

The reviewer is led to these strictures largely by the pretentiousness of this work, and by the suspicion that a good deal of rather journalistic work is here masquerading in the guise of solid historical research. This period cannot at present be a field for solid research or full treatment, in the realm of international relations; and though Mr. Rose's essays have considerable value, they are very far from justifying his title or constituting a history of the period.

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*A History of Modern England.* In five volumes. By HERBERT PAUL. Volume IV. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. vi, 409.)

THE fourth volume of Mr. Paul's work begins with the Andrassy Note of December 30, 1875, regarding the settlement of the Balkan question, and ends with the defeat and resignation of Mr. Gladstone's ministry in June, 1885. It covers, therefore, almost exactly ten years, and it falls naturally into two nearly equal parts: the last five years of Disraeli's ministry, which had begun in 1874 and ended in 1880, and the second administration of Gladstone, from 1880 to 1885. The period thus covered is of the highest interest and importance, and one circumstance gives the present volume unusual value. It is the opportunity presented in the choice of these ten years to contrast not only the two great leaders of English opinion, but to draw a striking parallel between the opposing tendencies which have in turn swayed English political life for a generation. It does not often happen that such an antithesis of leadership and ideas occurs either in politics or in literature, and Mr. Paul, who has selected his decade doubtless with reference to exactly this point, makes the most of it.

The Beaconsfield chapters, which cover rather less than the first half of the book, are three in number: "The Storm in the East", "Lord Beaconsfield's Position", and "The Fruits of Imperialism." The Gladstone chapters correspondingly begin with "The Storm in the West", and continue with "The Policy of Reversal", "The Irish Revolution", "Egypt", "The Soudan", "Lord Spencer's Task", "The Franchise", and "The Fall." Here is a series of strong and stirring events. The Near Eastern question, the Russo-Turkish war, the Berlin Conference, the annexation of the Transvaal, and the Zulu war, Lord Lytton's Indian administration, and the tragic episodes of the Afghan imbroglio—these alone would give sufficient life and color to any book. Yet beside the events of the next five years even these lose something of their interest. The Irish question with its Nationalists and Land Leaguers, its evictions and boycotts, its dynamiters and its Phoenix Park murders, coercion and obstruction, forms a vivid political romance in itself. And when to this we add Egypt and the Soudan, with Arabi and the Mahdi and the crowning tragedy of Gordon, the South African question with Majuba Hill and its extraordinary consequences, and conclude with that

decisive step toward democracy, the Franchise Bill of 1884-1885, we have political material which for interest and importance is hard to match in any similar period since the time of Pitt. It is a situation peculiarly suited to Mr. Paul's gifts, and as told by him in the vivid and picturesque style of which he has before given evidence the volume becomes not merely interesting, it is almost exciting. Great characters and events of high dramatic quality crowd its pages, and the author has not allowed their definiteness and individuality to be blurred by a mass of confusing detail. They stand for the most part clear-cut and distinct with a certain tragic simplicity. By judicious omission and emphasis, the author's strong grasp of the subject as a whole, and his sense of dramatic unity he has produced a sort of journalistic prose epic of the British Empire, centring about the two protagonists Beaconsfield and Gladstone. The latter is, of course, the hero, but the stage is crowded with a throng of minor figures from Parnell to the Mahdi, from Mr. Bradlaugh to Abdurrahman Khan. Despite the amount and complexity of the material it has not overpowered the author's ability to draw from it a clear and direct narrative. And the effect is, at least, not lessened by the fact that so many of the questions here presented are still unsettled, and so many of the characters are still active.

Whether it is due to the nature of the period, or its greater congeniality to Mr. Paul's taste and ability, or whether his touch grows firmer with the progress of his work, this volume seems in many ways the best of the four which have thus far appeared. In most forms of historical writing the journalistic style may be out of place. But in such a work as this, dealing with vast and complex issues, not yet wholly understood nor fully evolved, whose secret springs are yet in many cases hidden from us, matters still too near to us to fall in proper perspective, still too vital to our own affairs to be judged abstractly, this gift of rapid if superficial review, clear-cut, vivid, and decisive, seems the ideal medium. In such a field one may well, like a second Festus, admit that Mr. Paul almost persuades us to become a journalist.

If one thing is clearly shown beyond all others, in such books as are at present appearing on modern England, it is that Englishmen are taking great thought over just such issues as are here presented. Behind the question of protection or free trade, behind the dozen other issues which express or befog present political opinion, stands one greater than them all, of which they are but the partial expression. It is what shall be the real basis upon which the future of England is to rest? Public opinion seems to have swung pendulum-like from extreme to extreme for many years, seeking more or less blindly the better part. The fate which overtook the Beaconsfield ministry in 1880 is held up in these pages (p. 137) as the "emphatic condemnation of Imperialism as understood by Lord Beaconsfield, and a judgment for the sober, righteous politics which are neither more nor less than morality enlarged". Against that species of Imperialism the present volume takes decided stand. Yet Mr. Paul is not therefore of necessity to be reckoned a

Little Englander. He adds the stigma of futility to the other criticisms of Lord Beaconsfield's conduct at Berlin in 1878, but his gravest charge against that statesman is that he did not at that time secure Egypt for England, as, according to Mr. Paul, he might have done without expense or opposition. In the curious chain of circumstance which finally led England into Egypt standing in a "false position", "with full authority, ample power, and no legal right" (p. 256), he enforces again an old dictum that "It is not enough in politics to do the right things. They must be done at the right time and in the right ways." For, though the catastrophe of the Mahdi was at hand, English occupation did not at first lead "to any consequences of a serious and practical kind" (p. 256), and, conceivably, the Gordon incident might well have been avoided. From complicity in that he is inclined, following Mr. Morley closely, to free Mr. Gladstone, but reserves his final verdict on the whole matter. With respect to India and Afghanistan under Lord Lytton's administration he is not so reticent. For that Viceroy he devises fine phrases of polite irony, diversified with such expressions as "the credulity which so often balances scepticism in minds like his" (p. 90), while he correspondingly exalts the school of Lord Lawrence. In regard to the South African question he shows more tolerance, and his judgments of the men on whom lay the burden of Cape affairs from 1878 to 1882 is nowhere extreme.

With respect to that matter which fills the most space in any history of these days, the Irish question, there is no opportunity here to enter into an exhaustive discussion. Its chief significance for our present purpose is that in Mr. Paul's hands it is treated in a spirit which reveals the changing attitude of the English mind toward the problem. It finds here, as elsewhere to-day, a certain sanity and sympathy of treatment to which it has, until recently, been a stranger. Mr. Parnell receives a serious hearing; the Land League and the policy of obstruction, even the more dangerous situation which called for stringent repression, are here accredited, as they should have been then, not to the innate and ineradicable depravity of a lawless and bloodthirsty populace, but to natural exasperation arising from an impossible economic system aggravated rather than soothed by a well-meant and wholly wrong series of legislative acts. Mr. Parnell, never an approachable man, even with his own followers, receives his due at Mr. Paul's hands. With respect to some others, the author's favorable opinion could hardly be surpassed even by Mr. McCarthy himself.

In this connection one question irresistibly presents itself here as in Mr. Morley's biography of Gladstone. During the greater part of the latter's administration, especially after 1880, the Irish question was the nearest and in many ways the greatest with which he had to do. It was the most difficult, the most intricate, the most perplexing of all problems before his government. It was the one on which his party under his leadership was, for a time, completely wrecked. His biographer tells us of the weeks and months he spent in his study at Ha-

warden poring over blue-books and infinite masses of reports. Yet though he lived close to Liverpool, a few hours from Dublin, and though he travelled widely in France and Germany, in Spain and Italy, even to Greece, he was in Ireland but three weeks in his life and then visited not Ireland proper but a very distinctively English pale. There are many strange things about the relation of the English and especially of Mr. Gladstone to Ireland, but surely this is the strangest. The way above all ways to inform himself on this most vital question, the most obvious, the easiest, was precisely the one he never adopted. Nothing better expresses the earlier English attitude toward the sister island. Nothing better evidences the change in spirit, even since Mr. Gladstone's day, than the tone of such books as this. Ireland seems no longer so much a bog of blue-books, a seething and chaotic mass of Fenians, boycotters, Invincibles, and dynamiters, somewhat more distant than India, somewhat less known than the Soudan. With the new conception of Irishmen as men not absolutely unlike themselves, of Ireland as a land and a people not wholly beyond the operation of economic laws, and amenable to rational treatment of a situation different from that in England, such as we find in these pages, we may yet come to a real solution of the Irish question. One may only hope that Mr. Paul's jeremiad (p. 235), "in Ireland everything always comes too late", may not prevent that consummation.

For the rest one may regret that amid such simple and forceful English appear unusual words like "perstringed" (p. 330) and "dyslogism", and note in almost perfect proof-reading an apparent error of "disbelieve" for "disbelief" (p. 86). It is not to be expected that such a work as this should be crowded with foot-notes and the machinery of scholarship. But inasmuch as the convenience of the reader has been so obviously consulted by preparing an excellent index to each volume, it might not be out of place to suggest that some general bibliography could be appended to the last volume, which, by referring to books on special fields, would be of great value to those desiring to pursue a given subject further. This is the more necessary in that it is not always easy for the ordinary reader to find such a bibliography in a subject where the works appearing almost from month to month are so numerous and in many cases so important.

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*The Life of Froude.* By HERBERT PAUL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Pp. ix, 454.)

THE *Life of Froude* by Mr. Herbert Paul is the first attempt at a biography of the historian whose work has probably been the subject of more active controversy than that of any other Englishman of his craft. Mr. Paul was not, so he informs us, personally acquainted with Froude, having met him, apparently, but once and then quite casually. His work lacks therefore all that peculiar quality that comes from intimate knowl-