heat that they had
 For fighting, and for sun's heat,
 All their flesh of sweat was wet,
 And such a mist rose from them then,
 From the bodies of horse and men,
 And of dust, that such mirkness
 In the air above them was,
 That it was wonder for to see,
 They were in great perplexity."

The good Archdeacon loves all manful excellence in friend or foe—

" There might men mirth and gladness see,
 For right great feast made they there,
 And Englishmen and Scottish were
 Together in joy and solace,
 No felony between them was."

Even so, sir, it hath been for a long time, and, sure, we are better employed than in cutting each other's bodies up, and throwing them into wells, after the manner of Sir James. Maybe we could not be friends till we had

fought out our drawn battle. And I note that you call your speech "English," as it is, like that of Dan Chaucer. But now men merrily call our Scots tongue "Kailyard," and English no longer, which is a mystery, and so fare you well, for a right poet, and a good man, that needs no more the mass founded for him in the kirk of Aberdeen.

XXVII

To Mr. Samuel Richardson

SIR,—If you retain, as doubtless you do, the feelings of an author, you must summon your spirits to hear the most afflicting news of your fame. You have become an English classic, which, in this age of ours, is equivalent to saying that you are no longer read. Eighty years ago, in her preface to your "Correspondence," Mrs. Barbauld wrote, "Sidney's 'Arcadia' is a book that all have heard of, that some few possess, but that nobody reads." Nearly as much might now be said of "Pamela," "Clarissa," and "Sir Charles Grandison."

Take courage, sir, for observe that while old poetry is still read by the *few*, neglect is the inevitable portion of novelists dead and gone. Mr. Fielding's works are not, I fear, much more commonly studied than your own. Thanks to your works, says Mrs. Barbauld, "the moated castle is changed to a modern parlour"; but ten or twelve years after the lady wrote, the

SAMUEL RICHARDSON

moated castle returned to romance, raised by a magician's wand, and the parlour, for a season, disappeared. Now in our novels we have both parlour and castle ; " improbable events " share our interest with " natural passions." For mankind is no less eager to be amused with adventures that can never befall themselves than to study, in books, exactly such occurrences and persons as entertain them least in daily life.

It is with these that you delighted our great-grandmothers, "introducing useful maxims and sentiments of virtue," while presenting Mr. B— in the costume of the housemaid, for purposes, and in a situation, very far from virtuous. I conceive that your vogue rested greatly on this edifying combination of the virtuous sentiment with the vicious action or design. Even in your own outspoken day, ladies complained that they read " Pamela " with a blush ; they were at once provoked and improved. In this fortunate double arrangement you have now many followers, and fiction about the most squalid and depraving characters and situations is written for the profoundest moral ends. The reader, however, is now expected to supply the virtuous maxims for himself, nor would a writer be encouraged who stated his valuable and pious inferences with your sedulity.

I do not observe that the ethics of the age have been sensibly elevated by your moral successors, but they are talked about, their books are purchased—verily, they have their reward !

These also are your offspring: Tess is a descendant of Mrs. Pamela's, though less fortunate because less *rusee*—they are two wonderful "pure women !" Moral design, with naughty description, these things secured your vogue, or helped to secure it. The physical relations of the sexes are never for a moment absent from the minds of the readers of "Pamela" and "Clarissa." Are Mr. B— and Lovelace to succeed or fail ? This is the point towards which curiosity strains. Remembering this, and looking at your portrait, I could conceive your youth to have been as liberally bestowed as that of Mr. Samuel Pepys. You were over fifty when you wrote "Pamela," and confessed that your elderly eyes "were always on the ladies." But, whether by timidity or virtue, your life was ever pure (we have your own word for it); though even Mrs. Barbauld finds your conduct cleaner than your imagination.

How swiftly tastes and manners alter ! A century ago, some seventy years after "Pamela" was published, Mrs. Barbauld expressed our very ideas about that famous book. Its fame

"is now somewhat tarnished by time," she says and attributes its old success to the new experiment of "a novel written on the side of virtue," the virtue of a maiden passing through perils extremely *scabreux*. But was Pamela's behaviour virtue, or was it calculation, and is it a reward to marry a mean libertine, who listens at keyholes and opens letters? We know Mr. Fielding's opinion on this head, and I confess to agreeing with the author of "Joseph Andrews." When did Pamela first think of catching Mr. B—? Probably when she did not leave his house, on the excuse of finishing his flowered waistcoat—and that reluctance to seek safety occurs early in the tale. The reward of marrying a man who retained Mrs. Jewkes in his service can only have been worldly. Your regard for wealth and rank blinded you, one fears, to the circumstances that Pamela was a minx. "She has an end in view, an interested end," (I again cite Mrs. Barbauld), "and we can only consider her as the conscious possessor of a treasure which she is wisely resolved not to part with but for its just price. . . . Can a woman value her honour infinitely above her life, . . . and yet be won by those very attempts against her honour to which she expresses so much repugnance?"

Assuredly not, and Mr. B— was a poor Don Juan or he would have begun by winning Pamela's heart. Yours is not a nice morality, and your vogue depended on a curiosity rather prurient, as well as on that old romantic situation of the prisoned and oppressed virgin. It is the ancient stock-piece of romance, though no moat surrounds the *chateau* of Mr. B—. Yet, sir, "Pamela" may still be read with entertainment by those who can admire your ingenuity, your touches of nature (such as Pamela's curious fondness for her clothes), while they are repelled by your ethics. To be sure, the astonishing length of this romance dedicated to the virtues rebuffs most modern students. A man needs to seek a desert isle, devoid of printed paper, if he would taste "Pamela."

Of "Clarissa," your friend, Dr. Johnson, says : "It is not a performance to be read with eagerness, and laid aside forever, but will be occasionally consulted by the busy, the aged, and the studious." One of the busy, the aged, and the studious consults "Clarissa," alas! but "occasionally." You say, to M. Depreval, "'Tom Jones' is a dissolute book. Its run is over, even with us. Is it true that France had virtue enough to refuse a license for such a profligate performance?" (January 21, 1750.) No, it was

not true ! The run of " Tom Jones " can never be "over" while men have humour, style, and goodness of heart. Nor did the virtue of France extend so far as you were informed. But, in the changes of taste, it has become unspeakably odious to me to watch Clarissa in the toils of the abominable Lovelace. He, as Mrs. Barbauld says, would assuredly have been run through the body in England, long before he met Clarissa. Yet Charteris, you may remind me, was allowed to live on, amidst the disgust and detestation of mankind. I never knew a Charteris or a Lovelace, and I take the liberty to suppose that you were as unfamiliar with such persons. But I do not deny that your portrait displays a height of ingenuity. In reading parts of my Lord Byron's letters, one says, " Richardson, didst thou imitate Nature, or did Nature, in Lord Byron, imitate Richardson ? " The tone of my lord and that of Mr. Lovelace are often identical. You divined the truth, or Byron modelled himself on your inventions, which latter I suspect to be the better opinion. My lord was as fortunate as your commoner, who "has an uncle, no dishonour to a peerage whose peers are more respectable than the nobility of any other country," as Clarissa declares. After her great scene with her betrayer, a sense of humour might have prevented you,

Sir, from making Clarissa knock the chiseled elegance of her nose against a chair, so that the feature bled copiously. Or is this a touch of realism, as we say now, and a gem among your jewels? Your reformed rake, Mr. Belford, who lets these horrors go on, and does not place his sword at Clarissa's service, is a character, one hopes, quite incredible. For Miss Howe, with as much loveliness as her namesake, the Maid of Honour, and more discretion, we may thank you; for she was ready, like Beatrice, to eat Lovelace's heart in the market-place.

Space does not permit an incursion into the virtues of "Sir Charles Grandison," a region now sadly unfrequented. For the taste of mankind has condemned the length and improbability of your romance, wholly composed of such letters as only you and the nymphs of your "flower garden of ladies" ever wrote.

My own opinion takes a place between my Lord Macaulay's and my Lord Orford's. The former says of your books: "No writings, save those of Shakespeare, show more profound knowledge of the human heart." The latter peer talks of your "deplorably tedious lamentations, which are pictures of high life as conceived by a bookseller, and romances as they would be spiritualized by a Methodist preacher."

XXVIII

To Henry Fielding, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—You will excuse the fond familiarity of the address, for you and your works really are "dear" to the faithful. What is it that makes us love some authors from whom we are separated by Time, and the River "which none may cross in a black ship"? The writers, I conceive, who are thus cherished, were in life the most amiable of men, kind, generous, brave, loyal, and, perhaps, endowed like you, Sir, with the engaging quality of recklessness. These made the man, and, in your novels, we always find the man behind the artist. In our age it is common, indeed, to dwell upon the generosity and untutored virtues of the poor or the degraded, while every critic throws his flint at the self-regarding virtues of the respectable. But to your century this mode of considering things was novel, though it is conspicuous in a not unfamiliar set of writings, by no means new,

wherein we read about the Publican and the Pharisee.

We are almost inclined to go too far, I think, and we have many Publicans who thank (not God, but) their luck that they are not as other men, nor even as that Pharisee. The new posture has its humour, and it is entertaining to watch deboshed men who plume themselves on being "no hypocrites." In the interests of their wives and families I could wish that they *were* hypocrites, if hypocrisy includes temperance, honesty, industry, decent language, and soap and water.

You and Mr. Richardson, Sir, I doubt not, understand each other by this time—I mean Mr. Samuel Richardson, who also shone in virtuous peasants, like Pamela. You will not permit Mr. Richardson to see these imperfect lines, in which I venture to congratulate you on "Joseph Andrews." To me the virtues of Pamela, I confess, appear like the calculated wiles of a finished minx ; and ah, how grateful I am to you for introducing us to that lady after her marriage with Mr. Booby ! The good Colonel Newcome has, I am sure, pardoned you for that scene with Joseph, in which Lady Booby, after a silence of surprise, exclaims " Your virtue !" Though it shocked the Colonel's excellent aunt,

and left a painful impression on his own mind, it appears to myself one of the most comic situations in the world.

You, Sir, were a Whig, and it is too late for us to quarrel over a political question long ago settled in your favour. "On the lovely Tenth of June," you say (the birthday of the best of kings and of men), "the amorous Jacobite gathers a nosegay of white roses to deck the whiter breast of Celia, who, with a voice, the sweetness of which the Syrens might envy, warbles the harmonious song in praise of the Young Adventurer." It was a great pleasure to me, Sir, as I perused the brown letters, like fallen leaves, of the Young Adventurer, to find that he was an admirer of your delightful genius, and consoled the hours of exile in an obscure retreat by reading "Tom Jones" and "Joseph Andrews," both in French and English. He requests Mlle. Ferrand (a "scholar, a critic, a wit, and a Jacobite," as your Colonel James sums up the qualities which he dislikes in woman)—he asks this young lady, I say, "de faire avoir une ouvrage de Mr. Fieldings, (auteur de 'Tom Jones') qui s'apel 'Joseph Andrews,' dans sa langue naturelle, et la traduction aussi." With what emotions must His Royal Highness have perused those chapters of "Tom Jones" in which he himself seems just about to

enter the fictitious stage, and how ruefully he must have smiled at the portrait of his Platonic adherent, Squire Western! In politics alone was the worthy Squire a Platonist. Certainly, Sir, *you* had nothing to fear from the Restoration of a House which did *not* "hate Boetry and Bainting."

Of your trilogy of novels, "Tom Jones" will, no doubt, always be the most famous. In construction the learned are agreed that your romance rivals the famed "Œdipous Rex" of Sophocles. I do not myself rate construction so very high among the gifts of genius. Shakespeare, Sir Walter, Mr. Thackeray, Mr. Dickens, do not shine in construction, and only the last of these authors makes any serious attempt to do so. How hastily does Shakespeare convert his villains and marry them off to ladies far too good for even better men! How carelessly Sir Walter huddles up his plot! But it is certainly an added charm when a writer with humour so rich, and knowledge of human character so profound and kind as yours, chooses also to be finished, ingenious, and complete in workmanship.

It is probable that there are too many Odes of the Chorus in "Tom Jones;" I mean, of course, that your chapters of humorous reflection are

apt to be hurried over by the hasty reader. I love them myself, but, as you were about writing essays, you might have put them forth separately in that form, like Addison, Sir Richard Steele, and others of the wits. It is known that precisely the same objection has been urged, not without bitterness, against Mr. Thackeray. He followed that example of yours, of which his mind was so full that he sometimes repeats the very turn of your phrases—"Amelia's inclinations, when she gave a loose rein to them, were pretty eager for the diversion, she being a great lover of music, particularly of Mr. Handel's compositions." That phrase might indifferently be Mr. Thackeray's or your own.

In one respect, you appear to me to outshine not only your great follower, but all of our authors: I mean in the portraits of ladies so beautiful, kind, good, manly, and humorous that we must needs fall in love with them. You remember that little picture of Amelia which was stolen? I please myself by thinking that I have discovered it, and am its owner. It is a miniature of a lady with soft, dark hair, drawn up from the brow and piled high on her head. She is dressed in a white evening robe, with cherry-coloured slashes (or whatever they are called by the learned); she has the largest and

kindest of grey eyes, an expression of much humour and sweetness, and—traces of the celebrated accident to her nose which Dr. Johnson could not overlook. Is not this, Sir, the admired Amelia? I have ventured to scratch "Miss Emmy's" name on the back of the silver case which contains this treasure.

Our affections shift between Amelia and Sophia. Each is the perfect woman, neither has the slightest trace of that smallness or jealousy which Mr. Thackeray appears to have been so unfortunate as to find in almost every good woman, except, perhaps, Ethel Newcome and Theo Lambert. But Ethel had other faults, from which Sophia and Amelia are free. How happy must you have been, Sir, if, as we are told, your paragons are drawn from Mrs. Fielding! For you have the art, without small and fatiguing touches, to paint these ladies as beautiful as they are good, that rare art which we admire in the portrait of a lady who was a Jacobite, Mistress Beatrix Esmond.

Your heroes are, by your confession, not entirely worthy of such wives—no man, indeed, could be worthy. There is a verse of a foolish song, which appears to express a part of the result of your moral contemplations—

It does not matter what you do,
If your heart is only true ;
And his *heart* was true to Poll !

Mr. Jones's *heart* was true to Sophia, but we fear that Sophia had a great deal to overlook. The offence of Mr. Booth would be cynical, in the hands of any writer but yourself,—in your hands we smile at it, like the *nymphæ faciles* of Virgil. Mr. Booth, too, has the grace to be sincerely ashamed of himself, which reminds me to say how admirable a character is Miss Matthews. We hear a mort of talk about "analysis," and "psychology," and other pedantry ; for our pedantry differs from your own, and it is not in Greek that our critics and wits now shine. Miss Matthews would have been stippled and niggled at, by our psychologues, while you paint her, and to the life, with a full brush and a masterly sweep of the pencil. And so you paint all the humorous throng of your world, as Hogarth painted them, but with an added beauty and classical largeness which were not given to your friend. Mr. Booby is certainly a masterpiece of caricature. Would that he could have met that other masterpiece, Squire Western ! Surely they exist in some world not ours, and Dominie Sampson has conversed with Parson Adams.

I do not know, Sir, whether your novels are widely read, and I have fears, well-grounded fears, that our critics know very little of them. One of these gentlemen I lately detected in talking of you very learnedly, as inferior to our Muscovite masters and our Irish wits. But he was egregiously and conspicuously ignorant of your books, as I took the liberty to inform him and the Town.

XXIX

To Martin Farguhar Tupper, Esq.

SIR,—In you every man of letters must honour an author of singular courage and good humour. I have been unable to procure the most celebrated work from your pen, "The Proverbial Philosophy." The name brings back to my memory myself, a grubby little boy, in this library of an old country villa, lent long ago by the wicked Colonel Charteris to the virtuous Forbes of Culloden. Here many days of the nonage of the bookworm were spent, and when not riding barebacked ponys, or making experiments with brass cannon, I would be reading every kind of book. Among them was your own, beautifully bound, and obviously a gift to some romantic fair one. On asking my elders as to the character of your work, I was told, "It is a very wise book," which, for some reason, put a stop to my researches. In the distance of memory I seem to recall a certain

air as of a chastened Walt Whitman, your statements being obvious, but respectable.

I have been supplied, in the absence of "Proverbial Philosophy," with one quotation, treasured by a rapt hearer of a reading from your own lips. It ran thus :

" Ask not thy Parson to thy house,
Lest thy children see him,
And make a mock of his infirmities."

In this aphorism you seem to hit every one concerned with equal scourge. The person counselled is understood to be incapable of controlling the juvenile excesses of his family ; the discreet and learned pastor appears to be mainly notable for his infirmities ; the children are cubs. Our fathers were patient men, to welcome such chastenings.

Reviewing sore
Unmoved you bore,
And watched your works attain,
By your foes' admission,
Their seventieth edition,
Like " The Christian," by Hall Caine !

I have slightly modified a stanza in your honour by another admirer of yours, Sir George Trevelyan.

In the Preface to your Selections from your works (Moxon, 1866), you say that you "have

readers and friends in many nooks of our habitable globe," to whom you present not only poems "which the world has been kind enough to mint-mark with its approbation," but also some which bear the traces of the spurning critical hoof. As you observe, you "have run the gauntlet of so-called criticism fearlessly and successfully for well-nigh thirty years." You must, therefore, have pleased a generation which slighted Tennyson, neither regarded Browning. As you once told us, on visiting a home of the mentally afflicted in the United States of America, you learned that your poem, *Never Give Up*, was a great favourite, and that each inmate set it to music of his own composition :

"Never give up, though the grapeshot may rattle,
Or the full thunder-cloud over you burst ;
Stand like a rock—and the storm or the battle,
Little shall harm you, though doing their worst."

The storm-cloud, charged with ink, burst upon your devoted head, but you never gave up ; you said :

"One envious foe stirs up a million friends,
A wasp attacks me, and a world defends."

That strikes me as quite equal to Pope. Judging from the number and ferocity of the

critical wasps, your friends, and purchasers, must have amounted to hundreds of millions. You appeal to Detraction as a scorpion armed with a mile of rope, and you defy her—

**"Yes,—Arabs of the press,—mean Zoilists,
Shake at me still your jealous little fists ! "**

Zoilus attacked Homer ; the Arabs attacked Tupper. The works of the Arabs and of Zoilus have perished ; Tupper and Homer endure. The critics are as the shifting sands that the wind blows at the wind's will ; Homer lasts like the great Pyramid, and on Tupper's face is the secular and enigmatic smile of the imperishable Sphinx.

**I, blandly unaware of all your wrath,
Went trampling toads upon my daily path.**

As the boy said, after stoning the harmless batrachian, " I'll learn ye to be a toad." But, sure, your phrase is figurative ; a Tupper (except in unconscious hours of inspiration) would never walk up and down upon toads ! Who wrote " Mercy to Animals " ?

Your poems indicate that affection for the House of Hanover, which, to their credit, marks almost every one of our recent English bards. Alas for the Muse who can only celebrate and mourn over the dust of a fallen Dynasty and

dream of the witty, the beautiful, the brave,
the exiled, the unforgotten !

" Red roses for beef and beer,
Red roses for wine and gold,
But they drank of the water clear
In exile and sorry cheer,
To the kings of our sires of old."

Your loyal poems, Sir, appear to myself to be very musical, benevolent, and sonorous, and to have eminently fitted you for the laurels, had you outlived your illustrious contemporary Lord Tennyson. You seem to have been appealed to when Epithalamia were in request :

But one minstrel, not unsought,
Whereof shall his spirit sing ?

Poscimur !

England's Daughter, Prussia's bride,
Deigns to listen to his lay,—

as he chants

Young affection's tender dream.

Patriotism !—but that was the strongest chord
of your lyre. You welcome

" The man, aye, every brother,
Of *Anglo-Saxon* race,
Who owns a *British* mother
In Freedom's dwelling place."

We gather that, in your day, Society was

exogamous, the English men invariably marrying British brides, while British males always wedded Anglo-Saxon maidens. You were present at Osborne, St. James's, and Balmoral, at least, so we gather—

" I went to the palace, and there my fair queen,
On the arm of her husband did lovingly lean,
And all the dear babes in their beauty were seen."

Morality, too, was yours—no votary, you, of
L'Art pour l'Art

" Human life, thou face of Gorgon,
We are hardened up— "

Where is there a rhyme for Gorgon? Lady
Morgan, or Glamorgan?—

" And each sympathetic organ,
Freezes at thy cup."

The poet comes out radiant; he has a rhyme for Gorgon, and he gets his moral in, later. Yet, while *tres ferre sur la morale*, you, Sir, knew the passion for perfection that ravages the soul of the artist.

" Art? It is his breath,
The song-burst of the Soul.
Art? It *might be death*
His yearnings to control"

Happily, you did not control them, but let them flow forth, like the skylark's notes.

Mr. Matthew Arnold permitted himself to speak of the Atlantic cable as "a rope with Philistines talking inutilities at each end." You, better inspired, and giving your yearning its head, exclaim,

" World ! what a wonder is this,
Grandly and simply sublime !"

You then supplied a strophe for the first message, and an antistrophe for the second ; but I do not know whether they were cabled.

Mr. Gladstone owes you a sonnet,

" with early half-prophetic ken
I hailed thy greatness in my college days,—"

The *vates*, the poet, is ever the seer !

How can I end better, Sir, than by quoting your *Ode to the United States* ?

"So, a peerless constellation,
May those stars for ever blaze !
Three and ten times threefold nation,
Go ahead in power and praise.
Like the many-breasted goddess,
Throned in her Ephesian car,
Be one heart with many bodies,
Sister States, as now ye are."

Artemis of the Ephesians, as a matter of mere archaeological detail, had not "many bodies," but "rhymes are stubborn things."

On perusing your works for the first time, Sir, I can easily see that, as Mr. Matthew Arnold said of Mr. Tennyson, you "were the most popular of our poets,—and richly deserved to be so." Why the wasps and Arabs, and scorpion Detraction, with her mile of rope, pursued you, stung you, and increased your circulation, I cannot imagine. You wrote, Sir, for Anglo-Saxons, the offspring of Brythonic mothers, and you wrote, in an unaffected and cheerful manner, exactly what suited your audience. I do not reckon you at all inferior to many, or most, of the latest poets who have been discovered by the newspapers.

THE END

