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**The
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Vol. VII.

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EDITED BY
WALTER W. GREG

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Vol. VII.

April 1904

No. 1.

IN MEMORY OF JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER.

HERDER CENTENARY ADDRESS.

December 22, 1903. London.

'Fortwirkung auf menschliche Seelen im Kreise
der Menschheit ist die Aufgabe.'

J. G. V. HERDER.

JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER.

'Ein edler Mann, begierig zu ergründen,
Wie überall des Menschen Sinn erspriest.'
GOETHE.

IN the introduction to his essay on 'Winckelmann' (Weimar ed. 46, 10-13) Goethe expressed the thought that, just as there are periodical celebrations of pious founders and public benefactors, it is meet and fitting to arrange from time to time for public expressions of gratitude to those who have bequeathed inexhaustible treasures of fruitful ideas to their own people and to mankind. To the memory of Johann Gottfried Herder not only Germany, but the world at large, owes a deep debt of gratitude—although some people may not be fully aware of its extent—and the high appreciation of the lasting value of this great teacher's work will during this week find

eloquent and varied expression among lovers of literature and students of poetry, history, and philosophy on both sides of the Atlantic. The German Goethe Society, which has rightly included within the field of its attention the great men who lived and worked with Goethe on the banks of the Ilm, especially Schiller and Herder, has arranged a solemn celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Herder's death. On the 18th and 19th of December a large and representative gathering was held at Weimar at which students and admirers of Weimar's great court preacher, Goethe's 'Humanus,' paid tributes to his memory, where also by the side of the spoken words¹ strains of exquisite music were heard, that soul-unbinding art of which from his earliest childhood Herder was so fond. It is the wish of the Goethe Society that this day may be observed in other lands where Herder's influence has made itself felt, and I know that a number of American universities have arranged Herder memorial celebrations. But no country except Germany owes so much to Herder as England, and I hope that our commemoration to-day may be the occasion of a revival of in-

terest in Herder in this country and will give a fresh impetus to Herder study in England.

The fine sketch of Herder's head which you see exhibited here, among other Herder portraits, has just been published at Weimar.² It is a reproduction of a crayon drawing by Graff (a well-known artist to whom we owe the best portrait of Schiller), and it represents Herder in the last year of his life. It costs (postage paid) 2s. 6d., and the net proceeds from the sale of it will be handed over to the 'Herder Fund' which is attached to the Weimar Gymnasium. Perhaps some of those present to-day may wish to subscribe for a portrait, and thus help to increase a most deserving benefaction.

Allow me now to remind you first very briefly of the principal characteristics of Herder's life and literary activity, and then to devote the rest of my address to the discussion of what in this country is sure to arouse the chief interest—Herder's relation to England and to English literature.

LIFE.

'Humanität sei unser ewig Ziel.'

GOETHE ON Herder.

Herder's life was simple, and on the whole devoid of notable events.³ Its early years are by far the most important. He was born on August 25, 1744, in the small East Prussian town of Mohrungen, near Königsberg. His parents were pious and hard-working people, but extremely poor, and the boy spent his early life amidst unremitting work and incessant privations. But even as a child he was an insatiable reader, and during the summer months used to spend his scanty hours of leisure with some book which he had borrowed, perched high up in a cherry-tree, to the stem of which he used to tie himself with his belt. By the kindness of strangers the promising boy was enabled to enter as a student the University of Königsberg; here he became one of the most enthusiastic pupils of Magister Immanuel Kant, whose fame had at that time not yet spread over Germany. But greater even than Kant's influence on Herder was that of Hamann, an extremely gifted and suggestive, but highly eccentric, man, the 'Magus in the North,' as he was called, a man who not only gave to Herder most fruitful suggestions on language, poetry, history, and religion, but initiated him into the study of English, and made him

read the works of Shakespeare, Ossian, and other great writers in the original. When the young student of divinity and philosophy was just twenty years old he accepted an appointment still further east. He went as a schoolmaster and preacher to Riga, which town, though politically belonging to Russia, was still quite German in language and in spirit. After five years, however, when he had already produced some remarkable works and had won a name for himself, he felt anxious to see something of life, to visit some of the chief places of Western civilisation, and, amid the regrets of his numerous friends, he started for France. This was in 1769. He sailed slowly round Denmark, and, passing through the Channel, he landed in Brittany. He first stayed for some time at Nantes, and then proceeded to Paris, where he was well received by the leading writers. During this journey Herder kept a most interesting kind of diary, in which he freely jotted down not only bold schemes of political and social reform for Livonia, but numerous plans of books and pamphlets that were then fermenting in his mind; this remarkable diary abounds in great ideas and fruitful thoughts, many of which were subsequently worked out by Herder in important essays. He sailed from France, after a stay of several months, very much dissatisfied with French writers and their works, and was shipwrecked off the coast of Holland, but saved by some fishermen. Proceeding to Hamburg he met Lessing and Claudius, and, in 1770, accepted the post of travelling tutor to the son of the prince-bishop of Lübeck on his grand tour. In spite, however, of the tempting prospect of visiting Italy and other interesting parts of the world, he soon gave up the post; in Darmstadt he became secretly engaged to the high-minded Karoline Flachsland, and in Strassburg, where he stayed for several months in order to undergo an operation on the eye, he became the friend and teacher of Strassburg's most brilliant student—Wolfgang Goethe. When it became clear that the painful and oft-repeated operation had been a failure, and that his eye would never be quite cured, Herder left Strassburg and settled for a few years as court chaplain at Bückeburg, a charming little North German town, the capital of the principality of Schaumburg-Lippe. He now married Karoline—his 'Greek girl,' as he fondly called her—Goethe called her 'Psyche' and 'Electra'; you see her portrait, dating from the time of her engage-

ment, exhibited among the portraits here. With this excellent wife by his side Herder spent a few exceedingly busy years in working out some of his favourite subjects; some interesting books were written during this time. But he never felt quite happy in the unintellectual atmosphere of the little town, and was glad when suddenly a new prospect opened out to him. In 1775 Goethe, with whom he had kept up a regular correspondence, went to Weimar, where he soon became the confidential friend and indispensable adviser of the gifted young duke, Karl August, and he easily prevailed upon the Duke to offer to Herder the vacant post of court preacher and chief pastor of the town and Duchy of Weimar. Consequently, in the autumn of 1776, Herder moved to Weimar, which, in spite of several attempts to secure him for the University of Göttingen, remained his home to the end of his life. Only once, in 1788, did he leave Weimar in order to visit Italy—an 'Italian journey' being at that time the great event of a man's life.⁴ He was the third of the great authors of Germany who came to live at Weimar: he found Wieland and Goethe established there; the fourth great star, Friedrich Schiller, came considerably later. Herder took a deep interest not only in the Church, but also in the schools of the Duchy, especially in the Weimar Gymnasium, where he delivered many a stirring address to the boys leaving school. He also strove hard—not always successfully—to relieve the boys at the head of the school from serving as stage-walkers at the Weimar Court theatre, or from taking part in the choruses required for the operas, a bad custom which he found established on his arrival at Weimar. In his book *Great and Small People in Old Weimar*, Roquette has given a description of Herder's efforts in this direction.⁵ He continued writing on literary and other subjects until the end of his life, which unfortunately closed in bitterness and isolation. He became estranged from his old friend Goethe; he never was on intimate terms with Schiller; and he waged a literary feud with his old master Kant. He was frequently in bad health, and he died after some years of suffering in his sixtieth year, on December 18, 1803. His death was the first break in the circle of poets living at Weimar; he was followed less than two years later by Schiller, while Klopstock, the singer of the *Messiah*, had preceded him in the same year by only a few months, and Kant died in February

1804. Herder, the German patriot, did not live to see the downfall of his beloved country in 1806 after the battle of Jena. The enthusiastic admirer of Percy and English popular poetry would have hailed with joy the publication of Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), but he probably did not see a copy of it, and it was not till two years after his death that there appeared the first instalment of that long series of German folk-songs, the need for the collection and publication of which he had never been tired of urging upon his countrymen, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, 'The Boy's Magic Horn,' by Arnim and Brentano.

But if Herder's outward life was comparatively quiet, his inner life was all the richer; a life of the greatest importance for Germany and the world at large. It is a most remarkable fact that the great ideas set forth by Herder, on account of which we are now gratefully celebrating his memory, were proclaimed by him in powerful writings at a time of life when most great authors have scarcely begun their literary career. It is no less curious that his great teachings in the domain of history, philosophy, literature, and poetry were uttered in so impressive a style, and in so convincing and irresistible a way, that they soon penetrated deeply and completely into the minds and works of all the best men in Germany, and now seem to us almost self-evident. Yet at the time when they were first proclaimed by him in his stirring pamphlets they produced a complete revolution in the literary world—they inaugurated the great period of 'Storm and Stress.' After her husband's death, Karoline Herder, assisted by one of her sons and several devoted friends, brought out a monumental, although unfortunately not a critical, edition of his works.⁶ This edition is now entirely superseded by the excellent critical edition of Professor B. Suphan, the most prominent Herder scholar of the present day and the kind and obliging director of the Goethe-Schiller Archiv at Weimar.⁷ The last volume of the grand new Herder edition was completed by Professor Suphan just in time for the centenary celebration; his excellent selection (in five volumes) from the large edition should be in the hands of all admirers of Herder and lovers of German literature.⁸

The family of Herder still continues to flourish in Germany. Some of its members have occupied important positions at Weimar and elsewhere, and it may interest

some of my audience to learn that Herder's great-granddaughter, sharing her illustrious ancestor's predilection for England and for the study of history, came over to Cambridge and became a student of Girton College. She studied history for three years and did well in the Historical Tripos. She afterwards continued her historical studies at Oxford, and is now married to an Englishman.

Several portraits of Herder, and one of Karoline, are exhibited here to-night. From one of them we can well imagine his dark, flashing eyes, and his impressive personality.

Students of Goethe will remember that the figure of Herder appears in various forms and aspects in Goethe's poetry. A great deal of Herder is to be found in the figure of Götz von Berlichingen. Götz or Gottfried was Herder's own Christian name, and in one of his letters the young Goethe compares his great friend to the noble Götz, himself to Götz's faithful page George.⁹ In his later letters, from Weimar and Italy, Goethe addresses him often familiarly as 'Lieber Bruder.'¹⁰ The noble figure of 'Humanus' in Goethe's unfinished grand philosophical poem *The Secrets* (1784-85) is meant to represent Herder. The sympathetic figure of the clergyman in *Hermann und Dorothea* is likewise inspired by, and modelled after, Herder. He is introduced in the first canto as 'the noble and excellent pastor, the ornament of the town':

'He was acquainted with life, and knew the wants of his hearers,
Fully convinced of the worth of the Holy Scriptures, whose mission
Is to reveal man's fate, his inclinations to fathom;
He was also well read in the best of secular writings.'

'Our Herder' is also feelingly celebrated in Goethe's best fancy-dress procession, that of 'December 18, 1818,' part of which was performed a few days ago at the Weimar celebration.¹¹ In the tenth book of his Autobiography Goethe has given an excellent sketch of Herder's personality when he first made his acquaintance, and has testified to his great influence on him. There is no doubt that Herder's great personality inspired some situations and utterances in the early portions of Goethe's *Faust*.¹² Other and less pleasant sides of Herder's character during the time of their early acquaintance are satirised in Goethe's poems *Eagle and Dove*, *Amateur and Critic*, in his farce *Pater Brey*, and perhaps also in *Satyros*.¹³ Thus we see what

a deep impression the figure of Herder made on the imagination of Germany's greatest poet.¹⁴

WORKS.

'Der Verleiher vieles Guten.'—GOETHE.

The number of Herder's published works—apart from his important and suggestive correspondence—is very great, forty-five volumes in the first complete edition. They fall naturally under three distinct heads: writings on theology and religion (12 vols.), on history and philosophy (17 vols.), and on poetry and art (16 vols.). In the former fields the following two are by far his most important productions, *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, and his *Letters on the Advancement of Humanity*. In the *Ideas*, an unfinished work, but perhaps his masterpiece in this field of research, Herder makes his memorable attempt to sketch the development of the human race historically and philosophically. He has done so with the deepest historical insight and in the most beautiful language. The work is no less than a bold attempt to trace the evolution of the human spirit in the light of history. Many ideas and numerous details of the great book are now, of course, entirely superseded, but when Lotze wrote his grand attempt at an anthropology which he called *Mikrokosmos, Ideas on the Natural History and Historical Development of the Human Race* (translated by Miss E. Hamilton and Miss E. E. Constance Jones), he remarked in the Preface that he wished his book to do for the nineteenth century what Herder's *Ideas* had achieved so brilliantly for the eighteenth.¹⁵ The *Ideas* are by far the greatest work of Herder in the domain of history and philosophy, but it is in several respects well supplemented by the *Letters on the Advancement of Humanity*. It was on account of Herder's incessant urging on his contemporaries of the necessity of the expansion of man's highest and noblest impulses to an ideal of pure and serene humanity that Goethe called him 'Humanus' in his lofty poem *The Secrets*. By means of these two great works Herder has placed the science of history on a much higher plane, and has given it that breadth of conception which henceforth it can never lose.

But more important to us than these and similar minor works, which I must pass over, are his contributions to literature proper. In the field of poetry—in spite

of a few excellent original productions such as his *Ice-Dance*, a comparison of skating with life, in which a favourite subject of Klopstock's odes is worked out in an original manner—Herder shines less as a poet of great natural parts than as an unrivalled translator and adapter of foreign poetry. Seldom, if ever, has a man possessed to the same extent that rare gift of entering fully and sympathetically into the spirit of the most diverse poets of all times and nations, and in doing justice in his renderings to the most different styles of poetry. His imagination knew how to transplant itself into the very soil and climate of the poems he wished to translate. He showed himself greatest as poet, when he penetrated into the innermost spirit of foreign poetry and became the unsurpassed interpreter to his own people of the finest, the grandest, and the most delicate poetic productions of other nations. German literature can boast of an unusually large number of first-rate translators, of whom I will here only mention Voss for Homer, Schlegel for Shakespeare, and Hertzberg for Chaucer; but not one of them has surpassed Herder, in whose hands the foreign flowers did not wither, but were transplanted in all their freshness and original beauty into the garden of German poetry. Schlegel in a letter to Herder called himself gratefully his pupil in the art of translating,¹⁶ and most modern translators have been inspired by him.

The best known of his numerous translations and adaptations, the work which is still very widely read in Germany, is his cycle of romances called *The Cid*. It is a most skilfully composed epic, written in close imitation of the short trochaic metre of the old Spanish romances, on the deeds of the great national hero of the Spaniards in the eleventh century, Rodrigo Diaz, surnamed 'Cid el Battal' (Lord of the Battle) and 'Campeador' (Champion). It is a most artistic production, a spirited adaptation rather than a faithful rendering of a given number of Spanish romances. There are now more literal translations of them, but no man has ever caught the peculiar spirit and the grandeur of the old Castilian poems more happily than the sage of Weimar. *The Cid* was written quite at the end of Herder's life (finished in 1803, published in 1805), and in this work he returned in a masterly way to the best endeavours of his early life.¹⁷

Greater versatility, however, is exhibited in an earlier work of Herder's, perhaps the

most charming of all his productions, the influence of which has made itself widely felt, namely his volume of *Popular Songs*, *Volkslieder* as he called them—the term 'Volkslied' was coined by Herder—'Voices of the Nations in Songs,' as his literary executors subsequently styled the little book in the 'Collected Works.'¹⁸ The 'Folk-Songs' are a collection of the most characteristic and the most beautiful lyric productions of many nations, ancient and modern, civilised and savage, in that simple and natural style which Herder was anxious to point out as the only true source of rejuvenescence to the elegant and witty, but mostly affected and conventional poets of his time. This collection is a fragrant bunch of charming flowers, picked by a connoisseur in the gardens of poetry of all ages and of all climates. The renderings of the foreign pieces all possess the greatest charm, but nowhere do Herder's powers as a sympathetic interpreter of the spirit of foreign poetry show to greater advantage than in his numerous translations from English,¹⁹ from Shakespeare (some fragments of scenes and a few songs), Percy, Ossian, and many others. A few years before Herder, Bishop Percy had published (in 1765) his grand collection of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, the great importance of which for English and German literature it is not necessary to discuss here at any length.²⁰ The interest taken by scholars and critics in true national poetry received from it an extraordinary impetus, and poets of the highest gifts took their inspiration from the songs and ballads of the Percy collection. Now Herder did *not* propose to become a 'German Percy,' his collection was *not* restricted to the songs of his own nation, but it was the first great attempt at inaugurating what Goethe called a 'World Literature.' Nevertheless the far-reaching influence of this work was in many respects like that of Percy's collection. Herder included in his collection a number of the best German songs of ancient and modern times, beginning with a rendering of an interesting Old High German historical ballad, *The Song of King Lewis* (881),²¹ and also admitted certain poems of his own or his contemporaries provided they were conceived in a simple and truly popular style. One of them is his before-mentioned *Ice-Dance*, and another is Goethe's well-known ballad *Heidenröslein*, 'Little Wild Rose,' which first appeared (though in a different form from the present) in Herder's book.²²

Or again, Herder would revive some half-forgotten German song of olden times, and, by including it in his anthology, make it universally known, the cherished property of the whole nation. Thus he translated from Low German into High German that heartfelt song of his countryman, the East Prussian poet, Simon Dach, which begins '*Anke van Tharau öss, de my gefüllt.*' In his delightful rendering *Annchen von Tharau* has become one of the most popular songs of Germany.

Among the translations from foreign languages, those from the English and Scandinavian literatures are by far the most numerous and also the most important. A fine specimen of Herder's power of rendering a most impressive dramatic ballad is his translation of the grand *Edward* ballad from Percy's collection. And if you wish to trace the influence of Herder's *Volkslieder* on modern German literature, especially on Bürger and Goethe, there are no better specimens than Herder's translation of *William's Ghost*, which partly inspired Bürger's greatest ballad *Lenore*, and Herder's *Erlkönigs Tochter*, from which Goethe drew the inspiration for his *Erlkönig*. It was Herder who translated the Danish 'ellekonge' (which stands either for 'elvekonge,' 'the king of the elves,' 'the elf-king,' 'Elfenkönig'; or very probably, by a further mistake, for 'elvekone,' 'the elf-woman,' 'fairy-queen') by 'Erlkönig,' 'Erlking,' and Goethe adopted this twice mistaken rendering from Herder's poem *Erlkönigs Tochter*.²³

The mention of Herder's *Volkslieder*, many of which were translations and adaptations from Percy's *Reliques*, brings me to the last part of my address, a brief discussion of Herder's relation to English literature.

HERDER AND ENGLAND.

'Herder ist nach der Weite seines Sinnens und Schauens recht eigentlich zu einem Vermittler zwischen allen gebildeten Nationen berufen.'—B. SUPHAN (*Herder Ausgabe*, I. Preface, xi).

Herder did perhaps more than any other of the great leaders of German thought in the eighteenth century—even more than Lessing—to introduce English literature to his countrymen, and especially to recommend its study to the young German authors of his time. He was initiated by Hamann into the beauties of English literature when he was a student at Königsberg. They began with no easier a

piece than *Hamlet*. English was not then a subject taught in the schools of Germany, which devoted all their time to Latin and Greek, and sometimes Hebrew, which is still a voluntary subject in most German grammar-schools. Both French and English had to be acquired somehow in later life²⁴; things have now considerably improved in this respect, partly owing to the endeavours of Herder and his followers. Herder, Goethe, Lessing and Schiller never came over to England, but Herder, like Goethe, did go to Rome and Naples. He helped to spread a knowledge of English literature by his essays, letters, and conversations, and also by his numerous excellent translations.

The following are the authors in whom Herder took a special interest, whom he translated, discussed and held up as models:

In the domain of the novel, Sterne, Fielding, Richardson, and, above all, Goldsmith, were his favourites. While at Strassburg Herder read a translation of the *Vicar of Wakefield* to Goethe and his friends which, as Goethe tells us, impressed them very much. The influence of Goldsmith on Goethe and Germany has recently been made the subject of investigation by Miss Hertha Sollas, a former pupil of mine at Newnham College, and her essay is now printed as a Heidelberg dissertation.²⁵ Herder's and Goethe's warm recommendation secured for the *Vicar* the greatest attention in Germany, and till quite recently this novel was invariably one of the very first books a German student of English would read. Goethe saw in the idyllic existence of the Brion family in the Alsatian parsonage of Sesenheim, the exact counterpart of the life of the worthy Mr. Primrose, and brought out the striking analogy in his masterly sketch of the Sesenheim episode which is inserted in the tenth book of his *Autobiography*.

With regard to lyric poetry I have discussed Herder's relation to Percy as far as it is shown in the *Volkslieder*. He has also referred again and again to Percy's collection in a remarkable essay 'On the Affinity between the older English and older German Poetry' (he says 'Middle English' and 'Middle German,' which terms, however, are now used in a different sense).²⁶ The effect of Herder's theory and practice, as shown in his essays and translations, was first that Bürger and Goethe were induced to write their fine ballads in the style and spirit of Percy, and that

after them the Romanticists Arnim and Brentano published a splendid collection of German folk-songs under the title *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* ('The Youth's Magic Horn'). This anthology was clearly inspired by Herder, and was subsequently surpassed by Uhland's more scientific works on the German folk-songs. Of modern German poets inspired by Percy I will only mention Moritz von Strachwitz, and Theodor Fontane, who has translated many of Percy's best ballads and has written numerous fine ballads of his own in the style of 'Chevy Chase.'²⁷ It is also worthy of remark that, if Bürger's 'Lenore,' and other ballads took their origin from Percy, the German ballads of Bürger in their turn inspired Scott in his early youth and stimulated his poetic talent. Lenore and Götz von Berlichingen²⁸ are the main sources of the English Romantic movement, which can thus be traced back to Germany. In Scott's days the German muse gave back with interest what she had before so gladly received from her English sister. Apart from Percy, Herder translated from the lyrics of Goldsmith, Pope, Waller, Young and Robert Burns, and also from Macpherson's *Ossian*. He, like his contemporaries, believed Ossian to be genuine Northern poetry—I do not wish to discuss here the vexed question of its authenticity—and he admired and praised it highly. Herder's interest in Ossian was at Strassburg communicated to Goethe, who inserted translations of his own of a spurious song of Ossian's into *The Sorrows of Werther*. It is partly through Werther that Ossian, whose songs are so full of the 'delight of melancholy,' became generally read in Germany. Some of Herder's translations from Ossian are (by mistake) printed in *Der Junge Goethe*, i. 286-292. See B. Suphan's large ed. of Herder, iv. 494.

With regard to the drama, Herder never ceased to hold up Shakespeare as the great source of inspiration for the young poets of Germany. His most characteristic utterances—but by no means the only ones—are contained in an early essay 'On Shakespeare' (1773), which was widely read at the time of its publication, and did much to enlighten the Germans with regard to the great dramatist whose works had just begun to be more generally studied.²⁹ Herder thought as highly of Shakespeare as Lessing did, but he held him up to the young dramatists of his time with still greater enthusiasm than the author of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*.

Here is the beginning of his essay on Shakespeare:—

'If the thought of any man calls up this stupendous image: "One seated on a rocky summit with storm, tempest, and the raging ocean at his feet, but his head set about by the radiance of heaven"—it is Shakespeare! With this addition, of course, that round the lowest step of his rocky throne there swarm crowds of critics who explain, defend, censure, excuse, idolise, malign, translate and abuse him, and he hears none of them.

'What a library of books praising or blaming him has already been written! And I have no desire to add to their number in any way. I should much prefer that in the small circle in which this essay will be read, none should ever again conceive the idea of writing in his defence or against him, either to excuse or to malign him, but rather to explain, to realise what he is, to make practical use of him, and, if possible, to make us Germans acquainted with him. Would that these pages might contribute a little to that end!

'Shakespeare's boldest enemies have in what manifold ways accused and held him up to ridicule as an inferior dramatist however great a poet, and even if a good dramatic poet, at any rate no classic tragedian such as Sophocles, Euripides, Corneille, and Voltaire, who have exhausted all that is best and perfect in this art. And Shakespeare's boldest friends have for the most part been merely content to excuse and vindicate him on this ground, to maintain that his offences against the rules are amply compensated by the beauties of his work, to absolve him from the accusations levied against him and then to idolise his greatness all the more because obliged to shrug their shoulders over his defects. This is even the case with his latest editors and commentators. I hope these pages will modify their point of view and that his picture may be placed in a better light.

'But is not this hope too bold?—in face of so many great men who have treated the subject, too presumptuous? I do not think so. If I can only show that both parties have built up their opinions on a mere prejudice, a delusion which is worthless, if I can only by that means remove a cloud from men's eyes, or, best of all, if I can manage to place the picture in a better light without in the least changing the spectator or the picture, it may perhaps be the fault of our age or an accident that I have chanced upon the point where I can now

hold the reader fast and say: "Stand here, or you will see nothing but a caricature."

'If we could do nothing more than wind up and unwind the great ball of erudition without making the least progress, what a sad life this barren endeavour of ours would give us!'

He discussed Shakespeare's greatness and originality, and took pains to describe him as the greatest product of English life and genius in the memorable time of Elizabeth—he showed clearly why Shakespeare was so different from Sophocles on the one hand, and from the French classical tragedians on the other—being not a follower and imitator, but 'a brother of Sophocles.'³⁰

Again, Herder's enthusiasm is reflected in Goethe's dithyrambic speech (October 14, 1771) 'Zum Schäkespears Tag' (J. G., ii. 39-43), in Goethe's 'Götz von Berlichingen,' and in the dramatic productions of the young writers of the 'Storm and Stress' Period.

HERDER'S IMPORTANCE.

Herder's importance lies mainly in the extraordinary stimulus which his works produced on poets and scholars of his own and of the following generations. He became the teacher of Goethe and his time, the father of the Romantic movement in Germany, of the scientific study of history and comparative literature in its modern acceptance, and indirectly even of German and Germanic philology and literature. Many of his works remained fragments; they were mostly suggestive, but rarely exhaustive and conclusive. The best of them were those produced during the first half of his life. They are sometimes not easy to read; they may be compared to sibylline books; they are dithyrambic, abrupt, pathetic, but stirring and worth pondering over. Herder was the first great German writer who looked at things *historically*, a critic who insisted on tracing the evolution of whatever he studied, and whose great object it was to arrive at a true history of the human spirit in all its manifestations.

CONCLUSION.

It is a comfort to think that many of Herder's ideals have now been fulfilled, that much of the best he had to give, and was the *first* to give, has now become part of our most cherished convictions, and

animates the spirit of all our scientific methods and investigations. Still, if the first century that has elapsed since his death has done much to realise his great aims, if the century has been full of his influence, there is plenty of work left for the second century which is just beginning. During these weeks many people have assembled in many countries to celebrate his memory,³¹ but I hope that the Herder celebrations will be much more than mere meetings at which words will be spoken in his memory and glory—passing phrases that will soon be forgotten. It should *not* be the aim of those who cherish the memory of this great and noble man merely to glorify his name! He himself would not have liked it. Hear what he says about the striving for 'personal glory.'³²

'Truth is one and goodness is one for all men: for we are all of one and the same nature. In this feeling is also merged the sweet love of renown and posthumous fame; not that of the vain man who would so fain thrust his name upon eternity and would like to set his imperfect being as the supreme goal for the being of all humanity. A senseless desire which every good man hates and which I do not understand.

'Infinitely sweeter is the nameless posthumous fame which consists only in the influence of a man's mind or a living work. What harm does it do the artist that I should be ignorant of his name as I look on his Apollo, and what good would it be if I knew it? I know his intrinsic, everlasting name in that I feel his immortal spirit in this work. Be this one of Plato's works or not, research into this question may be necessary and profitable for other reasons, but it does not concern the real worth of the author who himself lives in this work. May my name be lost and every one of my thoughts at once reappear in other better forms; the pleasanter and finer it will be that I am forgotten and have been the source of these thoughts. It is sweet to die without a name, provided one's life has not been spiritless and without endeavour. The more our thoughts unite and intertwine with the thoughts of a thousand others, the longer our forgotten endeavour lives on in the incessant greater endeavour of others: the more will our mind have escaped from its shell: it has flowed back to the ocean of the divine among men, to the realm of dominant, living powers.'

No, what Herder would bid us do, would be to carry on his work *in his spirit*, adapting its methods and objects to

the altered conditions of our times. The Germans have their tasks before them—but what can be done in *this* country? The answer is not far to seek. Herder is perhaps the least well known in England of all the great German classics of the second half of the eighteenth century, although he is probably the most catholic of all. Among all the many volumes of Bohn's 'Standard Library' there is not a single volume containing translations from Herder's works. His language and style are such as to make the study of his original works, especially some of his finest early ones, a matter of considerable difficulty to Englishmen, and yet they deserve and amply repay the most careful study. A good translation of some of the greatest of his early writings would be particularly welcome.³³ There is but *one* life of Herder in English, by Mr. Nevinson,³⁴ which in more than one respect is capable of improvement. There would be ample room for a shorter, more scientific, and more sympathetic account of Herder's Life and Work—an extremely interesting and useful task to undertake for a lover of German and comparative literature. If the 'Herder-Tage' which are now being held in this country and in America were to call forth some practical work of this kind, and by doing so were to cause the best thoughts of Herder to tinge freely the currents of modern English thought, a monument would be erected to him *are perennius*, and one which would have best pleased the man who despised the mere vainglory of a name.

On the 18th December 1803 Herder passed quietly away, but his work is still with us. To all who will follow this great leader of human thought it will long continue to be what it was to the best of his contemporaries—a powerful stimulus, and an abundant and refreshing source of

LIGHT, LOVE, and LIFE.

¹ Professor B. Suphan's stirring address ('Unser Herder. Rede zur Gedächtnisfeier der Goethe-Gesellschaft') is printed in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, February 1904.

² By Hermann Böhlau's Nachfolger, Weimar. This edition is now exhausted. The head is given, in greatly reduced size, in the latest Herder biography, by Richard Bürkner, Berlin, 1904, and also in the fortnightly magazine, *Das Litterarische Echo*, January 15, 1904, p. 560.

³ The following are the best German lives of Herder:—Rudolf Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1877-1885. (By far the most comprehensive work.) Eugen Kühnemann, *Herders Leben*. München, 1895. A much smaller and quite recently published biography is the one by Richard Bürkner,

Herder. Sein Leben und Wirken. Berlin, 1904. (Vol. 45 of the series called *Geisteshelden* (*Führende Geister*). A very condensed life, for the use of German secondary schools, was written by R. Franz, *Herders Leben und Werke*. Bielefeld and Leipzig. Velhagen and Klasing. Sammlung deutscher Schulausgaben. Part 48. No year. Cp. also B. Suphan's short sketch of Herder's life in the new edition of K. Goedeke's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, and prefixed to the most valuable bibliography (by B. Suphan and K. Ch. Redlich) in vol. iv. (1891), pp. 274-299, § 229. For later publications see the excellent *Jahresberichte für Neuere Deutsche Literaturgeschichte* (since 1890).

⁴ Compare *Herders Reise nach Italien. Herders Briefwechsel mit seiner Gattin vom August 1788 bis Juli 1789*, ed. by H. Düntzer and F. Gottfried v. Herder. Giessen, 1859. See also the *Tagebücher und Briefe Goethes aus Italien an Frau von Stein und Herder*. Weimar, 1886. (*Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, vol. ii., ed. Erich Schmidt.) It is most interesting and instructive to compare Herder's letters with those written by Goethe about two years earlier from the same places.

⁵ See Otto Roquette, *Grosse und kleine Leute in Alt-Weimar*. Novellen. Breslau, 1887. The second novel, *Der Schülerchor*, deals with this question. See p. 115, and compare R. Haym, *Herder*, ii. pp. 304 sqq., and the *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, xviii. (1904), pp. 175 sqq.

⁶ *Joh. Gottfr. v. Herders Sämmtliche Werke*. Tübingen. Cotta, 1805-1820. 45 volumes. See Goedeke, *Grundr.* iv. p. 297, sub. 106.

⁷ *Joh. Gottfr. v. Herders Sämmtliche Werke*. ed. Bernhard Suphan. Berlin, 1877-1903. See Goedeke, *ibid.* p. 298, sub. 113.

⁸ *Herders Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. B. Suphan and C. Redlich. 5 vols. Berlin, 1884-1901. See Goedeke, No. 116. There are some other good selections, e.g. H. Lambel's in Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, and, quite recently, a selection in five volumes by Theod. Matthias, Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut, 1904, with good notes and introductions. Its text is based on Suphan's fundamental edition.

⁹ Compare *Der junge Goethe*, i. p. 308. Weimar Edition, Letters, ii. pp. 17, 19-20.

¹⁰ See Weimar Edition, Letters, vol. iii., No. 381, 391, 476, 482, 485, 494, etc.

¹¹ The *Maskenzug* is printed in the Weimar Edition, Works, xvi. pp. 270-276.

¹² See Minor and Sauer, *Studien zur Goethe-Philologie*. Wien, 1880, pp. 73 sqq. R. Weissenfels, *Goethe im Sturm und Drang*. Halle, 1894, i. p. 461, note 42.

¹³ See Wilh. Scherer, *Aus Goethes Frühzeit*, Strassburg, 1879, pp. 43-68; but see also W. v. Biedermann, *Goethe-Forschungen*, Frankfurt a/M., 1879, pp. 9-20; and F. Meyer v. Waldeck, in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, vii. (1886), pp. 283-286.

¹⁴ Of the numerous essays on Goethe's relation to Herder, written from different points of view, I can here only refer to the following:—Minor and Sauer, *Studien zur Goethe-Philologie*, pp. 72 sqq. H. Düntzer, *Zur Goethe-Forschung*. Neue Beiträge, Stuttgart, 1891, pp. 77-140. B. Suphan in *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. lii. (1887), pp. 63-76. R. Haym, *Herder*, i. pp. 392-416. R. Weissenfels, *Goethe im Sturm und Drang*, i. pp. 140-162.

¹⁵ H. Lotze, *Mikrokosmos. Ideen zur Naturgeschichte und Geschichte der Menschheit*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1856. 1885.

¹⁶ See A. W. v. Schegel's letter to Herder, dated May 22, 1797. It is quoted in A. Waag,

Über Herders Übertragungen englischer Gedichte, Heidelberg, 1892, pp. 46-47.

¹⁷ See Reinhold Köhler, *Herders Cid und seine französische Quelle*, Leipzig, 1867. Cp. also Th. Matthias's edition, vol. v., pp. 203-359, and the notes, by Karoline Michaelis, in Julian Schmidt's ed. Leipzig. Brockhaus, 1868. See Goedeke, *Grundriss*, 2^{iv}, p. 296, No. 99.

¹⁸ See B. Suphan's small edition, vol. ii. (ed. C. Redlich), Berlin, 1885. The edition by Theod. Matthias, vol. ii., etc., etc.

¹⁹ See A. Waag, *Über Herders Übertragungen englischer Gedichte*. Heidelberg, 1892.

²⁰ See H. F. Wagener, *Das Eindringen von Percys Reliques in Deutschland*. Heidelberg, 1897. (The importance of Percy's *Reliques* for the German poets of the nineteenth century is hardly touched upon in this dissertation.)

²¹ See W. Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*. Halle, 1902, No. xxxvi.

²² See E. Joseph, *Das Heidenröslein*. Berlin, 1897.

²³ See F. Sintenis in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, xxii. (1901), p. 261, and the Cotta Jubilee Edition of Goethe's works, i. (1902), p. 338.

²⁴ See W. Mangold in *Die Reform des höheren Schulwesens in Preussen*. Halle, 1902, pp. 191 sqq.

²⁵ See Hertha Sollas, *Goldsmiths Einfluss in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert*. Heidelberg, 1903.

²⁶ Cp. the selection by Th. Matthias, vol. ii., pp. 95 sqq. (Von der Ähnlichkeit der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst, nebst Verschiedenem, das daraus folget). R. Franz, *Herders Kleinere Prosaschriften, ausgewählt und mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen versehen*. (Some passages omitted in order to shorten the essay.) Bielefeld and Leipzig. No year. Pp. 28-72.

²⁷ An essay on some of the modern German poets influenced by Percy's *Reliques*, by one of my pupils, is in course of preparation.

²⁸ See W. W. Greg's exhaustive treatment of 'Bürger's Lenore in England' in this paper, then called *The Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature*, No. 5 (Aug. 1899), pp. 13-29. On 'Götz in England,' see A. Brandl in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. (1882), pp. 59-67.

²⁹ See Theod. Matthias, vol. ii., pp. 66-94 (from the pamphlet *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*).

³⁰ See B. Suphan, *Herders Sämml. Werke*, v. p. 225. Matthias, ii., p. 87, line 20.

³¹ See the *Litterarisches Echo*, vi. (1904), No. 7, p. 522; vi., No. 8, pp. 556-561. Cp. also the monthly *Warburgstimmen*, Herder Number, November 1903, and the *German-American Annals*, New Series, vol. ii., No. 3.

³² Quoted in B. Suphan's essay 'Von Herder's Geburtstag' (*Weimarische Zeitung*, No. 202, August 29, 1903) from the manuscript of book 15 of Herder's *Ideen*. Cp. also Herder's poem 'Nachruhm' in *Ausgewählte Werke*, edd. Suphan und Redlich, iii. (1887), pp. 22-23.

³³ Of the few English translations of Herder's works the following deserve to be mentioned:—(1) *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*. Translated by T. Churchill. London, 1800. One vol. in 4to. Second edition, London, 1803, 2 vols. in 8vo. In his preface the translator remarks: 'I did not engage in it without the encouragement of one who can appreciate the merits of Herder, who happily unites a critical knowledge of the English with that of the German; and to whose kindness I am indebted for the explanation of many passages and the improvement of many expressions, as well as some notes distinguished by the signature F.' (2) *Treatise upon the Origin of Language*. Translated from the German. London, 1827. (3) *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*. Translated by J. Marsh. 2 vols. Burlington, 1833. (4) *Fables and Parables from the German of Lessing, Herder, Krumpholtz, and others*. Published by J. Burns. London, 1845. These translations can all be consulted in the British Museum. There is so far, I believe, no printed translation of Herder's early essays on Shakespeare, Ossian, popular songs, etc., but a translation of them has been made by a pupil of mine, a former student of Newnham College.

³⁴ Henry Nevins, *A Sketch of Herder and his Times*. London, 1884. Professor James Sully's article on Herder in the *Fortnightly Review* (October 1882) is not satisfactory.

KARL BREUL.

MATTER AND FORM.

THE question of Matter and Form appears to be one of the most obscure and complicated problems of æsthetics, for three reasons, as it seems to me: the first, more general, reason is, that of the majority of people, every one uses these terms (and nobody interested in literature and art can help using them) in a different sense from every one else. The second, more historical, reason is, that the æsthetic theories of the beginning of last century, resting on a metaphysical basis, invested the matter or 'idea,' as they called it, with a nimbus of transcendental symbolism, much to the detriment of form, until the whole question became shrouded in a misty veil of philosophic thought,

which might well discourage the unprejudiced researches of people outside the philosophic pale. The last reason is, that the almost undefinable flexibility and delicacy of artistic forms cannot submit to the rough handling of dogmatism, which only succeeds in wiping the diaphanous dust from its butterfly wings without grasping the true essence of its nature.

Modern psychological æsthetics have fared much better with such problems; and it is on this basis that the following lines attempt the explanation of the component elements of an artistic production and their importance relatively to each other.

All natural phenomena we consider under

the aspect of causality, *i.e.* we consider them as the effects of certain causes. In the same way, sensuous manifestations of (human or other) beings we regard as the effects of some inward process or force—in other words, as an *expression*.¹ An involuntary cry or an unconscious movement we interpret in this manner, much more so an action, both conscious and intentional, *i.e.* an action intended to be a communication to others. It is, therefore, only natural that we should regard a work of art, which is a manifestation, both conscious and intentional, of its creator, as the *phenomenal expression* of something which he desired to express.²

But a work of art is a special kind of expression, inasmuch as we regard it aesthetically, that is to say, only in itself, without reference to any benefit or use, practical or theoretical, which we might derive from it, as an isolated whole, which requires no extraneous matter or idea for its internal completeness.³ It is, therefore, necessary that this expression should have certain qualities which facilitate its being accepted in this manner.⁴ Such qualities are: *objectivity* (*i.e.* having a separate individual existence apart from its creator), *unity*, *isolation*, *completeness*, and, furthermore, as an additional, more external support of these qualities, *symmetry*, in the case of the arts of space (architecture, painting, and sculpture) or *rhythm*,⁵ in the case of arts of time (music and poetry): all these qualities we will comprise under the name of *formation* (*Gestaltung*).

We must not, however, forget that the division of expression and formation is merely a theoretical abstraction which in practice is impossible. The co-existence of expression and formation is not accidental,

¹ S. Witasek, *Grundz. d. Allg. Aesthetik* (Leipzig, Barth, 1904), p. 388; V. Laprade, *Prolegomenes* (to 'le sentiment de la nature,' Paris, Didier), p. 93.

² Cf. in Y. Hirn, *The Origins of Art* (Macmillan, 1900), the excellent chapter on 'Social Expression.'

³ F. Cohn (*Allg. Aesthetik*, Leipzig, Engelmann, 1901, p. 27) calls the aesthetic value 'rein intensiv,' in distinction to other values, viz. the intellectual, which he calls 'transgredient.'

⁴ M. Guyau, *Problèmes de l'esthétique* (Paris, Alcan, 1897⁴), pp. 180, 181.

⁵ Cf. Hirn, *The Origins of Art*. Also Butcher's *Commentary to Aristotle's Poetics* (Macmillan, 1903²), pp. 116-117. Aristotle was the first to maintain that versification was not essential to the artistic form.

Minturno, who revived this theory, aroused a storm of indignation among the critics of the Renaissance. (Cf. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, Macmillan, 1899), p. 351.)

nor their relation as arbitrary as, for instance, (according to the example given by Cohn, *Allg. Aesth.*, p. 126), that of a colour and a plane. No plane can be without a colour nor a colour without a plane; but any plane may have any colour, and *vice versa*. A certain expression, on the other hand, must have a certain formation, and in a certain formation we unconsciously look for a certain expression; in other words, every expression requires an adequate formation, and expression and formation do not simply co-exist, but condition one another. It is most important to remember this close and organic connection between expression and formation, which both together make up the phenomenal appearance of that which is expressed, *i.e.* the FORM.⁶

Thus far, then, we have arrived at two elements constituting a work of art: 'that which is expressed' and 'expression and formation' or 'Form.'

Now the question arises, what is 'that which is expressed'? This is the first occasion for much confusion in this problem. It has been called 'Matter,' as forming the original material for the work of art or 'Contents,' 'Idea,' 'the Absolute,' 'the Infinite,' 'the Spirit,' etc. Nothing could be more chaotic or more incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, than that the same thing should be called by names so contradictory as 'matter' and 'idea' or 'spirit.' To define it more closely, we must examine the medium of expression of each art.

In *Architecture*, although we have to deal with three-dimensional objects, we are (unless inside the building), in consequence of its size, only sensible of its two-dimensional aspect, *i.e.* of the planes. But since planes, in order to form any proportion such as is necessary to appeal to our aesthetic judgment,⁷ must be distinguished from each other by varying degrees of light and shade or colour, there remains nothing but the one dimension, *i.e.* the line to form the aesthetic proportion. We may, therefore, say that it is a combination of lines

⁶ Cf. E. Reich, *Grillparzer's Kunstphilosophie*, (Wien, Manz, 1890), p. 18 to Gr.'s Definition of Form:

'Form d.h. der Inbegriff der Mittel um den Gedanken in seiner vollen Lebendigkeit auf den Zuhörer übergehen zu lassen.'

⁷ We must content ourselves with this hypothesis that a certain proportion is necessary for our judgment to rest upon, for to prove it here would lead beyond the scope of this statement. A hint that this is the case in all nominative sciences may appease the first doubts.

which furnishes the medium of expression in architecture.

In *Painting*, it is the combination of two-dimensional coloured planes¹ which serves the same purpose, although, since these plans are circumscribed by lines, the linear or so-called architectonic beauty also finds a place in the picture.² For the same reason, *symmetry*, which originally belongs to architecture, plays an important part in painting; in such places, for instance, where the figures in a picture are arranged on bilaterally or radially symmetrical lines or in the shape of some geometrical figure.

The same holds good for *Sculpture*, whose specific medium of expression is the combination of three-dimensional contours (körperliche Umrisse).

In *Music* the particular quality appealing to our æsthetic feeling seems to reside in the combination of sounds coupled with rhythm; in *Poetry*, in the combination of ideas.³ This may be further enhanced by elements borrowed from music, such as the musical sound value of the language, or rhythm, corresponding to architectonic beauty in painting.⁴ Even symmetry may show itself to a certain extent in the construction of the sentences or stanza.

Of all these, the last one alone is capable of expressing an idea, as neither a line-combination, nor combinations of coloured planes, three-dimensional contours or of sounds can do so except symbolically.

But a symbolical representation is by its very nature indefinite, and in many cases nothing prevents us from substituting one idea for another as possible equivalent for the subject of the expression. And, since the characteristic of an abstract idea is its definiteness, those works of art which employ symbols as their medium of expression cannot be, strictly speaking, said to

represent ideas, and Grillparzer (Reich, *G.'s Kunstphilosophie*, p. 88) welcomed the use of 'intention' in the place of the customary 'Idee.' This has been felt even by men who deliberately use the term 'idea.' In the case of architecture Vogt⁵ says: 'Um einen einzigen Gedanken anschaulich darzustellen, muss eine ganze Masse von Linien mitwirken. Einen viel breiteren Raum haben Malerei und Plastik durch die physionomische Bedeutung der Farben und Umrisse, während hingegen in der Musik an Stelle des klaren Gedankens die Ton-Vorstellung tritt, welche nur den dunkeln Gedanken objectiviert, also statt des klaren Gedankens . . . nur ein Gefühl auftritt.'⁶ Nur die Poesie schafft alle ihre Gebilde aus Gedanken.' In view of this difficulty to do justice to the changing nature of the subject of the expression, Cohn suggests the term 'inward life,' which expresses, without straining every shade of the meaning. The value of this term is evident, if applied to ornamentation and to the beautiful in nature.

It is a matter of indifference, whether the inward life actually exists or whether we only presuppose it.⁷ In the most abstract ornamental design we can still see the spirit of order and harmony, and in the gently undulating line we feel the presence of a power which shows its firm, self-possessed strength in the calm, languid flow of the outline without effort, but also without weakness.⁸ In natural beauty the importance of inward life becomes still more obvious. What distinguishes an artificial from a natural flower, or the 'parfum de violette de Parme' from the scent of the violet, if it is not the lack of inward life in the imitated flower and the artificial scent? We unconsciously anthropomorphise natural phenomena, thunder, lightning, the howling wind, and the rippling brook, although our presupposition of inward life need not even reach a very complete and elaborate stage of personification.

⁵ p. 109.

⁶ Cf. Laprade, *Prolegomènes*, p. 183; Reich, *Grillp.'s Kunstphilos.*, p. 132.

⁷ Reich, p. 21; Cohn, pp. 34, 57-8; F. Volkelt, *Ästhetik des Tragischen*, pp. 10-11. Cf. especially Th. Lipps, *Ästhetische Factoren der Rauman-schauung* (Beiträge zur Psychologie u. Physiologie der Sinnesorgane. Festgruss. 1891). Also Vogt, p. 119; and Cohn, pp. 124-5 for 'empty Form.'

⁸ Cf. Guyau, *Problèmes*, p. 38. A comparison between undulating lines in which the waves are too high or too low, will bear out this statement. In the first case, effort, in the second, weakness will become apparent.

¹ Cf. C. Van Dyke, *Art for Art's Sake* (London, Sampson, Low, Marston, 1893), p. 39: 'As a matter of fact, there is no such thing in nature as line . . . but the supposed line is nothing more than a distinction between different colours.'

² Cf. Th. Vogt, *Form u. Gehalt in der Ästhetik* (Wien, 1865), pp. 117-119.

³ Guyau, *Problèmes*, p. 253: 'Nous avons le plus frappant exemple de cette pensée rythmée dans la poésie hébraïque.'

[And not only in Hebrew, but in Oriental poetry generally. Cf. the beautiful Babylonian hymn to the Rising Sun, given by King, *Babylonian Mythology and Religion* (London, Kegan Paul, 1899), p. 32.]

P. 254: ' . . . il y a une sorte de poésie sans parole, d'harmonies délicieuses des pensées entre elles qui ne demande qu'à s'exprimer, à devenir sensible à l'oreille.'

⁴ Cf. Vogt, p. 160.

Thus far, then, we may further define a work of art to consist of *inward life and its phenomenal expression plus formation (Form)*.

This statement does not, however, exhaust all possibilities of confusion. Coloured planes or ideas may be said to be the 'matter' with which a painter or a poet forms his production. Certain parts of the history of the Thirty Years' War may be said to furnish the 'matter' for Schiller's *Wallenstein*. Lastly, a stone mason may be said to supply the 'matter' for building a house. So there we have three new kinds of 'matter.' Are they identical with 'matter' in the sense of 'that which is expressed'?

Firstly, it is self-evident that neither of these 'matters' has any connection with that which we termed 'inward life.' Neither coloured planes nor ideas, nor the historical facts concerning *Wallenstein*, nor, least of all, the physical material, such as stones or colours, can be the subject of the expression, which we defined an artistic production to be. The only relation which they can bear to the problem must be sought in connection with the *form*.

Combination of coloured planes or of ideas are the medium of expression of painting and poetry respectively. Nothing æsthetically valuable, as said before, can exist without some kind of harmonious proportion, and this proportion is to be found between the coloured plane in painting or between ideas in poetry. Any single coloured plane or any single idea will, therefore, be incapable of producing an æsthetic feeling; it will be indifferent, as forming only one term in the required ratio,¹ and as such we may consider it as 'matter in the primary sense.' Thus we find the following series of primary matter in the respective arts: lines in architecture, coloured planes in painting, three-dimensional contours in sculpture, sounds in music, ideas in poetry.

The second kind of matter (certain parts of history in relation to *Wallenstein*) has, strictly speaking, nothing to do with the problem. It is a kind of scaffolding, which may betray the rough outlines of the building, but cannot be said to be the object of the architect. In painting and sculpture the material, which is offered by nature in the shape of landscapes and types of human forms, represents this kind of matter, and touches in this respect on the much-discussed and by no means settled question of the 'imitation of nature.' In poetry we find it in historical facts, in

myths, legends, and all manner of stories which the poet finds already in existence, and which he uses, alters, and transforms according to his requirements. Thus, after the example given by Vogt,² the story of Dr. Faustus may be said to form the matter of Goethe's famous work, but a simple comparison between Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* and Goethe's drama will show the secondary importance it has in the expression aimed at by the two poets. Nevertheless, confusion has here always played a prominent part, for the reason that this matter may possess æsthetic qualities in itself, which misleads people into attributing to it too large a share in the æsthetic effect produced by a work in which it has been employed. To distinguish it from the primary matter, we will call it 'subject-matter' or 'matter in a secondary sense.'

The last kind, finally, we recognise at once as physical material without any connection with the æsthetic result attained, except the inevitable necessity of its existence for the work of art: you cannot build a house without stones, paint a picture without colours, form a statue without clay or marble, make music without an instrument, or write a poem without words.

After this attempt to clear up the misty notions concerning the meaning of the elements commonly called 'matter' and 'form,' we can pass on to the consideration as to which of the two higher importance is to be attached. If the indifference of matter can be proved, the æsthetic qualities must necessarily reside in the form. The question therefore is: Is 'that which is expressed' indifferent or not?

Our mental life ranges from the vaguest feeling to the clearest abstract thought, and from this fact we ought to learn two things concerning art: one, that in the question of 'matter' we should guard against narrow restrictions, which would fail to appreciate the infinite diversity of the subject of expression, further increased by the association of ideas; and, secondly, that the difference of the expressive power of the various arts is a question of degree rather than one of quality. We can, therefore, neglect at this point the 'feeling' expressed, and turn our attention to the 'idea,' always bearing in mind that it is impossible to fix the exact point at which the feeling gains in sufficient definiteness to be treated as idea, and *vice versa*. Here, however, is the place to warn against a

¹ Vogt, p. 106.

² p. 106.

confusion which is constantly made, and which perhaps is not altogether illegitimate, in spite of the sad consequences it has frequently entailed—the confusion of *aesthetic* and *ethical* evaluation.

The question, as it stands, is this: If 'that which is expressed' consists of an *idea*, is it indifferent or not? The answer must of necessity depend on the nature of the idea. An idea may be indifferent: such an idea, for instance, is 'death,' which lies at the bottom of so many artistic productions, paintings, sculptures, poetry. The idea of death is, therefore, destitute of all qualities likely to arouse our judgment, and as such contains no *aesthetic* element.

But this is not the case, if the idea in itself contains an ethical value. Then we no longer remain indifferent, impartial, so to speak, scientifically disinterested, but our judgment is at once on the alert, only not our *aesthetic* judgment. A Gothic church, with its decided preference for vertical lines, seems to express the fervent desire for elevation, an ardent striving after the deity, *i.e.* an idea of high ethical value; and no doubt this idea comes in for a large share in our judgment of a Gothic church. It would be interesting to hear, about the same object, the opinion of a savage, who would look at the building without any such preconceived notion. We ourselves are in pretty much the same position in the case of works of art of past ages, embodying ethical ideas which to us no longer present ethical values. The greatest part of Egyptian art contained religious associations, which are lost to us, and the Greeks probably saw in the Zeus of Olympia the personification of their highest ethical ideal, where we would only see the beautiful manifestation of a human mind. There are whole classes of productions of a professedly ethical character, religious and patriotic paintings and poetry, which excite the wildest admiration, often undeserved, for they have little or no *aesthetic* value, but supply the want by their ethical pretensions. The danger of such ill-founded admiration lies in the fact that it leads, and has led at different periods, to the complete extinction of *aesthetic* beauty for the benefit of the ethical idea, yet ethical beauties can never give, nor even add to, the *aesthetic* value of a work of art, however much they may increase its generally human importance. Here, again, I would like to point out an important side-issue—the mistaken idea that poetry in general, and tragedy in particular, give us the representation of

'the moral constitution of the world.'¹ No doubt they may do so, intentionally on the part of the artist, even unintentionally by association of ideas on the part of the hero; but to make a rule of this metaphysical conception is certainly false, as are also its logical consequences, such as 'poetic justice,'² or certain kinds of 'tragic guilt.'³ It is a significant fact that the supporters of this theory were usually men who held very pronounced views on philosophic matters, and seemed predisposed for such association—viz. Kant, Schiller, Hegel, Schelling, Schopenhauer,⁴ etc. But this would lead us away from our subject to the questions of the 'Ideal in Art' and the 'Theory of the Drama.'

Yet, an idea of an ethical nature may, strange to say, under certain circumstances, depreciate the *aesthetic* value, namely, if the idea is such as to awaken our indignation or an objection on moral grounds. The *aesthetic* attitude we take up as regards a work of art consists in the abandonment of our personality and its subordination to the idea of the production. Now, if we feel obliged to condemn this idea, the result will be an increased assertion of our individuality, and the sympathy with the work of art will be, if not altogether destroyed, at least seriously impaired. Cases of this kind are, I believe, on the whole extremely rare, particularly if we remember that we must carefully distinguish between moral depravity as part of the subject-matter and as attribute of the idea. Molière's *Tartuffe* is certainly a picture of moral depravity, but the idea of the play is anything but depraved.

Finally, there exists another possibility, namely, that 'that which is expressed' possesses in itself, not an ethical, but an *aesthetic* value. This is the case, if the subject of the expression is represented not by a single, but by a combination of at least two ideas. In *Francesca e Paolo*, for instance, it is not only the idea of jealousy, but jealousy together with love to the friend and brother, which form the contents of the expression, and which already in themselves, in their relation to

¹ Cf. Cohn, pp. 199 ff., 250 ff.; Reich, pp. 58, 73.

² Cohn, pp. 197 ff.

³ Volkelt, *Ästhetik des Trag.*, pp. 143 ff.; Cohn, pp. 201-2.

⁴ Schopenhauer held just the opposite view to that of Schiller, Hegel, etc.—namely, that Tragedy was the representation of the inevitable misery of creation, and therefore a stimulus to the negation of the will to live.

each other, carry æsthetic possibilities. Often, as in a single note we hear others, completing the harmony, insensibly vibrating, so in a single idea we are conscious of the hidden presence of one or several others, making up a thought-harmony which we are unable to formulate in words.

After these considerations, the conclusions as to the comparative value of the subject of the expression and the form are very obvious. The subject of the expression is entirely indifferent (æsthetically) with the

exception of the last-mentioned instance, and even here our pleasure arises by no means from the æsthetic qualities of the idea alone. Without taking up a one-sided, formalistic stand-point, we may therefore be justified in maintaining that the æsthetic effect of a work of art results from a specific property, not of the commonly called 'matter,' but of the 'form,' as defined in the beginning of this statement.

E. BULLOUGH.

OBSERVATIONS

CHAUCER'S 'DRYE SE' AND 'THE CARRENARE.'

IN connection with Professor Torraca's remarks on this subject in the first number of the *Journal of Comparative Literature* ('Un passo oscuro di G. Chaucer,' pp. 82-4), in which he suggests that the 'drye se' in the *Book of the Duchesse* is 'the Adrye se' (i.e. the Adriatic), it may be of interest to note that I proposed this solution to Professor Skeat just fifteen years ago, shortly after the publication of the first edition (1888) of his *Chaucer's Minor Poems*. In reply Professor Skeat wrote, under date Feb. 17. 1889, as follows:—

'The suggestion to read *th' Adrye see* for the *drye see* has been made: and so have a great many others of that sort. I left all such things out, because I could not find any evidence except against. Thus we should expect either *A'drie* or *A'driatic*; the accent on *Adrye* is not very likely. Again, I can nowhere find any mention of *Hadria* in any M.E. author. In Acts xxvii. 27, Wyclif carefully avoids it, and translates it by "the stony see," which seems to have been the received English name, and has been explained;¹ though I forget the explanation.'

In this same connection I may observe that Professor Skeat's note on *Carrenare*

(which is reproduced *totidem verbis* in his edition of the *Complete Works of Chaucer*, vol. i. p. 487), is altogether misleading in so far as it relates to Dante. He writes: 'Mr. Brae suggests that the reference is to "the Gulf of the Carnaro or Quarnaro in the Adriatic," to which Dante alludes in the *Inferno*, ix. 113, as being noted for its perils. Cary's translation runs thus:

As where Rhone stagnates on the plains of
Arles,
Or as at Pola, near Quarnaro's gulf,
That closes Italy and laves her bounds,
The place is all thick spread with sepulchres.

There is not the slightest hint in Dante as to the Gulf of Quarnaro 'being noted for its perils'; nor is there any suggestion (as is implied by Professor Skeat's italics) as to a connection between these 'perils' and the sepulchres at Pola mentioned by Dante. He simply compares the tombs (*avelli*) in which the Heretics are confined in Circle VI. of Hell to the sepulchres at Arles, and at Pola near the Quarnaro:

Si come ad Arli, ove Rodano stagna,
Si com' a Pola presso del Quarnaro,
Che Italia chiude e suoi termini bagna,
Fanno i sepolcri tutto il loco varo:
Così facevan quivi d'ogni parte. . . .

It would be just as reasonable to infer from Dante's words a connection between the tombs at Arles and the delta of the Rhone, which, as Dante indicates, begins to form at that place.

The sepulchres at Pola were well known in the Middle Ages, inasmuch as Pola was one of the regular stopping-places on the voyage of pilgrims to the Holy Land. Thus we find them mentioned by the Seigneur d'Anglure, a contemporary of Chaucer, in

¹ The explanation is to be found in the medieval etymology of the word, which is given as follows in the *Catholicon* of Giovanni da Genova: 'Adria, adrie, vel adros, grece, petra latine: inde hec adria—drie, mare quoddam eo quod sit magis petrosus quam alia maria: unde adriaticus-cum, id est petrosus.' Similarly in the old Latin-German dictionary known as *Gemma Gemmarum*: 'Adriaticum, id est mare saxosum: die see oder das meer da vil stein in synt.'

his account of *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem* undertaken by him in 1395-1396:

'Le lundi matin nous partismes du port de Venise; sy arrivasmes a Paula, qui est a cent M. oultre Venise, le mardi ensuivant, darrien jour d'aoust.

Paula est cité assés bonne. . . . Dehors la cité, devers la terre, a une tresbelle fontaine d'eau douce devant laquelle a ung tournoyement¹ . . . et le fist faire Rolant, si comme l'en dit, et encore l'appellent aujourd'uy le palaix Rolant. Et dehors ledit palaix, vers la marine, a moult grant quantité de monumens de pierre entaillée couvers, et sont sur terre: et y en peut bien avoir environ.iiii.^c; et dedens les aucuns voit l'en les os des chrestiens qui illec furent mis après une grande desconfiture que mescreans y firent. Plusieurs y a desdits monumens que l'en ne peut veoir dedans, car ilz sont trop couvers.'

(Pp. 6-7, ed. *S.A.T.F.*, Paris, 1878.)

These sepulchres are mentioned again in the account of another voyage to the Holy Land, undertaken some forty years later by one Ser Mariano of Siena, who sailed from Venice on April 25, 1431. On the next day he records:

'A di xxvi. fumo in Istria nella città di Pola, nella quale trovammo uno edificio quasi simile al Coliseo di Roma, e molti altri nobili edificii. Anco vi trovammo sì grande la quantità di Sepulcri tutte d'uno pezzo ritratti come arche, che sarebbe incredibile a dire el numero d'essi con molte ossa dentro.'

(*Del Viaggio in Terra Santa, fatto e descritto da Ser Mariano da Siena*. Firenze, 1822.)

It is obvious from these references, to which others no doubt might easily be added, that the name of the Gulf of Quarnaro, close to the mouth of which Pola is situated, must have been pretty well known to the 'Palmer' (or pilgrims to the East, as Dante explains the term)² of and about Chaucer's day. So that Professor Torraca's suggestion that Chaucer can hardly have heard of the name save from the passage in the *Inferno*, and that consequently he was acquainted with Dante before 1372, need not be taken too seriously.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

¹ That is, the Roman amphitheatre.

² *Vita Nuova*, § 41, ll. 44-46.

'LEAD APES IN HELL.'

IN Elizabethan literature we frequently encounter the fancy that the future state of old maids is to 'lead apes in hell.' It is sufficient to refer to *Much Ado*, II. i. 35 (which Mr. Wright illustrates by two passages from Lyly's *Euphues*—one of them being the earliest example of the phrase known to Murray's *Oxford Dictionary*), *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i. 43, *London Prodigal*, I. 2 (quoted by the editor of *Much Ado* in the 'Warwick Shakespeare') and Chapman's *May Day*, *ad fin.*

Murray's *Dictionary* says nothing to explain the phrase. Mr. Wright, it may be only half-seriously, says: 'Perhaps it was thought fitting that, having escaped the plague of children in this life, they (*i.e.* old maids) ought to be tormented with something disagreeably like them in the next.'

A different explanation is suggested by Professor Skeat's note on Chaucer, *Canoun Yemannes Tale*, 760 (G. 1313), 'the priest he made his ape.' Comparing this with *Prologue*, 706, and B. 1630, Skeat shows that 'ape' means 'dupe,' and he adds, 'to lead apes means to lead about a train of dupes.' Unfortunately Skeat gives no example of the phrase 'to lead apes' in this sense, and it is not clear if he has the phrase 'to lead apes in hell' in his mind.

It seems to me that if we extend Skeat's explanation to the latter phrase, we have an interpretation which is at any rate plausible, and this Mr. Wright's interpretation would hardly claim to be. The old maid is viewed as the coquette who in Chaucer's phrase 'holds' her lovers 'in hand,' leads them on as her apes or dupes. What more suitable fate for her than to be doomed hereafter to lead apes in hell? I think it is possible to explain the phrase thus, and at the same time to suppose that in Shakespeare's time the phrase was used with little consciousness of its original meaning.

In the following passage of R. Brathwaite, *Shepheards Tales*, Part I., Ecl. III. (*Natures Embassie*, p. 217), the phrase is introduced with distinct reference to a coquette:

'And her I lou'd and lik'd and su'd and sought,
But all my loue and labour turn'd to nought;
For she had vow'd which vow should nere be
broke,
Shee'd die a Maid, but meant not as she spoke.

Dor. No, Dymnus, no, the nicest sure I am
Would liue a Maid if 'twere not for a man;
But there is none of them can brooke so well,
To be a Beareward and leade Apes in Hell.'

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

THE SOUND-CHANGE OF *Wǣ* INTO *Wō* IN ENGLISH.

IN the course of some other work I have made an observation concerning the above sound-change, which has perhaps not been made before, and may be interesting to students of English. Everybody knows that the original *wǣ* combination in *wander*, *squander*, *quadrant*, *squadron*, *twaddle*, *thwart*, *swarthy* has now become *wō*. The same thing happens to *whǣ* (e.g. in *what* and *whap*). There are a few exceptions to this transformation; and it is the nature of these exceptions which has attracted my attention. The exceptions which I have so far observed are *wag*, *swag*, *swagger*, *waz*, *twang*, *quack*, *quag*, *thwack*, and *whack*. What strikes one immediately, on writing them down, is that the consonant succeeding the *wǣ* or *whǣ* is in every case velar—*k*, *g*, or *ŋ*. And on scrutinising the other series of words one finds that the consonant succeeding to the *wō* is in no case velar, but always belongs to the anterior organs.

It is much easier to establish this distinction than to account for it. I suggest, tentatively, that when the organs have to travel from the very close back round position of the *w* or *wh* to that of some front, or point, or lip consonant, the half-open back round position of *ō* is vastly more convenient as a half-way house between them than the original front, open, unrounded *ǣ* was. Everybody will admit that, probably; and will also admit that the explanation given above for front and lip consonants would not apply to velars—not at least without modification. Still, the presence of the back consonant, *k*, *g*, or *ŋ*, ought not to be in itself unfavourable to the development of the back vowel *ō*; and the difficulty of conceiving that the front open *ǣ* can be the more convenient half-way house between the very close back *w* and the stopped back *k*, *g* or *ŋ* is at first sight insurmountable.

But I think I have found the explanation of it in a fact which has recently forced itself upon my notice in other connections, namely, the independent mobility of the velum. Phoneticians have hitherto laid little or no stress on the fact that the soft palate and the back of the tongue (unlike the hard palate and the front of the tongue) are *both* movable. They have spoken as if all back constrictions were framed simply by raising the back of the tongue. But there is an alternative, quite practicable in this and many other cases; the constriction

may be very largely created by a motion of the velum, the tongue remaining comparatively passive. With this information in hand, we can now easily conceive that the front *ǣ* is, after all, the more convenient half-way house between the back *w* or *wh* and the back *k*, *g*, or *ŋ*; for though the back of the tongue must drop a long way from its *w* or *wh* to its position for *ǣ*, it has no need to go all the way back again; the velum comes to meet it.

The reader will have already perceived that the doctrine here stated must, if well founded, profoundly qualify the usual teaching about the 'height' of back vowels. There are some more facts worth naming about that, but my present subject is already exhausted.

R. J. LLOYD.

THE ENTERTAINMENT AT RICHMOND.

SINCE the publication of the *Entertainment at Richmond* in Professor Bang's *Materialien* I have lighted by chance upon what is, I believe, an unrecorded reprint of the greater part of the Entertainment in Kirkman's collection of drolls, etc., entitled *The Wits*. The bulk of this collection consists of short comic scenes based on a number of the earlier dramas, and has a title-page bearing the date 1672 on which it purports to be 'Part I.' This is in octavo. The following year a different collection of miscellaneous pieces, including the Entertainment, was also published by Kirkman under the same name. This is in quarto. This second part was reprinted in octavo, with a fresh set of signatures, and added to the 1672 volume, which at the same time was enlarged by prefixing an address to the reader, a general titlepage dated 1673, and the well-known engraved frontispiece representing the Red Bull stage.

It is perhaps worth while noting the differences between this popular reprint and the original quarto of 1636. The title-page is replaced by a simple head-title running 'WILTSHIRE TOM, | An Entertainment at Court.' The verse dedication to the Queen and the prose introduction, etc., everything, that is, before l. 37 of Professor Bang's edition, is omitted; but, on the other hand, we have the following list of *personae*, not found in the original:

The Actors' Names.

Usher.
Tom.

A Wiltshire Man.

<i>Mr. Edward.</i>	A Courtier.
<i>Madge.</i>	A Country Wench.
<i>Richard.</i>	
<i>Doll.</i>	
<i>Wilkin.</i>	A Shepherd.
<i>Lucinda.</i>	A Shepherdess.

The text then follows the original, with only minor variations of spelling and the like, as far as l. 289, where it ends, the re-

maining courtly portion (ll. 290-637) being omitted. The only variation of any interest I have noticed is in l. 54, in which 'M. Edward Sackville' is altered to 'M. Edward, a Courtier,' the occasional nature of the original piece having been deliberately altered with a view to a popular audience at a later date. So, too, 'M. Sa' in the speakers' names becomes 'M. Edw.'

W. W. G.

REVIEWS

Une Ville d'Eaux anglaise au xviii^{me} siècle.—La Société élégante et littéraire à Bath sous la reine Anne et sous les Georges. Par A. BARBEAU, docteur ès lettres, chargé de cours à la faculté des lettres de l'université de Caen. (A. Picard et Fils, 82, rue Bonaparte, Paris.)

It is a noteworthy phenomenon of the last twenty years that some of the chief contributions to the history of English literature and life have been the work of Frenchmen. It is sufficient to mention Messieurs Jusserand and Legouis, and the late M. Texte. To these names we must now add that of M. Alfred Barbeau, whose book on *Bath in the Eighteenth Century* holds its own with the works of the authors we have named for solid erudition, sober reasoning, critical insight, sympathy with the English character, clear arrangement and polished style.

The book may be called a development of a remark made by Thackeray—'As for Bath, all history went and bathed and drank there.' What was this Bath to which all the notabilities of a century and a half wended their steps? M. Barbeau sketches the history of the watering-place from its mythical origin to the beginning of its vogue after the Restoration: he shows how under the strict rule of Beau Nash its irregularities were repressed and it became a school of manners for the whole country: he points out how the secret of its fall was contained in its very growth, till at last when the aristocracy, separating themselves from the *bourgeois*, ceased to attend the Pump-room and the Assemblies, the life in common which Nash insisted on came to an end and the glory of Bath departed

for ever: he shows how in modern times Baden-Baden and Homburg have flourished on its ruins. And along with this sketch of the gay city's rise and fall, M. Barbeau gives us pictures of the chief men and women who contributed to its fame or whose character received some bent or stimulus from the *genius loci*. It is a long series of interesting portrait-sketches—Beau Nash himself; Sheridan; Lady Huntingdon, the Methodist she-bishop; Lady Miller, the Muse of Bathcaston; the good Ralph Allen and his guests, Pope and Fielding; the youthful portrait-painter, Thomas Lawrence; the Hanoverian band-master, William Herschel, giving his music lessons in a room littered with telescopes of his own construction—these and a score or two beside pass before us in procession. And everywhere M. Barbeau subtly indicates the part which Bath played in the life or genius of its children or its visitors. 'The characteristic of Bath,' he writes, 'as of other English watering-places of the same date, is to have remained for one hundred years and more not merely a place of cure and amusement, but almost a national sanctuary of fashion and good tone, a conservatory of fine manners: to have attracted to itself by its éclat every one in the three kingdoms who affected elegance, and so to have become as it were a crucible of social fusion: finally—to the great profit of literature—to have set before the eyes of some great observers (Sheridan, Smollett, Anstey, Miss Austen, Dickens) a marvellously instructive and varied spectacle.'

There is something fresh and original in the idea of studying men and their works in the peculiar atmosphere of a city of pleasure, and M. Barbeau has not only had a good idea, but has worked it out with the most painstaking erudition. It is clear

that for a long course of years he has read everything that could possibly bear on his subject,¹ and the result must be not merely the success of the present work, but the immediate recognition of M. Barbeau as one of the chief living students of the English eighteenth century. Now that he has achieved this *magnum opus*—in which one may perhaps suppose that all the men, women and things which came within his historical survey were not equally congenial to him—we must hope that he will give us in the lightness of his heart a new series of literary studies of those authors or works for which his sympathies are keenest.

The present book is so carefully executed, as we have said, that it gives opening for very little of the nature of suggestion or correction. One point in which Bath affected literary history seems, however, to have escaped M. Barbeau's observation. Every one acquainted with the later life of the poet Gray remembers how in the winter of 1769-1770 a gleam of joy came to him in his learned seclusion in the warm affection which he conceived for the young Swiss, Charles de Bonstetten, an affection which lasted till the poet's death. Bonstetten came to Gray at Cambridge with a letter of introduction from Gray's friend, Norton Nicholls, and Nicholls and Bonstetten had made each other's acquaintance a few weeks earlier at the general *rendez-vous*, Bath.

On pages 58, 62, 63, and 68, some foot-notes appear to be attached to wrong words in the text, probably through a note being added or omitted and no corresponding change being made in the numbers indicating the notes.

p. 69. 'la première partie de Henri v. de Shakespeare.' This seems to need a word of explanation, unless 'Henri IV.' is meant.

p. 135. 'to post him as a I.— and a treacherous S——' is translated 'de proclamer ici publiquement qu'il en a menti et qu'il est un *chenapan* sans foi.' We suppose the word indicated by 'S——' is 'Seducer.'

p. 163. Walpole's letter. 'Behind the pit . . . is a plain table within

rails.' Should not 'pit' be 'pul-pit'?

p. 165. 'the Toads must be singing Psalms or preaching to my Customers, and be pox'd to 'em, from morning to night.' (I have inserted the necessary comma after 'em.') The phrase 'and be pox'd to 'em' has been misunderstood apparently, judging by the translation — 'ils passent leur temps à chanter des Psaumes, les animaux, ou à faire des sermons à mes clients, et à les importuner du matin au soir.'

p. 174. Milton's line, 'rose like a steam of rich distilled perfumes' (given rightly in the note), is translated 'montait comme un *flot* de parfums, etc.' Was 'steam' misread as 'stream'?

p. 192, 193. 'he aimed the ball at the lead with such discomposure that it struck on the wrong side and came off at an angle which directed it full in the middle hole.' M. Barbeau comments: 'The lead (le plomb) dit le texte; je ne sais au juste ce qui est désigné par là, ni par où les billards anglais du xviii^e siècle différaient des actuels.' We don't understand eighteenth-century billiards any more than M. Barbeau. We think, however, he is wrong in translating 'the lead' as 'le plomb,' and that the word is 'lead.' The *Oxford Dictionary* seems to throw no light on the use of the word in connexion with billiards. But some help may perhaps be gained from the following 'Rules and Regulations to be observed at the White Winning Game' in 'Mr. Dew's Treatise on Billiards,' given in *Hoyle's Games Improved*, 1796:—

'I. When you begin, string for the Lead, and the Choice of Balls, if you please.

'IV. If the Player holes his own Ball, either in stringing or leading, he loses the Lead.

'V. If the Leader follow his Ball with either Mace or Cue past the middle Hole, it is no Lead; and if his Adversary chuses, he may make him lead again.

'VI. The Striker who plays at the Lead

¹ M. Barbeau's Bibliography (of some 500 items!) does not, however, include a pleasantly written paper by Mr. H. D. Traill, called 'Two Centuries of Bath,' which appeared in *The English Illustrated Magazine* for June 1884. The paper is illustrated with drawings by W. G. Addison, and one by Hugh Thomson.

must stand with both his Feet within the limits of the Corner of the Table, etc.'

p. 214. 'There are baths near at hand in which a part of the company wash themselves, and a band plays afterwards to congratulate the remainder on their having done so.' If we understand the passage aright, the humour of the words *the remainder* is lost in the translation: 'l'orchestre joue pour féliciter les baigneurs de s'être mis à l'eau.'

p. 228. Horace Walpole having spoken of Lady Miller as 'Mrs. Miller,' M. Barbeau remarks: '*Lady*, titre de pure courtoisie, habituellement donné, comme l'on sait, aux femmes de baronnets. On a vu que l'aristocratique Walpole, selon la rigueur des règles, dit toujours *Mrs Miller*.' Most readers will hardly find M. Barbeau's explanation satisfactory, and a reference to Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, for 1893 say, will justify their scepticism. Horace Walpole was writing in 1775, Captain Miller was created a baronet of Ireland on 24th August 1778, and Miss Seward's account of the Bath-Easton assemblies was not written till after Lady Miller's death in July 1781. The baronetcy is now extinct.

Apart from a few misprints not given in the 'Errata,' we have noted nothing else which needs correction in Monsieur Barbeau's work, and considering that it runs to 300 pages and consists largely of notes in small print—whatever allowance be made for our defective knowledge—this is no small testimony to the scholarly care which M. Barbeau has spent on his task. The width of his sympathies may be seen in the treatment he accords to our English Methodists: no Englishman could write with more appreciation of their religious sincerity and earnestness than is here shown by a French Catholic.

In all the portraits we see the same generous appreciation of what is good, the same conscientious adherence to truth, the same vivid sense of character. The story of Sheridan and Eliza Linley is made so interesting that, when it is cut short by their removal from Bath, we feel defrauded. (This perhaps illustrates a certain con-

straint which the choice of his subject has imposed on the author. Successful as he has been with this book, he will perhaps be happier when he can treat some favourite writer without regard to the place with which at some period of his life he has been connected.)

The book abounds in thoughtful criticism. We need only mention the importance given (and, as it seems to us, rightly given) to Anstey's *Bath Guide* as a factor in the evolution of modern light verse.

But we have said enough. We will only express the hope that the book may speedily appear in a good English translation. Though it would be impossible to preserve in English the charm of M. Barbeau's French style, a translation would have one advantage over the original, that passages which now appear in French in the text and in English in the footnotes need only be read once. That the book, especially if illustrated, would be long in popular demand—above all, in the city whose history it records so kindly and so brilliantly—we do not for a moment doubt. And such popular appreciation would not derogate from the value set on it by scholars as an invaluable contribution to the literary and social history of the eighteenth century.

G. C. M. S.

Mme. de Staël, *Lettres inédites à Henri Meister*. Publiées par P. USTERI et E. RITTER. Paris, Hachette et Cie. 1903. 16°. Fr. 3.50.

It is not without a thrill that we take up a work likely to throw a fresh light on the mind or person of a great man or woman. Many series of letters have thrown such a light, whether for good or ill. With such a thrill did I take up the volume of *Lettres inédites de Madame de Staël*. What fresh vision might they not afford of this brilliant, essentially feminine mind? The hope so awakened has not been altogether fulfilled. There is no doubt much to interest in these letters, put together with so much skill and care by MM. Usteri and Ritter. The acquaintance of Henri Meister himself, to whom the letters are for the most part addressed, is well worth the making. 'The excellent Meister,' we feel disposed to call him, so solid is he, so self-contained, so constant, so unmoved in his friendship in his course of life. He serves as an admir

able foil to his changeable, uncertain correspondent. There are days when she writes that she cannot live without him. 'Je ne vous parlerai pas de ce que je vous dois, vous m'êtes nécessaire, et je cherche à rapprocher ma vie de la vôtre, parce que vous plaisez à tout mon cœur et tout mon esprit.' Again there are months when he seems to be forgotten. Coldness and warmth alike he received with unswerving friendship. We should like to see his replies. The one-sidedness of the correspondence leaves a blank. But had his letters been other than calm and friendly, there would have been more of rapture and rebuke in hers. Be this as it may, the main charm of this correspondence between Madame de Staël and a faithful friend lies in its personal side. If we look for the author of *Corinne*, if we look, that is, for any special power of portraying scenes and persons such as may be looked for in a writer of fiction, we shall hardly be successful in our search. There is but little vividness or characterisation in her mention of persons and events. Still less shall we have success if we seek for the famous writer of *l'Allemagne*, who, more perhaps than any other, made known to her countrymen the great writers of Germany, and who was certainly one of the great forces which made up the Romantic movement in France. There is not much talk of literature, and such talk as there is gives cause for surprise. She writes thus of Goethe, who had sent her a beautifully bound copy of *Wilhelm Meister*: 'Comme il était en allemand, je n'ai pu admirer que la reliure. Mais il faut que dans votre bonté, vous fassiez parvenir de ma part à Goethe un remerciement superbe, qui jette un voile sur mon ignorance et parle beaucoup de mon admiration pour l'auteur de Werther.'

The editors of the letters hold that they refute Sainte-Beuve's assertion that Madame de Staël was indifferent to the horrors of the Year of Terror. This appears to me true only in part. She does indeed speak of 'l'affreux écroulement de l'univers.' She does indeed allude often to the sufferings of her friends. She is indeed anxious to return to Paris. But this desire seems chiefly due to her wish to escape the 'frightful boredom' of Switzerland, and the upheaval affects her through its effect on her friends, or herself. This brings me back to my first contention. It is the personal character of the letters which has interest. It is the unaffected egoism of a brilliant and accomplished woman of the

late eighteenth century, revealed with a complete sincerity which appeals to the reader. This is the debt which we owe to the compilers. They have shown us Germaine Necker—not in love-letters, of which we have had something of a surfeit of late, but in letters almost devoid of passion. This Germaine is a woman alert to all that passes, keenly sensitive to the whirl of change into which she was drawn, in which she played a part, so often unkind to herself. The letters show her a republican, who is unable to say anything which altogether pleases the Republic; an ardent Bonapartist; an anti-Imperialist; above all, they show her a devoted and zealous friend. They touch upon all manner of themes, though lightly. But throughout they reflect less a profound thinker than a thinker who is swayed by impassioned feeling. As she herself says: 'Si aimer profondément ce qu'on estime, si rester fidèle au lieu sacré de l'amitié, est jouer un rôle, je l'ai rempli; ou plutôt, il n'est rien en moi qui m'inspire, qui me permette une autre manière de vivre.'

The letters, which present her to us in many moods—hopeful, disappointed, bitter, affectionate—show her at last content and in prosperity. Four months before her death a letter to Meister tells that she is 'au comble de ses vœux: sa maison est la plus animée de Paris, et influe tant qu'elle veut et tant qu'elle peut, sans trouver d'opposants. Sa fortune est grande.' The last word of her, then, written in her lifetime, shows her what she really was—the brilliant society woman, the last to hold a true eighteenth-century *salon*, and when *Corinne* and *de l'Allemagne* are forgotten, or at least unread, her name will still be remembered among others famous for this lost art.

M. J. TUKE.

A Handbook of Modern English Metre.

By JOSEPH B. MAYOR. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1903. [2s.]

THE author of *Chapters on English Metre* has a right to be heard on that subject, and the present little volume in which he has embodied his system of prosody in a form suitable for teaching purposes will be welcomed by many interested in the technical problems of versification.

Mr. Mayor begins his preface by saying that he has sought to give a 'methodical and uncontroversial statement' of what he calls his 'theory of metre.' If by 'uncon-

troversial' the author means that he has neither sought to refute rival theories nor to substantiate his own, but merely to state and illustrate it, his statement is eminently true; and if the reader has previously convinced himself of the correctness of that theory or is willing to swallow it whole upon authority, he will ask for nothing more. The argument, moreover, is developed at length in the author's former work. If, however, we are to understand 'uncontroversial' in its ordinary sense of excluding disputed matter, we can only say that the author has been singularly unsuccessful. There is scarcely a page out of the hundred and fifty odd which form the volume which does not contain statements with which we profoundly disagree. The preface itself, in which the aim and object of the work is set forth, is no exception. Mr. Mayor is disturbed at the 'epidemic of metrical theories' which we are informed has been raging of late years, and thinks 'it cannot be denied that the conflict of experts has a tendency to produce confusion and uncertainty, or even entire scepticism, among the reading public.' It would certainly never occur to us to deny anything of the sort. But it is quite useless for the author to deprecate these rival theories, and his apparent claim to the right of expounding the orthodox and authoritative view to which all others should defer is hardly likely to be universally recognised. He has overlooked the somewhat relevant fact that what has called forth the 'epidemic of metrical theories' is the profoundly unsatisfactory nature of the system of which he has constituted himself the advocate. He has a statement a few lines lower down which puts his position in a clearer and, to our mind, a yet worse light. He says, namely, that his book is intended 'for those who have not had a training in metre through the practice of Greek and Latin versification,' implying thereby that such a training fits the student to deal with the wholly different problems of English verse. But without going so far as to deny the convenience of classical names and methods in speaking of and analysing English versification, most English scholars will, we fancy, admit that the attempt to transfer the classical system bodily into modern languages is theoretically indefensible, and has in practice proved a lamentable failure. That Mr. Mayor, whose remarks on individual problems are often very acute, should not have perceived this affords

matter for speculation. He remarks, for instance, that the distinction of degrees of stress 'makes it possible to interpose an intermediate foot between a trochee and spondee,' adding that it is 'a matter of indifference whether we call it trochee or spondee.' Surely, then, nothing is gained as regards a scientific system by calling it either?

A few instances will serve to show how absolutely artificial the system of versification based on the division of feet must be in such a language as ours. Thus we find a full discussion of the inversion of the accent *within the foot* followed by a section on the pyrrhic and spondee. 'These,' remarks the author, 'may be naturally taken together, as they are often found together, the loss of stress in one foot being compensated by added stress in the neighbouring foot.' Of course they are often found together, for it is merely the perverse division into feet that obscures the fact that these so-called pyrrhics and spondees are in the vast majority of cases merely instances of inversion of accent *not within the foot*. The distinction between the two cases is utterly meaningless and unscientific.

On the whole the distinction between dissyllabic and trisyllabic rhythms does not give much trouble; the difficulty arises when we come to consider the distinction between rising and falling rhythms, between iambic and trochaic, dactylic and anapaestic. A so-called 'law' of supreme importance is italicised on p. 19. 'An unaccented syllable, preceding the initial accent, or following the final accent of the normal line, is treated by the poets as non-essential to the rhythm, and may be added or omitted without necessarily changing the metre.' This is the 'law' according to which any metre may be shown to be iambic or trochaic, dactylic or anapaestic, at the fancy of the critic. For instance, on p. 39, Shelley's lines are treated as trochaic:

Many a | green isle | needs must | be \wedge
 In the) deep wide | sea of | miser | y \wedge ,
 Or the | mariner | worn and | wan \wedge
 Never | thus could | voyage | on \wedge ;

but they might equally well be written :

Many | a green | isle needs | must be
 In the deep | wide sea | of mi | sery
 \wedge Or | the ma | riner worn | and wan
 \wedge Ne | ver thus | could voy | age on.

Again on the next page the author admits that some lines of Swinburne may be scanned either as 'trochaic with dactylic

and spondaic substitution' or as anapaestic. 'I much prefer the former,' he adds, but as neither in the least affects the reading of the lines it is rather a matter of indifference. The footnote on p. 55 leaves no shadow of doubt that the poet himself would have voted his verse anapaestic. Such consideration should raise a doubt whether these much-disputed terms really indicate any organic difference in the verse at all. The division into feet appears to us to lie at the root of the mischief, but even without it difficulties remain. It is often possible to say that a poem has a marked iambic or trochaic rhythm. What determines the effect? Division into feet, it has been seen, affords us no help. The fact of the first syllable being accented or unaccented frequently goes for next to nothing. Probably the most powerful factor in determining the rhythm is whether an accented or unaccented syllable follows the first distinct pause in the line. The rhythm, that is, depends upon the prevalent form of the syllabic group. If attention is paid to this it will be found that the vast majority of English verse, whether beginning with an accent or not, is iambic or anapaestic in type. Few poets can sustain anything like a trochaic or dactylic cadence, especially in long lines.

A most interesting example, and an admirable test of any system of scansion, is afforded by a stanza from Meredith's wonderful poem, *Love in the Valley*. We give it as it stands in Mr. Mayor's book.

Shy as the | squirrel and | wayward | as the |
 swallow,
 Swift as the | swallow a | long the | river's |
 light ^,
 *Circleting the | surface to | meet his | mir-
 rored | winglets,
 Fleeter she | seems in her | stay than | in
 her | flight ^.
 Shy as the | squirrel that | leaps a | mong
 the | pine-tops,
 *Wayward as the | *swallow over | head at |
 set of | sun ^,
 She whom I | love is | hard to | catch and |
 conquer,
 *Hard, but O the | *glory of the | winning |
 were she | won ^!

It is called a five-foot dactylic metre with trochaic substitution in the last three feet, and a note informs us that in the five feet marked above with an asterisk 'a superfluous syllable has to be slurred.' Now of one thing we are absolutely convinced, namely, that in the whole poem there is not one single 'superfluous syllable,' and that not

one can be slurred without injury to the verse. In spite of the obvious audacity of such an act, we are tempted to give our own idea of the metre of the poem, dividing the lines, for the sake of comparison, into 'feet.' We believe it to be the equivalent of a six-accent measure, the rhythm in each line changing from trochaic at the beginning to iambic at the close.

Shý ^ | às the | squírrrel | and wáy | ward às
 the swál(low
 Swift ^ | às the | swállow | alóng | the rí |
 ver's light,
 Circle | ting the | sírface | to méet | his mír |
 rored wing(lets
 Fléeter | shè ^ | scéms in | her stáy | than in
 her flight.
 Shý ^ | às the | squírrrel | that léaps | amóng
 the pine(tops,
 Wáyward | às the | swállow | over heád | at
 sét | of sún,
 Shé ^ | whóm I | lóve ^ | is hárd | to cách |
 and cón(quer,
 Hárd, but | Ó the | glóry | of the wín | níng
 wére | she wón.

Into the example from the *Midsummer Night's Dream* given on p. 66 enters the question of reading. As quoted it runs:

Over hill, | over dale,
 Thoro' bush, | thoro' briar, etc.

This is the usual reading and rests on Q 1. Metrically we certainly prefer the reading of the folio:

Over hill, over dale,
 Through bush, through briar, etc.

which introduces a further variation into the rhythm, which then includes anapaestic, iambic, and trochaic. The lines from Scott on p. 58 are misquoted; the third line should read 'Come in your war-array.'

We have allowed ourselves to dwell at some length upon what appear to us the fatal drawbacks of the system of versification which Mr. Mayor has expounded, because we believe it to be radically unsound, and because its introduction into school text-books has already given rise to highly undesirable questions in certain examination papers which have come under our notice. We must, however, say in conclusion that there is much that is of the greatest interest in the author's little volume, and that those who are prepared to accept the theory he advocates will find in it a sober and exceedingly able exposition.

W. W. G.

Palæografisk Atlas: Dansk afdeling.

Udgivet af kommissionen for det arnamagnæanske legat. Fol. Gyldendalske boghandel. København, 1903.

THE Syndics of the Arna-Magnæan Library at Copenhagen have planned, and through their librarian, Dr. Kristian Kålund, already partly executed, a work which for a long time has been a desideratum—a Palæographical Atlas for the medieval literatures of Denmark, Norway and Iceland. The volume under notice forms the Danish section of the work. It consists of thirty-eight plates representing sixty-four splendidly executed collotype reproductions from forty-five MSS. and of thirteen charters, exhibiting altogether upwards of a hundred specimens of handwritings. The palæographical material thus brought together and chronologically arranged illustrates Danish writing for a period of some 425 years (1125-1550). In the selection of specimens Dr. Kålund aimed at every phase of Denmark's medieval literature being represented in such a manner that the traditional evolution of the handwriting through the course of time might be followed by those interested in the matter without too great jumps being involved. Of course, the work must have its limits, and consequently much of the material the editor would have liked to include in the Atlas had to be kept out. But it must be admitted that, though limited, the contents of the Atlas give a fairly complete picture of the palæography of the period it is intended to illustrate. In this respect, too, Dr. Kålund's scholarly treatment of the specimens is very helpful. Every illustration is transliterated in a manner which leaves but little to be desired. Where an important specimen presents several handwritings, they are printed in as many different founts of type in the transliteration. This is, in every case, prefaced by a concise description of the document from which the specimen is selected, supplying the main points of the history of each and of its particular characteristics. And in addition to all this, the learned editor prefaces the work with an introduction chronologically reviewing the whole collection of specimens and adding, where the interest of the case demands it, an account of conflicting views on the age of a MS., notably in respect of the Angers fragment of Saxo Grammaticus, which, on the whole, is the most interesting specimen of the collection. In

short, we have here a *catalogue raisonné* of the most important literary productions of medieval Denmark. Dr. Kålund's scientific method in dealing with his materials is much to be commended; even his caution, in respect of the age of undated documents, which, we are inclined to think, he sometimes carries a little too far, redounds to his credit.

A valuable aid towards forming an opinion of the relative ages of thirteenth and fourteenth century handwritings is afforded by illustrations LXIII.-IV., from the codex containing the old Danish bye-laws of the town of Sleswick. Here we have exhibited two Ducal decrees, dated respectively 1295 and 1321, each conveying a command that a copy of it should be added to the body of the bye-laws. Such a command would be obeyed by the burgomaster without any considerable delay; so that we are warranted in referring the handwriting of each ordinance to about the time at which it was issued. These fixed chronological points are thus of great service for a comparative study of Danish palæography when no actual data are available.

It would be impossible, in a notice of this kind, to deal in any detail with the several documents before us. We may, however, be allowed to call attention to one, the above-mentioned fragment of Saxo Grammaticus, notice of the existence of which in the Municipal Library of Angers in France was first given in a catalogue made in 1863. Fifteen years later the fragment had found its way to the Royal Library of Copenhagen, where it is now registered in the 'New Royal Collection of MSS.' under No. 869^g, 4'. Incredible as it may seem, it is a fact, however, that of this monumental product of Danish talent and patriotism, this Angers fragment—four leaves—is the largest remnant now left in MS. Even as early as 1514 it was with the greatest difficulty that the energetic admirer of Saxo, Canon Christiern Pedersen of Lund, could find a copy at all from which to prepare the *editio princeps*, which issued that year from the Ascensian Press in Paris. The codex, lent for the purpose by Birger, Abp. of Lund, was, presumably, after the printing restored to the owner, and so perished in the North. At any rate, the Angers fragment cannot be a remnant of that codex, for between it and the *editio princeps* there are such differences in reading (e.g. *occurrisse* for *adesse*) which can scarcely be due to liberty taken by Pedersen, who, as editor, had, in reality,

no reason for substituting the one reading for the other.

The fragment is remarkable for certain interlinear emendations in the same hand as the main text (a few glosses in a later hand do not concern us) of such a nature that it is hardly conceivable how they could emanate but from the author himself. In the opinion of all the experts we have consulted, the handwriting is rather a late twelfth than an early thirteenth century one (late thirteenth or still more late fourteenth is out of question). In describing a prince (Gram) bent on redeeming a Swedish princess (Gro) from marriage with a giant (bearserk?) the main text reads: *Cum . . . caprinis tergibus amictus incederet et uariis ferarum pellibus circumactus giganteus simularet exuius*, while the interlinear emendator adds: *orrificumque dextra gestamen complexus*. Here the most obvious explanation seems to be this, that having missed out in the first instance the essential statement of his original (oral or otherwise), that Gram wielded a rough club in his right hand, the author, on revising his work, made good the omission. To the description of the effect the sight of Gram had on Gro: *Que tam insoliti cultus horrore muliebriter mota*, there is attached the interlinear amendment: *uel que sponsum occurrisset [editio princeps: adesse] rata simulque cultus horrore, etc.* This is no emendation of a mechanical scribe, but, as the particle *uel* indicates, one of a reviser, who by the disappointment the sight of the supposed suitor brought to Gro's mind supplies the psychological motive for his next emendation to these words of the main text: *Succussis frenis: patrio carmine sic cepit*, which runs: *maxima cum locius corporis trepidatione uel per summam corporis ac uocis uel corporis animique trepidacionem: p.c.s.* This is an instructive alternative emendation; it is not an aimless practice in rhetoric: the most natural explanation of it is, that the author of it was in search of an exact Latin rendering of a point (a phrase) in the vernacular original which stated that Gro 'was all a-tremble, life and limb.' *Scalf hun a lif oc lemmæ*, we imagine, would be a not incorrect older Danish expression for the phrase the emendator was endeavouring to reach, and caught at last in his third attempt, having hit upon *animi*, the exact equivalent, *in casu*, for *lif*. We cannot see, how a scribe can deserve the credit for emendatory work of this intelligent description; to us it bears transparently the stamp of Saxo's nimble, resourceful mind and method of working.

The real points conveyed by these emendations had found their way into the Lundensian codex on which the *editio princeps* is based. Saxo dedicated his work to Abp. Anders Suneson (1201-1228) and, as a matter of course, presented that prelate with a fair copy of it. He would naturally take care that such an edition of his work should agree throughout in point of text readings. A copy of the revised work became the basis of further issues, and at Lund there would from the beginning develop such copying activity as the popularity of the work demanded. The codex from which the *editio princeps* was made was evidently one of the revised edition and 'eine treffliche alte Handschrift,' as Alf. Holder, Saxo's last editor, characterises it. He does not even hesitate to assert that it was 'Um 1200 dem Saxo zu Gehör geschrieben mit einigen Zusätzen von des Verfassers Hand,' which is quite possible, though *injuria temporum* deprives us of the means of directly proving it.

Finally we call attention to the following small points of difference between us and the learned editor. The letters *f.r.* with regnal years of Danish kings attached, Pl. I., stand, in our opinion, for *fuit rex*, not for *feliciter regnavit*. Pl. iv., last line, the document reads clearly *prouintie*, not *prouincie*, and Pl. xxix, in the sixth line of the fragment of the old Euangelarium: *xxx. arj* must stand, not for *argenti*, but for *argenteos* as in the Vulgate (Matt. xxvi. 9, Zach. xi. 12, 'in hieremia' is a very ancient misquotation by the Gospel).

E. MAGNÚSSON.

A Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington, Lancashire. By ALEXANDER HARGREAVES. Heidelberg, Karl Winter. Pp. viii+121.

How this book comes to be printed in Heidelberg, by a gentleman who speaks of the people of Adlington as 'we,' though his own English appears to be markedly southern, does not quite appear, but he seems to have studied under that able Anglist, Dr. Arnold Schröer of Köln, and to have been guided by him to the production of this excellent book. It is a pity that it does not cover more ground: Adlington contains only 4000 people, and if every 4000 of the 10,000,000 or 20,000,000 dialect-speakers in the United Kingdom is to have a book to itself, we wonder in which of two worlds the English dialectologist

will be, when he shuts up the 2500th or the 5000th volume! Would it not have been possible to bring in, say, by footnotes, the slightly differing dialects of Horwich and Aspull and other neighbouring places? Let that, however, be a hint for others who may follow in Mr. Hargreaves' footsteps. They will find his book a model for the orderly and scientific arrangement of dialect material.

Adlington lies almost in the middle of Ellis's district 22, which is practically the whole of south-west Lancashire, between the Ribble and the Mersey. There is a section of the district, south and west of Adlington, called the Moss Country, whose dialect has recently been very thoroughly described by the Rev. John Sephton, in the *Otia Merseiana*, vol. iii., Liverpool, 1903. The comparison of the two is very instructive, and demonstrates that a separate description of the Adlington dialect was fully justified.

There is a curious tendency in Adlington to lengthen the second element in certain diphthongs (*ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ou*), as in *smāif*, *weiv*, *koil*, *foit*=normal *smash*, *weave*, *coal*, *fought*. If these sounds are fully long, it is rather surprising that they do not carry the accent with them. There is also a remarkable tendency of the *f* consonant to create diphthongs of this type after a preceding *a* or *u*, by developing a long *i* between the vowel and the consonant, e.g. *wash* and *smash* become *waif* and *smāif*, whilst *blush* and *rush* become *bluif* and *ruif*. *Blind mice*, on the other hand, become *blānd mās*, with total loss of the second element of *ai*. Elsewhere in the district a trace of the *i* generally remains. Another exceptional change exists all over the district—that of *t* or *d* between vowels to *r*. Mr. Hargreaves gives *nūbri*, *sumbri*, *enibri*, for *nobody*, *somebody*, *anybody*. Elsewhere I have heard *norəbirərit*, i.e. *not a bit of it*! The changes of *gl* to *dl*, and of *kl* to *tl*, are also common property, e.g. *glory* and *cloak*=*dlōri* and *tlōk*.

Etymologies are all carried back to Middle English and earlier sources, or, if French, to Anglo-French. I am not sure that the latter course is quite correct; Anglo-French must have been long extinct in the district when most of these French words were introduced. I am not quite disposed to agree that the common preposition *bēt* (*without*) has lost a syllable. At any rate that is no special feature in the Adlington dialect. The Anglo-Saxon is *beutan*, but already in Anglo-Saxon it becomes *būtan*, and in Middle English it is *būte*.

Print and paper are good, and misprints and oversights are remarkably few. On p. 77 *wāif* and *monz* are given as illustrations of plural possessives; *stickin*, p. 95, contains thrice a superfluous *c*; *əmuyng*, p. 107, a superfluous *n*; and *arnd ā*, p. 103, is printed for *arnd ā*?= *Am not I*? But there is nothing that the intelligent reader cannot easily correct.

There is only one point on which I am inclined to quarrel with Mr. Hargreaves, and that is his alphabet. Mr. Sephton uses the alphabet of the *Association Phonétique*, and one reads the book through without the trouble of making a single reference about the meaning of the signs. Mr. Hargreaves tells us that his alphabet is 'mainly' Sweet's, but it is Sweet's with a difference, and the difference is a large one. It necessitates frequent and troublesome reference. An alphabet which is 'mainly' Sweet's is simply a nuisance, though Sweet's alphabet in its totality would have been excellent, because everybody knows it.

The chief departures are these. There is no distinction between the signs for 'wide' and 'narrow' vowels. The apical (coronal) formation of some of the vowels, which is so characteristic of this dialect, is left unmarked. Sweet's simple *o* is changed, without reason assigned, to *o*; and the *ə*, which Sweet calls mid-front-wide-round, is here defined as mid-mixed-narrow, but is in fact used for every obscure vowel which happens to turn up, be it dorsal or coronal, front, neutral, or back. The distinction between palatal and velar consonants is also omitted, the trio *k g j* being made to do duty for Sweet's two trios *k q z* and *c j j*. The result is that when *catch*, *kettle*, *bag*, *back* are written *kjatf*, *kjetl*, *bajg*, *bajk*, we ask ourselves which of these sounds are palatal and which are velar; but we ask in vain. The untrilled *r* ought also to be written *ɹ*; it is impossible to transcribe Northern dialects properly without having both signs at command. These deficiencies are the more to be regretted, because the author's knowledge of the facts is evidently as exact as it is universal.

R. J. LLOYD.

The Alchemist, by Ben Jonson. Newly edited by H. C. HART. London: De la More Press. 1903.

— — — Edited by C. M. HATHAWAY, JR. [Yale Studies in English, xvii.] New York: Henry Holt. 1903.

THE two editions of Jonson's masterpiece before us, though both printed in this country, appeared almost simultaneously one on either side of the Atlantic. They are not, however, likely to compete with one another; in aim and execution they are as different as can be.

In producing the De la More quarto attention has been chiefly paid to appearance; the part played by the editor is subordinate. The text is entirely modernised and is based on that of Gifford, though certain alterations have been made. Neither in the cases in which he has followed, nor in those in which he has departed from, the readings of his predecessor, does the editor appear to us to have been happily inspired. Certain dashes which are introduced *pudoris causa* into the text, strike us as particularly futile in the case of such a play as this. In the few pages of Introduction¹ Mr. Hart admits the difficulty of adding anything to Gifford's elucidations. Nevertheless it is by his success in doing so that an editor of Jonson must be judged. To say that Mr. Hart has wholly failed would be unfair. His notes, which are thrown into the often inconvenient form of a glossary, contain a good deal of interesting matter. The shape, however, in which it is presented is not always very satisfactory, and the whole can hardly claim to advance our knowledge of Jonson's work in any notable degree. The object of editor and printer alike appears to have been the production of a handsome book, and in this they have been distinctly successful; they have not succeeded in producing a volume of any considerable interest to the student of literature.

The second edition appearing at the head of this notice was printed at the Oxford University Press, and presented as a thesis for the doctorate of philosophy at Yale. Mr. Hathaway has aimed at nothing less than producing a comprehensive and exhaustive edition of Jonson's titanic satire of quackery, possibly the play most difficult

of elucidation in the whole range of Elizabethan drama. To say that he has produced a definitive edition and has told us everything concerning the play that we can reasonably wish to know, would be foolish, but he has produced a work which, if not in all ways adequate, is at least in many ways admirable. In the first place, the text is a faithful reprint of that of the folio of 1616. Of all authors Jonson is the one whose work it is least permissible to tamper with in the way of modernisation. Where the printed text received his personal revision there is not an italic letter, an apostrophe, or a query-mark, but possesses its proper intent and meaning. Thus a careful and intelligent reproduction of the most authoritative early print becomes the only tolerable form which a modern edition can take. Two points only in Mr. Hathaway's treatment of the text are not quite satisfactory. In the first place, he is unaware of certain attempts which have been recently made to impugn the authority of the 1616 folio; to question, that is, whether it received the revision of the author in proof. The point, however, is unimportant, for no strong case has yet been made out for the view. It is worth mentioning here only because it is a point still in dispute, and one on which future editors of Jonson will do well to bestow some close attention. A second point is of more immediate interest. The editor is apparently ignorant of the fact that the 1616 folio underwent revision while it was passing through the press, with the result that certain sheets present variant readings in different copies. Sometimes a stage-direction is omitted or inserted, sometimes a small alteration is made in the wording, sometimes a portion is reset with minute variations for no obvious purpose at all. Whether such variations are to be found in the course of the present comedy we are not in a position to say; they seem to occur particularly frequently in the early leaves of *Every Man out of His Humour*. It is, again, a question which will call for investigation by future editors, and one which may not improbably demand all their ingenuity and patience to unravel.

There is, unfortunately, one section of Mr. Hathaway's work to which it is impossible to extend the praise merited by the rest of the volume. This is the first division of the Introduction, dealing with the bibliography of the editions. It is remarkable how difficult editors appear to find it to give a bibliographical description

¹ In the first paragraph of this Introduction Mr. Hart writes: 'The dedication to Lady Mary Wroth was omitted in the folio; and several other unimportant alterations occur. They are mentioned in the foot-notes from collation with the quarto in the British Museum.' It will be sufficient to point out that (i) it was not the dedication but the address to the reader which was omitted in the folio, the dedication appearing in a somewhat shortened form on p. 603 (both are omitted in Mr. Hart's edition); also that (ii) the only footnotes in Mr. Hart's text contain translations of Spanish phrases and have nothing whatever to do with the quarto readings.

of a book with any approach to accuracy. The merits of the present work as a whole appear to us sufficiently great to make it worth while supplying as shortly as possible certain corrections to this section.

Quarto 1612.—The collation is correctly given as A—M in fours. This, however, is inconsistent with the further statement that the volume consists of forty-seven leaves. There are, of course, forty-eight.

Folio 1616.—Engraved general title-page. The imprints to this vary in a most bewildering manner. That here given from a copy in the library of Yale University at New Haven runs: 'London Printed by William Stansby. An^o D. 1616.' All agree in the date which appears in a separate compartment; the variations are on the shield which bears the printer's name, etc. The above imprint is found in a copy at the Bodleian. Another copy in that collection and one in the British Museum have 'Imprinted at London by Will Stansby,' while another at the Museum and one in the Cambridge University Library have 'London printed by W: Stansby, and are to be sould by Rich: Meighen.' Thus we have at least three different imprints on the same engraved titlepage and all dated the same year. Collation: The statement 'Lll is missing from the alphabet' is obviously incorrect. The editor himself notes lower down that Lll3 is misprinted Kkk3, whence his mistake. The description of the engraved titlepage is also incorrect. There is no 'temple of Tragicomœdia'; the name applies to the central figure. The two small figures unnamed are evidently Bacchus and Apollo.

The Alchemist. The play does not end as stated on Kkk3 but on Lll3, misprinted Kkk3.

'The *Poetaster* has two titlepages, one engraved, one printed.' The ornamental one is not engraved but is merely surrounded by a woodcut border. The two, as is proved by the collation, are alternatives, not duplicates, as the above might seem to imply.

Folio 1640.—Engraved general titlepage: three errors of transcription (Crooke, S^c An^o D). Collation: Llll4 should be Lll4. The portrait is by Vaughan.—*The Alchemist.* Titlepage: two errors (SERVANTS. Mafter).

Folio 1692.—Titlepage: four errors (LONDON, Brewster, Bassett, Chifwell). Collation: 'five leaves preceding B, the second signed (!) A 3' should be 'A six leaves including portrait.'

Mr. Hathaway is quite right in supposing that Hazlitt's collation is wrong. The elaborate collations of later editions are of insufficient interest to detain us. One further point only need be mentioned in this connection. This is the extraordinary statement on p. 9: 'neither [sic] of the so-called folios, the first of 1616, the second of 1640, or the third of 1692, are folios at all.' Apparently the editor imagines that a folio ceases to be a folio if several sheets are sewn together. Of course it does nothing of the kind, the question of whether a book is a folio, quarto, etc., depending not on the sewing but on the folding. Folios in twos do occur, though they are rare (Berkeley's *Lost Lady*, 1638, is an example), but the most common are the folios in sixes. Naturally these remain folios just as much as quartos in eights, octavos in fours, or duodecimos in sixes remain quartos, octavos, and duodecimos.

These criticisms might be taken as throwing doubt on Mr. Hathaway's powers of accurate work: a comparison of his text, however, with the original, restores confidence. Indeed, the accuracy of the text is remarkable, and we find it difficult to explain the errors in the transcripts of the titlepages except on the ground that misprints are most liable to be overlooked in the most obvious places. Something may also be due to the admirable readers of the Oxford Press. The addition of varying readings from the quarto of 1612, the folios of 1640 and 1692, and occasionally from later editions, makes the text the first scientific edition of any work of Jonson's, and so far as this particular play is concerned we do not see what more can be required.

The bulk of the Introduction is devoted to an elaborate account of alchemy and the frauds which have always gathered round it. This has been found too American and journalistic in some quarters, but we should be sorry to quarrel with it on these grounds. The seventy-five pages or so devoted to the subject represent a very considerable amount of research, and a competent knowledge of the subject is absolutely necessary to the proper understanding of the play.

A short section deals in an interesting and fairly convincing manner with the date of the play. The general conclusion is that it was written during plague time not later than October 3, 1610, with a view to production early in the Michaelmas term, but that it did not actually appear before about November 22.

The notes, occupying a hundred pages, are comprehensive and interesting, though not everything that might be desired. Severe pruning in certain directions would have left room for important additions in others. There is a bibliographical list, a glossary, and an index.

It is with great pleasure that we welcome what is on the whole a very sound piece of work.
W. W. G.

The Gentle Craft. By THOMAS DELONEY.

Edited with notes and introduction by
ALEXIS F. LANGE, Ph.D. (Palæstra,
xviii.). Berlin, 1903. (8 m.)

DR. LANGE has earned the thanks of all students of Elizabethan literature by this republication. While few will, I think, agree with the very high estimate that he has formed of Deloney's talent—that 'his tales, at all events those of the Gentle Craft, are distinguished by two qualities which no other Elizabethan manifests in the same degree—unforced humor and the gift of story-telling,'—all will allow that, whatever may be their merit as literature, they had at least those qualities that make for popularity, and on this account deserve the attention of students of the period. More especially are they of importance in the history of the drama, not only as occasionally affording the source of a plot, but as belonging to the kind of literature which would be most familiar to the middle-class townsmen who formed the great bulk of the theatre-going public, and for whom, after all, the plays were written.

The text before us seems to have been prepared with great care. The old spelling is retained except in the case of *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, but not the old punctuation, and the speeches are arranged as in a modern novel—probably the most satisfactory plan for work of this class. The two parts are printed from editions dated respectively 1648 and 1639, the editor having been unable to trace any copies of earlier editions, though it is known that such copies existed at a comparatively recent date. This is unfortunate, but in the particular case is probably of little importance.

I have compared a number of passages taken at random with the copies of the book in the British Museum which were used as the basis of the reprint, and, so far as I can judge, the text is very accurate. Three slight errors may be noticed, however: at i. 98. 13, 'then' should be 'than';

at ii. 14. 13, 'trinkler' should be 'erinkler' (Crinkler Q.); and at ii. 97. 25, 'never' should be 'ever.' The spelling has been followed with great care: apart from the above I only notice two trifling mistakes, which are quite without importance. It might, however, have been well in describing the principles followed in forming the text to have stated that obvious misprints are sometimes corrected without note, as, for example, 'dewling' for 'dwelling' and 'Tpe' for 'The,' and that in the case of italics the modern usage has been followed.

Each part of the book consists of several distinct stories. In the original there is no break between these, and the numbering of the chapters is continuous, but in this edition those of each story are numbered separately and sub-titles are added; thus what is here the first chapter of 'Crispine and Crispianus' is in the quarto the fifth chapter of the whole book, and what is here the first of 'Simon Eyre' is there the tenth of the whole. There is no harm in the change, though perhaps not much advantage, but it certainly seems a pity that the original numbers of the chapters were not added for the sake of reference.

The Introduction is a good piece of work, especially the latter part, which deals more particularly with *The Gentle Craft*, though both parts seem to suffer slightly from a certain vagueness and lack of precise quotations and references which would be better suited to a magazine article than to a publication of this nature. Thus we are told on p. xix, that Deloney introduced characters from recent plays into his works, but we are not told what these characters are, nor in what works they are to be found. Again on p. xxxvii, after quoting from Grafton, the editor says: 'Besides, Deloney follows Grafton elsewhere. It is therefore evident that he did so in this case.' The reasoning would have been much more convincing if some at least of these other cases of borrowing had been specified.

In dealing with the sources used by Deloney, Dr. Lange has to a great extent relied on the statements of the editors of *The Garland of Good Will* and of *Strange Histories*, for the Percy Society. I am not sure, however, that he is right in taking for granted that it was the intention of these editors to give the sources actually used by Deloney, as distinguished from the earlier Latin chronicles from which the stories were ultimately derived, and in any case I think that a little investigation would have showed that it is not safe to

build on their statements the theory that Deloney knew Latin, a question of some importance as bearing on his authorship of two translations which have been attributed to him. It is impossible to go into the subject here, but it is at least as likely that the story of 'A Song of King Edgar' was taken from Grafton, who has for the heroine the alternative names of Elfrida and Estrild, the latter being the one used by Deloney, as direct from William of Malmesbury, who has only Elfrida. So too the story of Sabina may quite as well have come from Grafton as from Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is also to be found in Holinshed, Warner's *Albion's England*, *The First Part of the Mirror for Magistrates*, and, I doubt not, elsewhere. Dr. Lange also instances Thomas of Reading as evidence of Deloney's debt to William of Malmesbury, but as he does not give precise references it is impossible to form any opinion as to this. There seems, however, to be little in William which was not taken over by one or other of the English chroniclers.

On the whole it would perhaps have been better for the editor either to have made a new and independent study of Deloney's sources or to have limited himself to those of *The Gentle Craft*, which he treats in a much more satisfactory manner.

I have only space to refer to one other point in the Introduction. On p. xxxvi the editor quotes a passage from Grafton with the remark that it occurs in no other Elizabethan chronicler. As a matter of fact it is to be found almost in the identical words in Holinshed. The note that it occurs in Strype's edition of Stowe, and that 'one of Strype's purposes was to include in the Survey the charities of London and their history,' is quite beside the point, seeing that it is to be found in Anthony Munday's edition of 1618, twenty-five years before Strype was born.

The annotations certainly do not err on the side of over-elaboration, but perhaps include all that there was need to say. On i. 76 the reading of S., 'whome' evidently stands for 'home'; though etymologically incorrect, the spelling is not particularly rare. On p. 77 the second note seems unsatisfactory. There was surely no need to introduce an O.F. word *coron* (= corner) from Godefroy to explain the Frenchman's exclamation, 'Adeput in corroyname shant!' Is it not simply 'Ah de [*i.e.* the] putain carogne, ah méchante!' We must not be too particular about the correctness of the French.

At ii. 18 the note on the 'bold betrice'

(see *Corrigenda*) might have been illustrated from Dekker's *Batchelor's Banquet*, 'such an other old Bettresse haue I at home: for neuer giue me credit gossip, if I tooke her not the other day in close conference with her maister, but I think I beswaddeld my maid in such sort, that she will haue small list to do so againe.'—*Works*, ed. Grosart, i. 176.

The last note of all, on p. 109, is not good. If the editor had looked up the account of the battle of Musselburgh in Holinshed, he would have found that the Sir Michael Musgrave mentioned should have been Cutbert, not John, Musgrave;¹ that Tom Trotter was a real person, the guardian of Lord Hume's castle of Thornton;² and that Parson Ribble is probably a mere mistake for Parson Keble,³ who 'discharged foure or fiue of the carts of munition, and therewith bestowed pikes, billes, bowes and arrowes, to as manie as came.'

Lastly, the curious piece of folklore that mules' milk is a cause of barrenness (ii. 47. 9) should surely have found a place in the index; and a register of unusual words, proverbial phrases, etc., would have been useful.

These criticisms have perhaps occupied a disproportionate space, but while I think that the editor has left a good deal still to be done in the way of investigation of Deloney's sources and of annotation, I do not mean in the least to blame him for not putting more work into this particular book. When more of the author's writings are accessible, as we may hope they some day will be, it will be worth while to make a detailed study of them and of their literary relations with other works of the time. In the meanwhile, accurate reprints such as this are really more to be desired than elaborate editions which, in the nature of things, could not be final.

R. B. MCKERROW.

Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's von

THO. HEYWOOD, nach der Octavausgabe 1637, in Neudruck herausgegeben von W. BANG. [Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, Band III.] Louvain, Uystprynst, 1903.

THIS is by far the largest piece of work yet brought out by the energetic editor of

¹ Holinshed, (1587) iii. 980a.

² *Ibid.* iii. 981a.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 988a.

the *Materialien*. The choice was a good one in several ways. In the first place there was no edition in existence that could in any way claim to be considered as even moderately satisfactory. Pearson indeed purported to give it in his reprint of Heywood, but while printing the dialogues together in his sixth volume, he scattered the numerous prologues and epilogues in as many different places, and omitted a good deal of the matter altogether. Then the original is more or less rare, and is beyond the means of a large section of the students of the drama, while it is so villainously printed that it is very trying to read. Lastly, the work is one of considerable importance, since, being mainly composed of translations from neo-Latin sources, it is a useful index to the quarters from which one may expect less direct and acknowledged influence. Thus Professor Bang does well to insist on the importance of Erasmus, especially of the *Colloquies*, in connection with the sources of the Elizabethan drama.

In the reprint, which adheres to the ultra-conservative methods which characterized the former volumes of the series, the editor achieves a high degree of accuracy, and this in what he recognises in his introduction as being a particularly difficult text from the typographical point of view. If we take his remark that of each sheet as many as seven or eight proofs were read, to mean that each of them was collated with the original, we may well be appalled by the gigantic nature of his task; but those who have had experience of similar work will hardly be surprised at the amount of revision he found necessary.

A concise introduction is followed by the three hundred odd pages of the text. After this, we have full indications of the sources so far as it has been possible to ascertain them, with reprints of the more important or less accessible, occupying close on fifty pages; finally twenty pages of notes and an index (in the last, by the way, 'junktets' is misprinted 'junktets').

There are certain points on which the editor solicits further information. One is the 'mery Dialogue, declaringe the propertyes of shrowde shrewes,' mentioned in a note on p. x. The suggestion he there makes is erroneous. He seeks, namely, to identify the piece as a translation of Erasmus's colloquy called *Virgo Mucoragamus* or *Cutharina*, whereas it is in fact a translation with certain additions of the *Uxor Mephitagamus* or *Conjugium*. Another undecided point is the sequence of the editions of *Love's Mistress*. The first edition appeared in 1636, and was followed by two, bearing the date 1640, namely, '40A ('Mistresse') B.M. 644, e. 42, and '40B ('Mistresse') B.M. 644, e. 43. Now '36 and '40A agree as against '40B, while '40A and '40B agree as against '36; from which it follows, provided there are no lost editions, that '40A was printed from '36, and '40B from '40A. There can, moreover, be little doubt that in '40B we have a case of reprinted imprint; the style of printing makes it probable that the real date is not much before 1660, though 1651 would not be impossible.

The notes contain much interesting matter to which we cannot here refer in detail. With regard to *chargeable* (l. 3215), we might refer to the phrase in the *Duchess of Malfi*, 'give o'er these chargeable revels,' where the sense is undoubtedly 'expensive.' The development of the senses is clearly shown in *N.E.D.* In l. 8521, *Charles little* appears to us a perfectly natural inversion for 'little Charles'; we see no reason to suppose the omission of the article. It may be well in this place to correct an error to which the editor has himself called our attention. In the note on l. 2085, *einsilbig* should be *dreisilbig*.

Professor Bang is to be congratulated on the successful completion of a large and arduous, if at the same time interesting, piece of work. The series deserves more recognition and support than it has hitherto received in this country.

W. W. G.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE idea of a *corpus* of the early English drama is one which has our earnest sympathy. But one condition is absolutely essential to such a scheme, namely, that the *corpus* shall be adequate to the needs of the serious student. Unfortunately we see

no reason to suppose that this essential condition will be fulfilled by Mr. John S. Farmer's *Unexpurgated Garner of Early English Dramas*, the prospectus of which lies before us. In spite of his advertisement of the fact that he 'will bring to his

task an almost unique experience of twenty years' philological research and wide reading,' the prospectus is hardly likely, we venture to think, to command the confidence of scholars. Without questioning Mr. Farmer's profound acquaintance with slang, we cannot help remembering the elementary linguistic blunders which disfigured, for instance, his glossary of school and university terms. It is indeed perfectly clear from the circular before us that Mr. Farmer has wholly failed to grasp the requirements of modern scholarship. The specimen page from *Royster Doyster*, for instance, is modernised, whereas there cannot be two opinions on the question of retaining the original orthography in works of the earlier sixteenth century. Parts of the prospectus are, moreover, likely to prove misleading. Such is the 'First list of playwrights, John Heywood to Shakespeare, showing the ground still uncovered by editions of collected works.' Concerning this list we are informed that 'Playwrights between [] are excluded from the present scheme' (for the reason, we presume, that in their case the ground *has* been covered), 'and mention does not imply that material is extant' (in which case we fear that Mr. Farmer may be no more successful than his predecessors in covering the ground). Removing the bracketed names from the list, there remain twenty-eight authors. Of these Kyd's works have, of course, been collected by Mr. Boas, and there is also a collected edition of Lodge, though it is not very accessible. John Heywood is, we believe, in course of editing, and Professor Bang is only wanting to find an editor for Bale. Most of the remainder are represented by one piece only which has in almost every case been already reprinted. Of five there are no extant remains, while two others have, so far as we can discover, never been credited with any dramatic work at all. There are also omissions from the list, Gascoigne, Sackville, and

Norton being the most important. The 'tentative list' of the first twelve volumes is still more unsatisfactory. The 'etc., etc., etc.' with which the list of contents of most of the volumes ends is airily vague. In the case of John Heywood it covers at least one undoubted and perfectly well-known play of that author; in the case of Bale it covers all his work with the exception of 'John, King of England,' *i.e.* the MS. play usually known as *King Johan*. Vol. iv., which is devoted to Udal, is to contain the Cambridge play of *Ezechias*, which is not extant. Vol. v. is similarly to contain the lost *Palcemon and Arcyle*. As the work of R. Wever appears '*Lusty Juventus*, etc.,' though no other play has ever been attributed to him. The same remark applies to U. Fulwell.

We leave readers to form their own opinions concerning the measure of technical knowledge possessed by the proposed editor. His methods of attracting subscribers, moreover, are not such as commend themselves to us. He asserts, for instance, that the editions of early plays have been in many cases 'shamelessly bowdlerised.' We should like to see this statement substantiated by the mention of an expurgated edition of any play in question, of which an unexpurgated edition is not also accessible. Such assertions taken in connection with the prominent place given to the 'unexpurgated' nature of his 'Garner' will hardly serve to render Mr. Farmer's scheme attractive to those whose interest in our early drama is literary. So far as we can see, that scheme, if carried out, can only have the effect of blocking the way for an adequate *corpus* of the drama, by throwing on to the market a number of modernised reprints. We could only regard such a result as unfortunate. Probably, however, the high price demanded (9d. a sheet of 16 small pages on small paper, or 3s. on large paper) will effectually save us the trouble of saying anything further on the subject.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MODERN
LANGUAGE QUARTERLY.'

SIR,—A review of any published work, whether favourable or unfavourable, is quite a different thing from an accusation of

literary disingenuousness. To review a published work is open to all, and no one can demur at any opinion honestly arrived at by the reviewer; but to bring an accusation of the above-mentioned nature is fortunately regarded as a quite different

matter, and one requiring due and careful consideration of the facts of the case. May this be our excuse for asking you to insert a few lines in answer to F. C. N.'s criticism of our edition of Goethe's poems, published in the August number of the *M. L. Q.*

There have been many great scholars who have made virulent charges of unacknowledged plagiarism from their own and others' works, but in one very important respect F. C. N. differs from them all, namely, that he adduces no chapter and verse in proof of his accusations. Surely this is no more 'playing the game' in scholarship than elsewhere.

The least that can be done in such a case is to give instances of peculiar information derivable only from the source in question. We feel sure that no one can have been more surprised than Dr. Breul himself to see the present volume described as being 'produced' by 'judicious adaptations and additions' from, we gather, notes of his lectures.

F. C. N. would appear to have forced an opportunity of expressing a gratitude which would have been better taken for granted than expressed in such a fashion. The editors of the work in question will not concede him priority in recognition of and gratitude for the help they received at Dr. Breul's hands, even though they did not find in the above edition any natural opportunity of expressing the same.

We are, yours faithfully,

H. G. ATKINS.

L. E. KASTNER.

[Our reviewer has sent us the following reply:—

It is said that we ought to have adduced chapter and verse, but from the nature of the case this was impossible. The lectures

referred to have never been published, and we could only have appealed to our own manuscript notes or to personal recollections, which, however strong to convince ourselves, could hardly be cited as proofs. One or two broad facts may, however, be stated in justification of what we said.

Dr. Breul's lectures were confined to certain portions of Goethe's poems, and did not include the *Lieder*, *Sonette*, or *Westöstlicher Divan*; now, the examples taken by Messrs. Atkins and Kastner from these divisions make up less than a quarter of their selection, which for the rest consists, with two small exceptions, entirely of poems dealt with and fully discussed by the lecturer. It is natural, it is almost inevitable, that a student should be—no doubt to some extent unconsciously—influenced by what he has heard in the lecture-room, and certainly the editors' notes and comments on the poems often reminded us curiously of the lecturer's. In our review we drew attention to the fact that the criticism was not altogether up to date; works of importance, published since the time at which the lectures were delivered—such as the excellent editions of Heinemann and Harnack, for example—do not appear to have been consulted, and we could find no reference to any books other than those quoted in the said lectures. We thought, therefore, we were well within the mark in saying that the editors had in these lectures 'secured an admirable basis for their work.'

As regards the question of acknowledgment, the preface to the book, where the editors state their obligations to printed authorities, would seem to have afforded a not unnatural opportunity of expressing gratitude in other quarters also.

F. C. N.]

Modern Language Teaching

Edited by
WALTER RIPPMMANN

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION.

THE 45th Meeting of the GENERAL COMMITTEE was held at the College of Preceptors on Saturday, January 23rd, 1904.

There were present—Miss V. Partington, Messrs. Allpress, Brauholtz, Breul, Eve, Fiedler, Greg, Kirkman, Longsdon, Milner-Barry, Pribsch, Rippmann, Storr, Twentyman, the Hon. Treasurer, and the Hon. Secretary.

The following officers were re-elected :—
Chairman of Committee, Mr. Storr.
Hon. Secretary, . . . Dr. Edwards.
Hon. Treasurer, . . . Mr. Payen-Payne.

The Executive Committee for 1904 was then elected :—

Messrs. Allpress, Atkins, Brereton, Breul, Eve, Fiedler, Kirkman, Lipscomb, Longsdon, Milner-Barry, Pribsch, Rippmann, Siepmann, Somerville, Twentyman.

It was unanimously agreed to re-elect Professors Robertson and Brandin on the General Committee.

The following NEW MEMBERS were elected :—Miss Cadmore, Mrs. Graham, Mrs. Taylor, and Messrs. W. H. Andrews, F. Brown, H. Brown, Rev. R. P. Davidson, P. Demey, J. Evans, L. Lassiéroune, E. W. Rhodes, H. W. Serpell, T. Thompson, and C. T. Williams.

Dr. Breul consented to represent the Association at the Neuphilologentag, to be held this year at Cologne on the 25th to 27th May.

Letters were read from Miss Williams giving further details about the arrangements for the Easter meeting in Paris. The date of the meeting was fixed for April 14th to April 19th. Messrs. Storr, Twentyman, and Edwards were appointed to form

a Sub-Committee to carry out the necessary arrangements.

Five resolutions, submitted by Mr. Twentyman, concerning the Journal of the Association were discussed, and a Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the question, consisting of Messrs. Heath (convener), Brauholtz, Edwards, Fiedler, Greg, Rippmann, Robertson, and Storr.

The 38th Meeting of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE was held at the College of Preceptors on March 26th, 1904.

There were present—Messrs. Atkins, Eve, Fiedler, Longsdon, Rippmann, Storr, Twentyman, the Hon. Treasurer, and the Hon. Secretary.

The following NEW MEMBERS were elected :—

A. Anderson, M.A., LL.D., President
Queen's College, Galway.

Miss W. H. Barnard, Lansdowne House,
St. George's Road, St. Margaret's-on-Thames.

M. C. Baron Bethune, Louvain, Belgium.
Miss L. B. Brown, Salisbury Villa,
Salisbury Road, Blandford.

S. H. Clark, M.A., Hill Crest, Bromsgrove.

Miss J. H. Comte, 2 Cowley Place,
Oxford.

L. B. Corbett, M.A., The College,
Malvern.

J. B. Dick, Loretto School, Musselburgh,
N.B.

Miss F. Gadesden, Headmistress, Blackheath High School.

F. Gohin, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur
agrégé au Lycée de Rennes.

Miss Edith Gumley, Woolwich Polytechnic, Woolwich.

W. G. Hartog, University College,
Central Foundation School.
Miss J. Haslett, St. Andrew's College,
Dublin.
Miss Margaret Hill, The Higher Grade
School, Norwich.
Miss A. A. Hontsch, Ph.D., Lecturer in
Modern Languages, Girton College,
Cambridge.
Miss A. C. Johnson, The Technical
School, Swindon.
O. H. Lace, M.A., Hôtel de l'Europe,
38 rue St Severin, Paris.
A. G. Linney, Boothham School, York.
H. W. G. Meyer-Griffiths, Lieut. 3rd
S. Wales Borderers, Warden Lodge,
Upper Deal, Kent.
David Muir, Civil Service Commission,
Burlington Gardens, W.
F. W. Odgers, B.A., Sedbergh School,
Yorkshire.
Miss Clara Pember, 14 Serville Road,
Worthing.
Miss Powell, The Training College,
Cambridge.
Dr. S. Rappoport, Birkbeck College, Chan-
cery Lane, E.C.
Sydney G. Reed, B.A., c/o Fräulein Heun,
Argelander Strasse, Bonn.

H. Rien, B.A., Merchant Taylors' School,
E.C.
D. L. Savory, B.A., Marlborough
College, Wilts.
H. J. Spratling, Central Foundation
School, E.C.
Rev. H. F. Stuart, Trinity College,
Cambridge.
B. Heywood Whitley, St. Cuthbert's
College, Worksop.
Dr. R. A. Williams, University College.

Mr. Twentyman reported the progress
of arrangements for the Easter Meeting in
Paris.

Mr. Payen-Payne's resolution was put
forward: 'That Headmasters be urged to
have a duplicate Modern Language Paper,
set on reform method lines, for their
entrance and scholarship examinations.'

It was resolved 'that the Board of
Management be asked to confer with a
deputation of the Modern Language Asso-
ciation. The deputation to consist of
Messrs. Payen-Payne, Rippmann, and
Somerville.'

The next Meeting of the EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE was fixed for May 28th.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY SIR ARTHUR RÜCKER.¹

It is, perhaps, a sign of the times that I,
a man of science, with no special know-
ledge of your subject, should be called upon
by you to address you as your President.
In part, I have no doubt that this is due to
the fact that I have the honour to be the
Principal of the University of London, and
in that capacity am brought into contact
with many and varied currents of thought
in the educational world. In part it may
be that the international character of
natural science forces scientific men to take
an interest in modern languages—an inter-
est which is often confined to regarding
them as necessary instruments for the
attainment of natural knowledge, but which,
we may hope, will, in an increasing number
of cases, extend to the literatures to which
those languages are the keys. But, what-
ever my qualifications or disqualifications,
you have chosen me as your President, and
you must forgive me if in my address I
frankly deal with questions on which you
are experts from an external and non-expert
point of view.

In the first place, then, let me say a few
words on the general question of the
relations of the time-honoured systems of
classical education and those more modern
developments in which you, as teachers of
modern languages, and I, as a teacher of
science, have for long been interested. The
foundation, on Saturday last, of a Classical
Association of England and Wales in view
of the danger, stated by the Chairman to
exist, that classical studies would be 'ab-
solutely excluded from any part in the
education of the country,' makes it espe-
cially desirable that the aims and objects of
those who are connected with the new
studies should be clearly defined. I count
myself among the supporters of a classical
education. I certainly should advise
parents who can afford it to base their
children's education on the classics. But,
if the study of classics is endangered, and
if it is to be successfully defended, it is of

¹ Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the
Modern Language Association on the 22nd Decem-
ber 1903.

no use to employ arguments which do not touch the case of the opponent. It is, for instance, useless to insist on the advantages of an advanced study of Latin and Greek. There is no controversy as to the importance of classical literature. In the case of Greek, especially, the beauty of the language and the fundamental character of the problems discussed in it by writers of unsurpassed ability are unquestioned and unquestionable. We should all grant that those who have really mastered Latin and Greek, who have read and appreciated the great philosophers, historians, poets, and dramatists, have received an education of the very highest type; and that the country would suffer in many direct and indirect ways if this form of education were to die out.

But all this is beside the mark when the *gravamen* of the charge is that, whether it be the fault of the subject or the fault of the method of teaching, comparatively few boys ever reach the stage at which these advantages can be reaped, and that of these the great majority, outside the ranks of professional teachers, throw aside the whole subject when their education is finished, and have not, as a matter of fact, imbibed that interest in ancient authors which would make them the familiar companions of later life. I take it that the real point at issue is not whether lads who can profit from the study of the classics are to be forced to desert them; but whether it would not be possible to distinguish at an earlier age between those who will and those who will not reap any real benefit from Latin and Greek; and to put the latter class to more congenial work. This must, of course, be done without any suspicion that a stigma is thereby attached to those whose mathematical or scientific abilities are as remarkable as, though different from, the talents of their best classical comrades. The division should be made as naturally as that which decides whether a boy is to row or play cricket. In both cases the question should be settled by his individual capacities, without a shadow of degradation attaching to either choice.

This, I take it, is what the more enlightened public schools, if left to themselves, would do. Some have provided and others are providing beautiful laboratories. In some, modern methods of dealing with modern languages are being introduced. I hear rumours that the attempt is to be made to trust to Latin for grammatical principles, and to teach Greek with the

object of attaining fluency in reading. The main difficulty in the way of all such improvements is the demands of universities, which have practically enforced the study of the classics throughout the whole of the school career of future undergraduates. The reorganised University of London decided from the first that it would not thus interfere by rigid regulations with the freedom of the schoolmaster. I shall have to return to this point again, so I will not dwell on it now, but it is sufficient to say that the wide options allowed in the Matriculation Examination are intended not to undermine the study of the classics, but to allow the schoolmaster to enforce that study only where he thinks it desirable. It might perhaps be answered that, whether the boy and his schoolmasters do or do not believe it, the reluctant and inefficient study of the classics affords such an incomparable mental gymnastic that it is the business of the University to insist upon it at all costs. With this view, if seriously maintained, I utterly disagree. Granting, for the sake of argument, all the points urged in favour of classical study, the air of unreality imparted to the whole of education by compelling boys to study something from which they feel no benefit, and from which, even in the opinion of their masters, they are getting little good, accounts very largely both for lack of interest in the boys themselves and for the belief in the futility of school and college education which is so characteristic of this country. The system of training which produces scholars, philosophers, and men of the world commands respect, but there are signs of impatience with a method which, for the sake of the few, condemns the many to a drudgery which, as they themselves and their friends believe, leaves behind little of value when they have 'put away childish things.'

But, if this view be accepted, it must not be forgotten that all that is possible must be done to attach to modern systems of education the benefits which in the past have been derived from the classics. I am not defending early specialisation, but the earlier determination of the particular studies from which particular benefits are to be derived. It would be a misfortune if boys of fifteen or sixteen years of age studied science and mathematics only; but for those who have special aptitudes for these subjects and no special literary ability, I believe that the advantages of a general education may be better obtained through

the medium of modern languages, which will help them in their scientific pursuits, than in the reluctant study of Latin. But, if for this and other reasons the study of modern languages is to take a higher place in the future than in the past, let me remind you that you have a novel problem to solve—novel not in the sense that it has not been attacked elsewhere, but novel in the sense that, as yet, it has not been fully solved in this country.

The teachers of classics have long given instruction in Latin and Greek not only as dead languages, but as languages for which, as means of intercommunication, there can be no resurrection. I was one of those responsible for framing the conditions under which the 'International Catalogue of Scientific Literature' is published. Latin is only included in the list of recognised languages, because a few botanists still use it abroad, but I doubt if one-tenth per cent. of the forty thousand papers which are catalogued annually are written in Latin, and I believe that the practice is decaying. The dream that Latin might be the universal tongue of the learned will never, as far as we can judge, be realised; yet the whole system of teaching languages which are living and spoken and changing now has been based upon that adopted in the case of those which are chiefly spoken at University ceremonies, chanted 'in quires and places where they sing,' and written either as a charming accomplishment or in the stately interchange of courtesies between ecclesiastical and academic authorities. Thus the belief has sprung up that there is something antagonistic between the power to speak a language and the ability and knowledge to study it as a scholar. An eminent authority on education, now dead, once said in my hearing that 'a University had nothing to do with the purely commercial art of speaking a language.' My presence in this chair is perhaps sufficient proof that I do not share this view; but you will forgive me if I warn you that, if your Association is to carry out its programme successfully, this imaginary line of division must not produce a cleavage in your own ranks. The foundation of the teaching of modern languages will never stand firm on great popular needs, on the necessity for their support to varied forms of intellectual and industrial activity, if French and German are studied only for the benefit of scholars of high attainment. They will never rank high as forms of mental discipline if they are

taught only so as to produce fluent diplomats and business men.

It is for you to devise a system which shall combine the requirements of practical utility with the possibility of the attainment of high scholarship. For different parts of the path which leads through the one to the other different members of your society may be guides; but it should be clearly understood that they have not divergent interests—that, if the journey is to be accomplished safely, all are necessary. The scholar will glean more advanced students from the crowd, if in its earlier stages the teaching of modern languages is made interesting and useful. The influence of every teacher on his pupils will be all the stronger if he and they know that the subject he teaches is worthy to exercise the ability of scholars of the highest type, and, as such, is fully admitted to academic rank. The Modern Language Association includes teachers of every class, and, believe me, in this unity lies your strength.

Turning from these general considerations to particulars, I must leave you to discuss many details on which my opinion would be of little or no value. I believe, however, that the theory that the learning of a modern language should, as far as possible, be assimilated to that of mastering the mother-tongue is approved both by your own body and by the instinctive common-sense of many who cannot claim to be experts. It is not possible to separate the arts of speaking, reading, and writing a language and the scholarly study of its construction and literature into four or five independent steps, each of which must be surmounted before the next can be reached; but the order in which I have named them roughly describes the order in which the mother-tongue is mastered. I know that much has been accomplished, and largely through your efforts, to adopt this order in the teaching of modern languages; but much remains to be done. Till lately modern languages were studied, not in the spirit of a sculptor intent on beauty of line and the subtle grace of harmonious form, but rather in that of a surgeon conducting a *post-mortem* examination. All that is abnormal, irregular, and strange was regarded as of more interest than the normal and efficient.

It is not too much to say that, especially in the case of boys, attention to speaking the language was almost confined to the earliest stage of education. Born of well-to-do parents who displayed an interest,

which is by no means universal, in his education, a boy of eight or ten years of age may have acquired from a foreign nurse and a good governess some notion of carrying on a simple conversation in French or German. After this, as far as speaking is concerned, he steadily went backward, though at school he learned to read a little and to translate an easy exercise. But the whole subject of modern languages took a lower and lower place as his education progressed, till at the universities it was practically ignored. In most cases the final result was that the boy passed through life with enough knowledge of French to make himself understood in a hotel, to be thoroughly uncomfortable if asked by his hostess to take a French lady down to dinner, and to fail ignominiously if compelled to write a letter in French without frequent reference to a dictionary. Of course there were many exceptions to this generalisation, but they could usually be explained by exceptional circumstances or ability. Few of the older among us who are moderately efficient in the use of a foreign tongue would admit that they owed their mastery to the ordinary routine of English education. In a somewhat humbler rank of life the state of things was worse. To take the case with which I am best acquainted, a lad fighting his way up through the mechanics' institute and the technical school would often be led by what appeared to be his own interest and that of his teachers to neglect everything for the sake of science. If he won a national scholarship, he would have found, up to about four or five years ago, only professors of science (of whom I was one) at the Royal College of Science, and a steady refusal on the part of the Government to supply the teaching in modern languages which these professors declared to be necessary for the advance of their students in the sciences they professed. At no time in their careers would the majority of such lads have had a chance of learning to speak French and German, and it was much to their credit that in many instances they picked up enough to read foreign memoirs.

I know that things are better now than the above descriptions represent; but the improvement is spreading slowly, and the time has not yet come to forget how bad they were in the very recent past. What, then, can be done to accelerate the improvement? I believe that you will all answer that the main obstacle is at present the dearth of competent teachers. It is the

dominant view that a foreign language should be taught to boys by one of their own nationality who has studied abroad, assisted, if the school is large enough, by one to whom the language in question is the mother-tongue. But that arrangement involves a good deal of organisation and expense. The would-be teacher of French or German must be sent abroad. The future teacher of English in other countries must come here. The most obvious, and probably the most economical and efficient, way of securing this result would be to effect an exchange of assistant teachers—to make an arrangement with foreign Governments by which teachers would acquire not only a mastery of a foreign tongue, but a wider intellectual outlook from a knowledge of a foreign system of education.

But, till this is done, it is desirable to take such steps as are immediately possible to make it easy for teachers of foreign languages to visit for short periods the countries whose tongues they teach. Nor would such a plan be superseded by the larger scheme to which I have referred. Even if that were carried out, it would still be necessary at regular intervals to send the English-born teachers of French, German, or Italian back to the country where these tongues are spoken. Provided that holiday courses do not trench too much upon the rest which is necessary to efficiency, they seem to afford the best means of providing for these wants. Abroad the University of Grenoble has taken an honourable lead in the provision of holiday courses for foreign teachers of French—provision all the more acceptable in that it is made amid charming scenery and close to the playground of Europe. It is probable that this example will be followed.

Arrangements for the provision of similar courses in London were being made by the Teachers' Guild; but, on second thoughts, it appeared that foreign Governments would be more ready to sanction arrangements made with a University than to co-operate with a society or guild. With rare self-abnegation, therefore, the members of the Guild have placed all their knowledge and machinery at the disposal of the University of London. The Senate, on the other hand, have sanctioned the arrangement of holiday courses for foreign teachers in the next long vacation, and, to carry out the scheme, have authorised the appointment of a Board or Boards to which members of other bodies whose co-operation may be desired can be co-opted. On this Board

the Teachers' Guild will, of course, be represented, and it is a hopeful augury for the success of the scheme which they initiated that it has the approval of M. Hovelacque, Inspecteur-général de l'Instruction publique, whose recent visit to this country may, I hope, mark the beginning of an era of closer relations between English and Continental teachers.

But, though foreign study and holiday courses are, perhaps, all that can be done for modern language teachers in isolated colleges and schools, it is not all that can be accomplished for those who dwell in a University city. They can be secured from falling behind in the race, both by bringing lecturers from abroad to address them at times when it is convenient for them to attend, and by inviting them to courses on the higher branches of their subject given by the professors of the University. Both these steps have been taken by the University of London. During the present session Prof. Antoine Thomas, of the Sorbonne, is giving, in the rooms of the University, two courses of three lectures each on French language and literature. These lectures are, of course, delivered in French. The first group was attended by many teachers; the second will take place on March 15, 16, and 18. Similarly Prof. Brandin, of University College, has given there, at the invitation of the University, a course of ten lectures on 'L'Épopée nationale.' Nor is this all. The various divisions of the Faculty of Arts have arranged inter-collegiate courses of lectures in which instruction of the highest type is given, suitable both for post-graduate students and for teachers in whom the burden of teaching has not crushed the ambition to be students still. I take as my example German, which, as I have before explained in public, has been selected by the University as the language to which the whole of that portion of the annual grant of £10,000 a year from the County Council which is available for modern languages has been devoted. One language, and one language only, was selected in order that London might have before it an example, on a fairly large scale, of the method of dealing with such problems which the University would adopt did funds permit. Two professors, Dr. Priebisch and Dr. Robertson, on whose qualifications I need not in this room dwell, and three Readers have been appointed. They lecture in the various colleges as may be convenient; but the centre of their work has been fixed in University College. All

the books on German belonging both to the University and to the College have been collected there, in a library which is now open to all graduates of the University, and which, thus strengthened by combination, is far better than their own. This library has been increased by means of the grant from the Technical Education Board, and, I need hardly add, is within a few minutes' walk of the British Museum. I am assured by the professors that the means at their disposal are now adequate to the wants of the most advanced students, and that they can carry on in University College a *Seminar* of which the University need not be ashamed. Their lectures are placed late in the afternoon specially to meet the convenience of teachers who may be able to attend when the bulk of their day's work is done. When funds permit French will be placed on the same footing as German.

I hope that I have now convinced you that the Senate is doing all in its power to meet the wants of teachers of modern languages. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to appeal to the governors and headmasters of London schools to do what they can to make it easy for their teachers to avail themselves of these advantages.

The question as to whether there shall be a permanent improvement in modern language teaching lies in the hands, not of universities, not of associations, but of those who control the schools. If they insist on high degrees for their classical masters, but are content to dispense with academical qualifications from those who teach modern languages; if they exact hours so long that a man who fulfils them must necessarily become a drudge, and can give no time to self-improvement; if where the modern system of oral teaching has been introduced they forget the additional strain thus thrown upon the teacher; then modern language teaching will remain at a low level. I know that such evils were rampant in the past. I do not pretend to have personal knowledge as to the precise extent to which they are rife now, but I fear that they are not unknown; and I can only beg the authorities of London schools to do what they can to help the University in the efforts it is making to improve the teaching of modern languages.

The discussion of the possibilities of improvement in schools leads easily to the consideration of the opportunities afforded by a University course for the teaching of French, German, and other modern lan-

guages. I have already described the arrangements for teachers. It remains to discuss the courses of study and examinations required from candidates for a degree. The Matriculation Examination is not designed to cover the whole range of a school curriculum. That plan was tried in the past, with the result that the number of subjects embraced in the examination was too large. The strain upon the candidates was unduly great. The doctrine that everybody was to know something of everything fostered cramming. The number of subjects is now five, of which two may be modern languages.

I should be sorry to leave you with the impression that my mind is full of mechanism, and of mechanism only. The sails and spars of our new ship may be perfect, but she will never be famous if her crew are content with the ordinary trade routes, and do not sometimes carry her into seas where the soundings are as yet unknown. Intelligent students, well-equipped teachers, are essential; but they are not enough unless, from time to time, there are found among them those who, as discoverers, writers, or thinkers, lead men where they have not been before. It was a sound instinct which led your young Association to found a journal in which the best work done in connection with modern languages might find a place. I frankly admit that the more recondite parts of your subject are so far outside the range of my own studies that I am no judge as to how far you have realised your own ideals; but I am sure that neither a University nor a learned association will be famous unless it numbers among its teachers or its members men who are leaders of thought. Let me, then, urge upon you never to let the questions, pressing as they are, of school and University courses divert you from the determination to be not only an association

of teachers, but also an association of students, among whom are found, as they are found now, the names best known in connection with the study of modern languages. To depart from this ideal would be fatal. To lower the standard of your journal would be a grave mistake. For—

‘If we draw a circle premature
Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure
Bad is our bargain.’

Your past history, however, has sufficiently proved that you will avoid such a mistake, and that, looking back on that history, you are to be congratulated on what has been achieved. More attention is being paid to modern languages and to the methods of teaching them. All over the country, modern methods of teaching are being introduced, and, as I have already said, one of the chief difficulties is to secure a sufficient number of competent teachers. As might be expected, the Technical Education Board of the London County Council is awake to the necessities of the case, and it has just asked the University of London to report to it on the teaching of modern languages in about forty London schools which the Board assists. The University has undertaken the task, and the two inspectors who have been appointed are Prof. W. Rippmann and your Secretary, Dr. Edwards. We feel sure that by such inspectors a report will be produced which will mark an era in the teaching of modern languages in the Metropolis.

With this announcement I must end my address, adding only that I believe that your Association has a great future before it if it still aims at securing that modern languages shall be taught well, shall be taught so as to be useful, and shall be taught so as to deserve the place which they have won among the highest branches of a University education.

MODERN LANGUAGES AND MODERN THOUGHT.¹

It is often well, in surveying our way, to take points of triangulation as distant as possible; and I had intended to begin, this afternoon, by quoting and discussing in detail two passages written six hundred years ago by Roger Bacon, which show how much the intellectual barrenness of the Middle Ages was due not only to the necessarily narrow range of knowledge in an age

of few books, but perhaps even more to the wilful exclusiveness of their educational system. But I found, on completing my paper, that I should have room only to summarise this very briefly.

(a) *Their narrow range of knowledge falsi-*

¹ A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association on the 22nd December 1903.

fied their notions of the world's history. The greatest men even of the thirteenth century were convinced that the world was steadily growing worse, and would very soon come to an end. This removed them as far as possible from that faith in the building up of all the greatest truths by the patient, coral-like growth of millions of separate minds, which characterises the modern scientific spirit. The medieval philosopher necessarily spoke with haste and some impatience, as a dying man to dying men. Again, narrow as their range of knowledge must necessarily in any case have been, they wilfully narrowed it still further by practically treating as non-existent (with few exceptions) whatever could not be read in Latin.

(b) Even more disastrous, however, was the *exclusiveness* of their educational ideal consequent upon their making Latin the one vehicle of serious knowledge. This was the real reason why even such glimpses of the future world as Bacon showed—and not Bacon alone—remained so useless to his and succeeding generations. Latin formed an insuperable barrier between the ideas of the learned and the vaguer, less articulate, but often marvellously true ideas of the people at large. We scarcely realise sufficiently what the modern world owes—and how much more the coming world will owe—to the democratisation of literature and learning. The Middle Ages show us the seeds of magnificent possibilities, but seeds which withered away because they had no depth of soil.

The ideas of a really original student appeal generally far less to the majority of the student-class than they appeal to the man in the street. The man who has studied all his life without dreaming of any such revelation, has all the force of habit and of self-esteem against his recognition of the new truth. The true soil for a revolutionary idea is the fresh and open mind of the intelligent layman, who will see all the more clearly now, at the one supreme moment, because he had never professed to think seriously on the subject before—that here at last is one speaking with authority, and not merely with the voice of tradition. This is the history of all great reforms: opposed by the greater number of the specialists, but carried by the awakened common-sense of the nation. There were great men in the Middle Ages—very great men—but they were powerless to fertilise the mass of the world, and even the best of them suffered terribly from the

narrowness of their education. And the interest of this for us is that, as the medieval penal code lingered in England later than anywhere else, so the medieval ideal of education, in much of its wilful narrowness and exclusiveness, lingers with us still.

The *narrowness* of the strict classical ideal is proverbial, though we must sadly confess that the attempts to widen the curriculum have not always been conspicuously well considered or successful. But its *exclusiveness* seems to me to be at least as fatally in contradiction with the necessary movement of the modern world. As life becomes more and more complicated, the victory in the struggle for survival among nations will rest more and more surely with those peoples who can best utilise the latent energy among the masses. If this be so, there can be few more fatal handicaps than a system of education which tends to keep different classes of the nation from competing with each other intellectually, and fertilising each other. Yet this must be always the defect of an education which is from the very beginning (intellectually speaking), aristocratic and exclusive. In other words, the system which not only devotes the best energies of the best boys to a study which the majority of the nation cannot even touch, but devotes them to this from the very beginning of their school career, is a very mischievous system of specialisation. Even if the Classics were, as educational instruments, all that has been claimed for them by their most uncompromising supporters, it would still be a very unwise arrangement to specialise in that subject so early that the vast majority of the nation are necessarily excluded from all competition. But this could be avoided by the simple reform of beginning school life with easier subjects than the Classics—with subjects which are admittedly within the reach of all, such as English, Arithmetic, and the elementary study of nature. If Latin and Greek are the highest subjects of education, then let those who have shown most ability in the simpler subjects be passed on to the study of the Classics. But at least let there be free intercommunication at the early stages, and at least let the children's minds have been measured by some rational process before we erect a practically impassable intellectual barrier between one class and another.

The lack of some such common measure at present leads to the most ludicrous misapprehensions. As Dr. Johnson looked down upon Davis as 'an author generated

by the corruption of a bookseller,' so many men will assert, almost in as many words, that the man of science is stitched together out of remnants from which God had first cut out the perfect Classic. It is very natural and strictly logical. Did not Darwin fail miserably in, while Herbert Spencer never even attempted, those subjects which are not only the ultimate, but the first and only test of capacity at our most important schools? Who can blame the successful classical scholar for bearing always in mind that he himself is the first choice of that material whose very shreds and leavings may be made, with care and industry, into Darwins and Spencers? If we in England are ever to cast off all purely medieval impediments, and to teach as living men for living men—as the heirs of an age more wonderful, perhaps, in its floods of light than any other age in history—then one of our first cares must be to institute that common substructure of education, common to all classes and to all intellects, which already obtains so widely abroad. Free trade in the first stages of class-work would raise the intellectual standard all over the country, while it lessened intellectual friction and minimised the waste of energy caused by our present medieval system. We all know, and deplore, the waste of time and energy caused by the difficulty of reducing our weights, measures, and coins to common terms with those of countries with which we deal. But even greater waste is caused by the lack of common intellectual terms between citizen and citizen. Yet there was a time when few nations approached ours in intellectual homogeneity, and none surpassed us. That was when the Bible was more or less familiar to nearly all educated Englishmen. For good and for evil, things have so far changed that we can no longer depend upon this bond of union, and we have as yet nothing to take its place. There is probably no country of equal rank in the world where one citizen, speaking with another, can assume with so little certainty that he has read any particular book, or followed any particular line of thought, and that a reference to that book, or to that line of thought, will therefore be immediately intelligible. It is difficult to overestimate the intellectual loss which we suffer from this. The nation can never reach its maximum of intellectual fertility, so long as the different classes are deliberately educated as intellectual strangers to each other.

But some love to point to the enormous

success of our country in the past, a success which I, for one, am quite willing to hear attributed, in a very great degree, to our public school education. That education, we hear it daily repeated, has made us rulers of men: will it not still make us rulers of men? This is a dangerous argument: it assumes permanence in a world which, under our very eyes, is changing almost beyond recognition. There are at least two very serious reasons which forbid our arguing from public school success in the past to public school success, on the same old lines, in the future.

A. In the first place, the very completeness of modern public school organisation has brought into prominence faults which were only latent in the past. The late Headmaster of Bedford once described at a Headmasters' Conference the old Winchester system which allowed the Sixth Form a whole day for writing a copy of Latin verses in their own studies—a day of which the greater part was spent by the boys reading Byron or a novel instead. At Eton, until quite recently, it was possible to read English novels and poetry under the table in class, as a Latin or Greek book lay open on the table. These are only samples of a thousand discrepancies between theory and practice which tempered the strict classical education of former generations. Nowadays, however, there is no means of escape; Latin verses mean Latin verses, and no boy can do himself justice in a competition for a classical scholarship if he has not kept his nose strictly, for years, to the bare classical grindstone. The consequence is, as even Classical Headmasters are beginning to find out, that clever Sixth Form boys have often no leisure or energy to read any English but *Tit-Bits*, and that, in proportion as the average standard of Latin and Greek scholarship has risen in our schools, the knowledge of the mother-tongue has fallen. And it might be added, that the very classical scholar himself is now too frequently as narrow a specialist, and as unfit to adapt himself to a fresh view of life, as any specialised product of the South Kensington Science and Art examinations. The boys, as Professor Henry Sidgwick pointed out forty years ago, and as even Mr. Benson of Eton frankly admits now, are subjected to an increased mental friction while they learn increasingly little. Even thirty or forty years ago, when the present generation of rulers of men were at school, class-teaching in public schools differed very widely indeed from what it is at present.

B. The second and even more important point (though perhaps it is insufficiently realised) is that the public schools are certain to take their colour ultimately from the State. Very much of what has been and still is best in those schools is a direct consequence of our wider political liberties; so that Eton has turned out its rulers of men rather as a secondary effect of the British constitution than as a primary effect of the peculiar English form of upper-class education—if form it may be called which form hath none.

During the interminable wars of the Middle Ages, we in our island were in comparative peace. This immunity from invasion which England has enjoyed for more than eight centuries has contributed more than we are often willing to recognise to the steady evolution of English liberties and to the formation of the two national characteristics on which we have most cause to pride ourselves: our businesslike mind, and the sense of fair-play which makes it possible for one man to assert his own individuality strongly without refusing to allow the similar expansion of different or even contradictory individualities around him. The whole nation has learnt, first, to believe in human nature—a faith lamentably lacking to the so-called ages of faith; and, secondly, to realise that petty interferences do not constitute strong government, but rather that tolerance is one of the most definite notes of real power.

Surely these are exactly the characteristics of our public schools. In them, as in the State, the unwritten law is more powerful even than the written law; and there is very great discipline side by side with very great liberty. In the Middle Ages, espionage was the sacred rule, the pillar of discipline, in our colleges and our schools. At Pembroke College, Cambridge, for instance, the fourteenth-century statutes compel the scholar to swear solemnly, on his admission, that he will tell tales of his fellow-scholars whenever occasion shall require. But the freedom of the towns, and of the State, gradually reacted upon the schools. As citizens learnt in our towns, and conflicting parties learnt in our Parliament, that very sincere conviction is compatible with a very great deal of tolerance, and that it is cheaper to let human nature have its way, within certain limits, than to try and bend it exactly to our own particular pattern—as this lesson was learnt in political life, gradually it found its way into our schools; and again, the freedom and self-reliance taught

in our schools has unquestionably reacted favourably upon the conduct of the State.

It seems necessary to emphasise the natural growth of our scholastic virtues, because they are too often spoken of as if we inherited them by right divine; or as if they were ours by an eternal and immutable law of nature. We once thought the same of our trade, until others began to catch us up.

The peace of the modern world is enabling other nations to develop now the same quiet civic virtues, to learn the same political lessons, which have done so much for England in the past. Not only have we, in America, a rival of our own blood, inhabiting a country of far greater natural resources and far more safe from invasion than ours; but all the nations of the Continent are working out their own salvation in politics, each nation for itself, in such quiet and by such natural processes of evolution as were possible among the wars of the past only to such favoured nations as Great Britain and Switzerland. What is more, in such of these States as are our direct rivals, the vast but latent intellectual resources of the masses are already being methodically exploited, and the national mind is being prepared, to an extent unknown among us, to receive the new ideas of a new age. Not only that, but in several directions the people of these States are receiving something of the training for which we are so justly grateful to our public schools, but which we so persistently deny to all but the few educated at those schools.

(1) While the English upper-class school-boy is physically the best educated in the world, the English lower classes receive at school perhaps the worst physical education in the world. This, however, will perhaps soon be remedied.

(2) In other countries the educational ladder has long been carefully arranged to allow talent to rise from the lowest ranks; with us the very idea is new, and the arrangements are still incomplete.

(3) Lastly, the compulsory military service of other countries has upon the masses an educative influence which we are very apt to underestimate. I must apologise for alluding here to what might be called almost a burning political question; but one cannot discuss the principles of education without touching sometimes on the principles of politics. I should be as loth as any one else to see the French or German systems of conscription introduced bodily into England; but, in our dislike of what seems to us

tyrannous in these systems as they stand, we are apt to forget what a real school of life a citizen-army is to the lowest classes. It widens their views. It teaches them (what our lowest classes never learn) the value of cheap and plain foods and of sensible cooking; it teaches them cleanliness, and, in consequence you may see everywhere in Germany river-baths used by hundreds of people to whom in England cold water would have remained comparatively unknown. And, in spite of all the scandals of tyranny in conscripted armies, to the poorest and most ignorant classes the army is even, on the whole, a school of fair-play and justice, as it is undoubtedly a lifelong object-lesson in the value of co-operative work. If, moreover, instead of studying only the conscription of France and Germany, we look at the equally compulsory and universal militia system of a free state like Switzerland, with its officers all promoted from the ranks, there we see the educational advantages doubled or trebled; and it is no exaggeration to say that the Swiss militia system is as remarkable a national influence in education as our English public schools themselves, and an influence even more widespreading. It is impossible to work out educational problems in England without bearing this in mind.

It is plain then that we may very easily rely too much on the admitted value of our public schools as training-grounds of character. The public schools by themselves cannot possibly keep the whole national life fresh and sweet. What is more, the public schools cannot long retain their living virtues, apart from the main life of the nation. Their ultimate salvation depends on their forming part of a system of education proportioned to the needs, to the daily growing needs, of an age which, with all its faults, is immeasurably superior in knowledge, in decency of manners, and in freedom from crime, to the past ages from which the thorough-going advocates of the classics inherit, however unconsciously, many of their most cherished traditions. The dead languages will always be a noble study for the few: the rising tide of modern language study may seem at first a mere turbid flood; but it is surely destined to fertilise vast tracts which have hitherto remained desert even in the midst of modern civilisation. For, first and foremost among modern languages, I think of that which Professor H. Sidgwick called 'probably the completest instrument of thought in the world.'

If the English nation of the twentieth century is to remain worthy of its past traditions, schoolmasters must, first and foremost, make sure that no boy leaves school without having assimilated what it was in that boy's capacity to assimilate of English language and literature. For, in doing this, we should also feed our pupils on what is best in English thought. From *Gulliver* and *Robinson Crusoe* in the lower forms to *Hamlet* and *Sartor Resartus* in the upper, the boys ought to be familiarised with a certain choice of English classics—of books that would interest them, that would stimulate thought, and would supply models of literary form. Even the average board-school boy would then know something of some real English classics; many of which, like *Gulliver*, are so natural and amusing that we are quite startled, in later life, to find that they are also models of literary form. The future classical scholar and the future student of science would meet and compete on this common ground; and would understand each other better their whole life long. Most important of all, there would be a real common bond of thought—and of the best and truest thought—among all Englishmen.

After the mother-tongue, as the Germans have discovered, and we are beginning to discover, would come naturally a foreign modern language—this also compulsory for all scholars in secondary, and for a large number in primary schools. This would add still further to the recognised common stock of national thought, to the mutual understanding between scholars destined later on to specialise in very different directions, and to the opportunities of opening boys' minds to the real significance of the world in which they live. Of course, it is not my province to speak here of the history, geography, and physical science which the boys would naturally learn at the same time. I am simply alluding to reforms which have long been in the minds of the more thoughtful educationists in England, and will no doubt be carried out when the blank wall of classical conservatism has been sufficiently battered, and when even the most stubborn defenders shall be ashamed of the assumption, worthy of the most irrational days of medieval asceticism, that (as Professor H. Sidgwick put it forty years ago) "training the mind" is a process essentially incompatible with "imparting useful knowledge." When once the finest schoolmasters in the country

have abandoned their untenable position, when they devote to educational methods really worthy of the present century that intellect and those energies which are now too often wasted on a dead system, then we may well hope that the greater freedom of organisation in England, and the greater freedom of national life, will enable us rapidly to evolve a system which will reflect the national character not only on the playground, but in the classroom also.

But that time comes slowly; meanwhile what is to be done? Our scholars on the modern side are still inferior. We, their masters, are also inferior in average ability and education—not perhaps inferior in proportion to our salaries and position, but still definitely inferior on the whole to the classical masters. Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called to be Modern Language masters at English public schools. But we have a conviction which supports us, and we have the encouragement of constant progress. We can quote against what seems to us false conservatism that boast of the early Christians against the old pagan culture: ‘We are men of yesterday, yet we have penetrated into all your strongholds.’ But it is not enough for us to expose the faults of the old: we must do our best to show by practice that the new method is the more excellent way. We are heavily handicapped in the classroom, but that is no reason why we should lose heart. The world on the whole is a just world: the English world, I am insular enough to believe, is juster than most; and we constantly find fair consideration even from those most pledged by habit and position to opposing tenets. What can we do then, even under existing circumstances, to hasten the new era to which we look forward?

In the first place, let us venture to do our best to be interesting. The Eton master, from whose frank criticisms I have already quoted, agrees with many educational reformers in attributing the modern athletic craze directly to the uninteresting character of most public school teaching. ‘The boys,’ he says again, ‘master nothing, and are interested in nothing.’ Let us try then, first of all, to remove that reproach, at least from our own classrooms. In a large number of cases our definitely lower position does at least carry with it the privilege that we may do very much as we please; and there is among the best of our headmasters a generous willingness to let each

man dig with his own spade. Our real tyrant is the examiner; yet even he may often be outwitted. In some cases we are of course helpless; as, for instance, when the Oxford and Cambridge Examination Board set for the Higher Certificate French an amount of work which the boys cannot possibly do properly in the time that can be spared from their classical work. But in most cases the worst tyranny of the examiner lies in his grammar questions; and we shall find, if we only dare to give it a trial, that it pays to neglect silly grammar questions altogether. To the credit of human nature be it said, it is very difficult indeed to teach a boy the exact kind of folly which certain examiners would like to find in him; and as the greater part of even the worst examination papers nowadays consists of translation and composition, we may quite safely spend our time on these more interesting subjects. Not only this, but the most interesting ways of teaching composition, the loosest in appearance, are (so far as my experience goes) the most paying also in examination. *Viva voce* retranslation of the passage just read in French, words and short phrases chosen from the same source to be repeated *viva voce* in French, many little methods of this kind, which can be varied *ad infinitum*, and are more human in proportion as the human voice and human personality come into play—these teach the boys more, even for examination purposes, than the time-honoured classical system of placing the boy before a dead book, and making him write from it in another, with constant reference to a third and a fourth lying by his side. The examiner may perhaps not permit us to throw off this system altogether, but for our own sake it is as well to sit as free of it as possible.

In English, at our higher secondary schools at any rate, the problem is much more simple. If we are granted an hour a week to teach English, it is as a concession to popular prejudice, and the subject is therefore not considered important enough to be worthy of examination, so that we have a free hand altogether. We have only therefore to choose a book both classical and interesting—an easy task in an age in which no boy of his own accord reads one of Scott’s novels—to make the boys read it aloud in turn, to question and explain just as we think fit, and every now and then to make the boys reproduce in their own words the gist of what they have read. In this way we can not only keep the

boys interested, but teach them—what it is notorious they do not learn at present—to write sensibly and intelligibly in their own language.

This system, simple as it is, has enough in it for the very highest work. None of his classical work could exercise a boy's mind more widely or more intensely than to summarise and discuss a chapter or two of *Sartor Resartus* or *The Origin of Species*; no work could give the teacher a better chance of impressing his own personality on his class.

Think of all the forces at the command of the master who is allowed to teach, in his own way, the literature he was born to understand best of all, among boys who were born also to receive it more naturally than any other. Prince Kropotkin, in his remarkable autobiography, records that most Russians, if asked to name the most inspiring teacher of their youth, will answer, 'My Professor of Russian literature.'

Three educational documents have appeared lately, which are sometimes spoken of as depressing, but which to me seem full of hope for the future. Mr. Benson writes unsparingly, though regretfully and sympathetically, of the bankruptcy of the high and dry classical system; Mr. Headlam, of the rottenness of our inferior secondary schools; and Canon Lyttelton asks us to doubt whether the so-called educational progress of the nineteenth century is progress at all. He even seems to say, in the last page of his article, that we have done more harm by teaching the proletariat to read, and so making filthy literature accessible to them, than we can mend by anything we teach them at school. Now the mere fact that three eminent classical authorities are so extremely dissatisfied with English education is a gain to us, for the old edifice of classical exclusiveness and specialisation is so rotten now, that every fresh blow struck, even with the intention of patching it up, shakes it to the very foundations. The nation is more and more realising how fully the old system, and the old authorities, are responsible for the present state of things all over the country. With regard to the schools on which Mr. Headlam reports, the examinations for which these boys work, and according to their success in which the teachers have hitherto been judged, are examinations which owe their distinctive character mainly to classical scholars of the old school. The weakest points in these examinations, as it is now generally admitted, are the points

in which they slavishly copy classical precedent. The lifeless text-books, of which the report complains, are not proportionately more lifeless than any accredited classical text-books. Even the meanest annotated editions of English works used in elementary schools are plainly modelled on the familiar editions of Latin and Greek classics, and scarcely supply a less efficient key to the real spirit of the text. There is, of course, a peculiarly sordid element in the education of which Mr. Headlam speaks, but this is inevitable whenever the poor and struggling copy faithfully the vices of their betters. What have the older authorities ever done till now to raise these second- and third-grade schools from the mire? Yet even until quite recently the united and repeated recommendations of our public school headmasters could have persuaded almost any reasonable change in our national educational policy, and would have earned the abiding gratitude of the nation.

The same may be said of the elementary schools. Directly or indirectly, our present system derives from the classical authorities who, until recently, were omnipotent, not only in the teaching profession, but, through their pupils, in Parliament and in the country; for most men of any influence were the products of a classical education. And, so far as there is any harm in our proletariat having at last learnt to read, the harm lies only in the words 'at last.' They should have learnt to read half a century earlier at least. Our elementary school system is still fighting with the doubts and difficulties that always beset a reforming movement in its youth. And the worst of all its difficulties have been the bad old traditions—too much book-work, too much grammar, everywhere formalities instead of life, words instead of realities. If our board-school boys have borne all the labour of learning and reaped but little of its fruits, they have fared no worse in proportion than their more aristocratic brethren. In both cases the useless wear and tear of nerves has begotten a craving for artificial excitements, while the little the boys have read leaves them determined to read no more—of that sort. The love of betting and of unhealthy books, with which Canon Lyttelton charges the children of the poor, is simply a reflection of the rage for athletics and for unhealthy excitement among the children of the rich. And yet, sad as it may seem for the moment, the present state of things is a

definite advance upon the old. It is, at least, no longer possible for impenetrably conservative educationists to meet every suggestion of reform with the plea that the system works well enough in practice. The nation is at last beginning to wonder whether the general anarchy, so long prophesied by those who feared reform, could possibly be so bad as the present state of things; and whether anything but good could come of making sure, first of all, that the boys learn something of matters which have a natural interest for them and an obvious use; and that then only, when they know something of their own tongue and of the world in which they live, they should grapple with Latin and Greek.

The Modern Language master, then, must prepare to take his share of a heavy burden which is slowly but surely slipping from other shoulders. And for the present—

heaviest burden of all!—he must do his best, with one hand tied, to show that teaching is not necessarily bad for being interesting and useful, and for limiting the simple minds of boyhood to simple problems. Thus only, by some measure of success in practical work, can we ensure the sympathy of the best among our adversaries, and at last secure what is even more valuable, their co-operation. Already many of the most distinguished classical educationists have brought us help and encouragement. But we must still find our most real encouragement in the inward conviction that English education has not only a great past, but a great future; that indeed the very ferment and trouble of these present years is working for greater things than the world has yet seen.

C. C. COULTON.

THE TEACHING OF ELEMENTARY FRENCH GRAMMAR.¹

FOR some time one of the chief objections urged against the New Method was that it neglected the teaching of grammar. I think, whatever grounds there may have been for such an objection at first, that this can no longer be seriously urged against us; in fact, I maintain that we teach grammar more scientifically, in a far more stimulating way, and with better results than was the case under the old régime.

First and foremost, I would urge that French grammar should be taught in French. In no part of my teaching do I absolutely insist on the exclusion of the mother-tongue, and this applies equally, but not more, to the case of grammar. If a difficulty presents itself which cannot be readily explained in the ordinary way, both in order to save time and to avoid any doubt arising in the pupil's mind, I explain the difficulty in English and then return to the French again. Under these circumstances it seems to me that the objection, so often urged, that the pupils fail to understand what is being taught them, largely disappears. As a matter of fact, I find such difficulties arise comparatively seldom. If they are of frequent occurrence, it shows that the master is going too fast, that he is trying to teach abstruse grammatical points before his pupils have a proper hold of the simple everyday language. If the pupil

cannot, as a rule, understand the simple language required for the explanation of difficulties, he is not fit to be confronted with these difficulties. He must be gradually led up to them. This affords a most useful check on us all, a drag on the wheel of the too zealous modern language teacher, for it is an almost universal fault of his to hurry on too fast and to attempt to build before the foundations are safe. I am sure that time is saved in the long-run, with the average boy, by spending what may seem to be a great deal too much time on making sure that the foundations are sound.

I think, then, that difficulties which could not be clearly explained in French would not very often occur with a careful teacher, and that when they do occur, as they are sure to do from time to time, a few words of English will clear them up at once. All will admit that the use of French on every possible occasion is of immense value in helping to secure confidence and fluency, independently of what may be incidentally learnt; the only doubt that ever existed, as far as I know, was whether these objects were not attained at too great a sacrifice in another direction, viz. in clearness and accuracy of teaching. I can only add that,

¹ A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association on the 22nd December 1903.

with the precautions I have mentioned, I do not think that any serious sacrifice is occasioned, and that the gain, both direct and indirect, is greater than many of those imagine who have not yet given this method a fair trial.

The psychological foundation of the practical study of languages is the law of association; the whole process of learning a language is one of forming associations. The function of grammar is to sum up the associations we have formed, to classify them and arrange them in the clearest possible way.

We have then to form our associations first; that is to say, that many examples of any given rule must have been met with before the rule is presented to the pupil. As first associations are always the strongest, because they are least disturbed by conflicting associations, and because they have the longest time to establish themselves, therefore they must be carefully chosen. Examples of rules must precede exceptions to those rules, or the exceptions will be as strongly or more strongly impressed than the examples. I have met with many cases of this. Perhaps one of the most common is the plural of substantives in *ou*. There are not many very common substantives in *ou* which are regular, and words like *genou*, *hibou*, *chou*, crop up in a most awkward way at a very early stage. I have time after time found boys who think that all nouns in *ou* take *x* in the plural, and that words like *clou* and *trou* are exceptions. Teaching which produces such confusion as this shows a violation of our principle of association. And how often this is the case! Boys know irregular verb forms before the regular—irregular plurals—irregular feminines—everything irregular. After a course of this kind of teaching, a boy no sooner sees a noun in *ou* than he hastens to add an *x* to it, rejoicing in his knowledge of an imaginary irregularity, or a noun in *ail*, than he insists on changing the *ail* into *aux*. I would sooner see a whole army of *pou's* with *s's* on their tails than a single *clou* with an *x* hanging on to it.

There is a further evil in this prominence being given to exceptions. It should be our duty, as far as possible, to initiate the young mind into a belief, and not a disbelief, in law and order. The teaching of exceptions is a real evil, and only borne for the sake of the greatly preponderating benefits, but when carried to excess, as it so often is, it becomes intolerable.

It is evident from what I have said, that there is a period in the learning of a language which precedes the study of grammar. This, I believe, is what originally gave rise to the idea that reform teachers neglected the teaching of grammar. In this pre-grammatical stage the pupils are forming their first and therefore their strongest and most durable associations. They are learning the commonest and most necessary words, phrases, idioms and constructions, carefully avoiding all unnecessary irregularities.

This period is the phonetic period, *i.e.* the pupil is provided only with phonetic texts. Directly he begins an ordinary text, almost the first lesson, he will begin what we call grammar. By degrees his associations will be summed up, classified, and, for the sake of clearness and simplicity, stated in the form of rules.

I will now take a few elementary grammatical points and try and show how the law of association should be applied.

Let us take the question of gender. French genders are exceedingly difficult, and for some time the gender of each word must be learnt separately, and for a much longer time only a few simple rules can be given, which admit of very few exceptions.

It would be quite wrong to teach a boy that the French for house is *maison*, and that *maison* is feminine and therefore you must say *la maison*. There is no natural association between the words *maison* and feminine, or the letters *s.f.* placed after it in the dictionary. The pupil should be taught from the first to say *la maison*, and that because you say *la maison* you must also say *ma maison* or *ma belle maison*. There is a natural association between the *la* and *maison* which will be strengthened every time the word is met with,

If the pupil forgets the gender of a word, it means that he is not sure whether he should place *le* or *la*, *mon* or *ma*, *beau* or *belle* before it, and not that he cannot recollect whether he saw the letters *s.m.* or *s.f.* after it in the dictionary. If you are asked in class the gender of the word *plume*, do not say feminine, but *la plume*. You will thus be establishing the simplest and most natural association. In order to help in strengthening these associations, never let a boy say or write a substantive without an article.

By the time a certain number of direct associations, such as that between *la* and *maison* have been found, the pupil will probably come across some contradictory

association, such as *mon épée*, for example. Here the grammar comes in, and in order to save much labour in collecting other cases, you simply inform the pupil of the rule. The first association, however, being the stronger, it will require the word *épée*, or some other such word, to recall this contradictory association.

At a later stage certain rules for the gender of nouns can be given. Care should be taken in the choice of these rules. The usefulness of a rule depends on three things:

(1) Its extent—that is, the number of examples included under it;

(2) Its efficiency—that is, the number of exceptions it has to admit, the rule that has the fewest exceptions being the most efficient; and

(3) Its definiteness, clearness, and simplicity—that is, the ease with which it is learnt and applied.

Nos. 1 and 2 balance one another to some extent. Thus you may have a rule with no exceptions, but which only applies to a few words, as, for example: 'The names of the seasons, months, and days of the week are masculine,' and, on the other hand, you may have a rule which covers a great many words, but which has several exceptions, as, for example: 'Nouns in *-age* are masculine,' which covers over two hundred and fifty words, and to which there are six exceptions.

Both of these rules are worth learning. We have no *memoria technica* in French to correspond to the

Common are *sacerdos, dux,*
Vates, *parens et conjux,*

of the Latin grammar, but French genders have none the less to be learnt. A French professor who has had considerable experience with English pupils once told me that few mistakes produced such an unpleasant effect on a French ear as a false gender, and that the English were much worse offenders than the Germans in this respect. I think that we must, after a certain stage has been reached, make considerable use of such rules as are available. For the ordinary pupil, rules which depend on a knowledge of Latin are quite useless; they could only be learnt with advantage in the higher forms of the classical side of a big public school. For the vast majority of boys we must depend solely on their knowledge of French. I would first give the most important of what are called 'General Rules,' such as those which apply to the names of the seasons, months, and days; the names of

trees and shrubs, of metals and minerals, winds, cardinal points, etc., with any exceptions that may be of sufficient importance. But these rules, though simple, easily learnt, and admitting of few exceptions, do not include a very large number of words. I would therefore teach separately, and later on, some of the rules for determining the gender by the termination. But knowing the rules is no use unless they can be applied. A very large number of exercises should be prepared for rapid drill. I am afraid that here we must descend to simple lists of nouns before which the article has to be placed, to be constantly run through at intervals until the article comes quite naturally. This is most uninteresting both for teacher and taught, but I know of no better way of producing the desired result, accuracy of gender in at any rate the more ordinary words. But, as I said before, in a great number of cases, and always in the initial stages, the gender must be learnt separately with each new word by learning the article with it.

The plural of nouns and adjectives is not very hard to teach. Remember the first associations must be with regular plurals. The fact that this corresponds to the English form renders it exceptionally easy, and I should not hesitate to introduce words in *s, x, and z*, in *al, au, and eu*, at a very early stage—but do not forget regular nouns in *ou* and in *ail*. When a sufficient number of words have been met with, give the simple rules or get the pupils to deduce them, and then give exercises to strengthen their associations. There are many kinds of exercises that might be given, and one that should not be given, and yet, strangely enough, that one kind is the commonest. I mean a string of words with not even an article to put in the plural. I would begin with expressions like *le chien fidèle, le beau cheval*, etc., to be put in the plural, and similar expressions in the plural to be put into the singular. Then simple sentences, as *le chien est fidèle*, to be treated in the same way.

For revision later on, when the pupils have learnt other rules, make your sentences larger, and introduce other points, as, for example in the sentence:

Le cheval est un bel animal.

But don't overcharge them, or you will get ridiculous and impossible sentences. Another excellent way for occasional revision is a suitable story or extract to be put in the plural.

The formation of the feminine of nouns

and adjectives is rather more difficult, as there are so many exceptions and irregularities among the commonest words. One can deduce a few rules after a short time, but many feminines will have to be treated as isolated cases, and learnt as such, for a considerable period. More exercises and a greater variety must be given than for the plurals of nouns and adjectives.

The case of the nouns which have two genders presents special difficulties. It would be a violation of the principles of association to put before a beginner such a contrast as that between *le page* and *la page*. These words ought at first to be kept entirely apart and mastered separately, each in its natural context. But when they have been learnt in this way, it is not only allowable but advisable to confront them, and call the learner's attention to the difference of gender. Otherwise he might be tempted to transfer the gender of the word he was more familiar with to the less familiar one.

Perhaps a point which gives as much trouble as any is the use of the partitive article.

I would start off with a large number of sentences with the indefinite article, to be in the plural:

J'ai un livre,
Tu as une plume, etc.

Then add adjectives which follow the nouns, giving the sentences in the singular, to be put in the plural:

J'ai un livre intéressant,
Tu as une plume rouge, etc.

Now give the same sentences with adjectives which precede the nouns:

J'ai un beau livre,
Tu as une belle plume, etc.

The pupils will not be long in detecting why they have to use *des* in the first two cases and *de* in the third.

Now return to the simple sentence, but with the partitive article this time:

J'ai du beurre,
Tu as de la crème, etc.

Then introduce adjectives following the nouns, leaving a blank before the nouns, to be filled in by the pupils. The sentences would then be:

J'ai — beurre frais,
Tu as — crème fraîche, etc.

And finally the same sentences with adjectives which precede the nouns, leaving the space as before:

J'ai — excellent beurre,
Tu as — bonne crème.

In all these cases, the examples must be very numerous, partly taken from the reading-book, and largely supplemented by sentences including words not met with in the reading-book, specially chosen with the object of keeping up, and even enlarging, their general vocabulary.

The sentences with the partitive article:

J'ai du beurre,
Tu as de la crème, etc.,

can now be put in the negative:

Je n'ai pas de beurre, etc.

and the rule deduced.

Lastly, a number of sentences containing expressions of quantity should be given, a space being left before the noun for the insertion of the preposition *de*. I would not give such words as *la plupart*, *plusieurs*, and *bien* in this exercise. Let them be learnt separately, at any rate at first.

When possible, exercises should be done orally before being written out. For revision with older boys, the exercises can be much more complicated. The idea should be always to concentrate the attention at first on one point only in the sentence, then gradually introduce other matter which more or less veils the point in question; the final test being to pretend to emphasise some other part of the sentence, and then introduce the point you have recently been teaching. To take an example, suppose we have been teaching the use of the preposition *de* instead of the partitive article after a negative. The pupils have without difficulty been able to deal with the sentences you have given them, *i.e.* they have mastered the practical application of the rule in sentences presented to them as illustrations of the rule. Now start them on the conjugation of a verb, say *avoir soif*, first affirmatively, then negatively. Then take another verb, *avoir du pain*, for example, first affirmatively, then negatively. That is a simple case, but it serves to illustrate my meaning. The pupils are thinking about the conjugation of the verb and the place of the negative, and not how the negative will affect the partitive article. If they survive such a test, you may safely go on to something else.

The teaching of verb forms is apt to become very tedious both for the teacher and the taught. I do not know of any satisfactory way of avoiding the conjugation of a verb, tense by tense; but in this, perhaps more than in any other part of grammar, is it necessary to stimulate the pupil and arouse his interest. Verbs can

always be conjugated in short sentences for *viva voce* work, and if only the master will take the trouble, he can make up interesting sentences, and the pupils are often quite keen on knowing what they are going to conjugate next.

Many of these sentences are taken from the reading-book; but here again, even if it were possible, it would not be advisable to confine oneself to this book, as we would thus lose a valuable opportunity of enlarging the vocabulary in any required direction.

The simpler the sentence the better. I begin, for example, with such verbs as

*avoir faim, avoir soif, etc., and
être le premier, être le dernier, etc.,*

and conjugate them interrogatively, negatively, and interrogatively-negatively. I thus get constant variety. Small boys always brighten up when they begin

hier j'étais méchant,

and they are most amused at the idea that
demain ils seront sages.

They seem also to have a decided preference for such exercises as: *Conjuguez au passé indéfini, affirmativement — avoir trop de travail*, and seem to take quite a personal interest in the successful conjugation of *demain j'aurai moins de travail*.

I also have posted about my classroom hills and notices of all kinds. I sometimes make use of these when I want a little further variety.

In conjugating the tenses of the subjunctive mood the sentence is invaluable: always try and have a complete sentence with the conjunction or verb which requires the subjunctive, and never orally go through the senseless patter *que je fasse, que tu fasses, etc.* I say orally, because when writing out verbs I find that it takes too long if one insists on the complete sentence being always written. I generally make my boys do it for the first person only, putting dots under the rest of the sentence, unless any change occurs. In this way you will find, when you begin to teach the syntax of the subjunctive, that your pupils have already

unconsciously learnt a good deal of it. For example, you select four suitable verbs and give your question in the form: *Conjuguez au mode subjonctif en faisant précéder de: il faut que; on désirerait que; il a fallu que; il aurait fallu que*— and then your four verbs. In this way they will have learnt something about the sequence of tenses, and not a book knowledge that they may not be able to apply when they require it, but a practical knowledge formed by the natural association of the two moods and tenses in such sentences as they are likely to meet with.

Another good way of avoiding the mechanical writing of a tense is to have the first person written, say interrogatively, the second negatively, and the third interrogatively-negatively. Such work is certainly more difficult to correct, but it is undoubtedly far better for the pupil.

Conjugating a verb in chorus is an excellent thing, but it must be well done to be of real value. It will take a few lessons to get a class to do it properly together and with the right pitch of voice. A mistake can then be detected with great ease, even a slight mistake of pronunciation.

Such an exercise as this is also very useful for filling in a minute or two at the end of a lesson. It is remarkable what can be done in this way by an energetic teacher. I have sometimes timed my classes—they can conjugate three to four tenses a minute, unless they have to be corrected a great deal. The numerals, cardinal and ordinal, can be quickly learnt in this way in odd moments. A class can easily count in chorus from one to fifty in one minute.

I have taken these few points to show the general lines I would adopt in teaching grammar. There is a wide gap which separates theory from practice. I constantly find myself teaching in a way of which I theoretically disapprove, but which I yet believe to be practically the best. For the same reason I am afraid that there are inconsistencies in this paper, which I can only justify by saying that I have found them to answer in the classroom.

W. MANSFIELD POOLE.

SOME DANGERS AND DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE DIRECT METHOD.¹

THE following paper is largely based on personal observation obtained in the course of inspecting schools. It has frequently struck me in the course of these inspections that what we chiefly want at the present time is not a rehash of more or less accepted theories by learned specialists, but the interchange of views between those who are actually engaged in teaching or in superintending the teaching of modern languages—those to whom, in fact, the problems are most real and pressing. There must be a considerable number of persons here to-day who, as a rule, do not speak so often as they ought at these meetings; yet their evidence, in as far as they can tell us about the actual working of their classes, about their problems, and how they get round them or solve them, seems to me the most valuable information we can procure, and it is in view of eliciting the personal experience of the practical teacher that I have been tempted to offer my paper to the Association.

THE DIRECT METHOD WHEN POSSIBLE.

Let me say at the outset, to prevent any lurking doubt about my orthodoxy, that I am a thorough believer in the direct method in the broad sense of the word, or the proper method for the beginner to start any foreign language, *provided* the teacher is fairly capable; otherwise I am very doubtful whether the older methods are not the better, for the simple reason that there is less to unlearn later on in the shape of acquired mispronunciation or pidgin-French. Again, in the higher classes I am in favour of translation into the mother-tongue, with a strong dose of literary culture, so woefully lacking in English education, and here, however much I may displease those fervent believers in the direct method who would maintain the exclusion of the mother-tongue to the bitter end, I am glad to say I have behind me the latest conclusions to which the reformers in France have come. Though the new programmes apparently favour a rigid adherence to the direct method throughout the school course, I am informed, on the highest authority, that translation, and even composition, is permitted in the upper forms.

A PLEA FOR ELASTICITY IN THE METHOD.

The truth is, the various Pauls, Cephases, and Apollos of the new method have fortunately not as yet been able to formulate a stereotype creed, however strait may be the tenets that each of them attempts severally to profess. To be a follower of the new method in the broad sense of the word does not mean one is necessarily a blind believer in this or that propagandist. The very absence of any rigidly codified dogma, however vehemently the various leaders of the movement may cry 'Lo here,' or 'Lo there!' is at the present stage of development rather a gain than a loss. While the method in its actual state provides us with a certain number of principles and teaching devices that are already recognised as extremely valuable, it still leaves to the individual teacher to decide the degree and proportions to which he may apply them, while it further permits him scope and freedom to incorporate with them something of his own, which is often the most precious, because it is the most personal, part of his teaching. In fact, although we owe a good deal to the reformers, it is clear there is in the teaching of modern languages plenty left to think out, and, what is still more important, to put to the test of experience. To state one's opinion in a nutshell, one might say that there is strictly no one new method, but many varieties.

EXTERNAL DIFFICULTIES.

To discuss then the difficulties in connection with the direct method in general would be too wide a subject; the particular variety, therefore, with which I propose more especially to deal is that in which, at least in the lower classes, a most laudable effort is made to conduct the entire lesson in the foreign language, and exclude the mother-tongue altogether from the classroom. All teachers who are engaged in this task seem to me to be carrying on one of the most interesting, and certainly the most arduous of experiments in modern languages. I think we all sympathise with

¹ A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association on the 23rd December 1903.

them, even if in some cases we have our doubts about some of their over-conscientious efforts, because we are not certain that they have chosen the more practical way. One says 'more practical' because the teacher on rigorously direct lines must, in nearly all schools, be carrying on a gallant struggle against unfair odds, which would not exist were modern-language teaching given the fair field and no favour that it really deserves. At present, in the vast majority of schools the work is made more difficult by a large number of extraneous reasons. One of the most serious is the different ages at which the pupils enter the schools. Time after time I have inspected schools in the different forms of which there has been alongside of pupils studying the subject for two, three, or even four years, a large contingent of newcomers who have never seen French or German before. Unless the system of sets has been adopted, there is no means of bringing these stragglers into line, except that of extra classes on half-holidays or out of school, in which they may learn the goose-steps of the language. Again, in the greater number of schools, as at present organised, if there is a specialist on the staff, he cannot possibly teach all the classes, and so there are necessarily a certain number of derelict classes which are taken by the form masters or mistresses. The only choice left for the specialist is to decide which are the classes he will abandon to the unskilled teacher, and he generally wisely resolves to give up those which are near the middle of the school, because, while the highest classes naturally need the best teaching, it is all-important that the beginners should be properly taught at the outset, even if they must be allowed to run wild for a season. When they are taken in hand again, there is a sound grounding at bottom, so that when the work of the unskilled teacher has been reconstructed or removed, the specialist will be able to put on the necessary top-story. Thirdly, in many of our schools the classes are far too large; twenty to twenty-four should be the maximum, yet classes of thirty are not uncommon, nor classes of forty unknown. And, finally, not only are the classes too numerous and the pupils ill-classified from a modern-language point of view, but also, and this is perhaps the most important, many have never had a proper education in their own mother-tongue, owing to our preposterous methods of teaching English.

So much then for the various external drawbacks by which all teaching of foreign

languages on modern lines is hampered. Let us now come to the dangers and difficulties which seem more particularly to affect the new methodist who follows the direct method in its strictest sense.

THE PROBLEM OF ATTENTION.

The great problem for such a teacher is to maintain attention. He is the principal, if not the sole, channel of communication. The class must, therefore, when not speaking themselves, be literally hanging on his lips. Hence the besetting sin observable, more especially in the case of foreign-born teachers, to talk too much. They appear to act on the principle of 'throw plenty of mud, and some of it will stick'; but how much will stick, and how it will stick, do not appear to concern them much. This bad habit is nearly always accompanied with great carelessness about pronunciation or grammatical accuracy on the part of the pupil: almost anything is accepted by way of answer. The teacher apparently thinks enough is done in the way of correcting the pupils' mistakes if he repeats a revised version of what they ought to have said. But such work is about as valuable as that of the drawing-master in the fashionable finishing school for young ladies, who touches up the pupils' sketches for the yearly exhibition for parents and friends of the school. In contrast to this procedure, which is clearly a case of 'more haste, worst speed,' is an opposite danger, which is still more common. The teacher in this case does not neglect the pupil for the sake of the class, but rather neglects the class for the sake of the pupil. With the laudable aim of allowing each pupil to puzzle out his own difficulties, the teacher with a class of, say, thirty, will slowly extract in the course of half an hour about one question apiece from the majority on such a recondite subject as the time of day. Here, no doubt, the remedy would be to pass the question speedily round. One cannot, without doing harm to the class, attempt to perform a series of mental operations on the pupil's brain in the hope of delivering the embryonic thought it contains. While we are saving the sinner, the ninety-and-nine comparatively just persons who form the bulk of the class are in imminent danger of relapse. Continuous attention, while essential to all forms of teaching, is absolutely indispensable in the case of the rigidly direct method. To use Wordsworth's expression, a class must be as 'forty feed-

ing like one.' And the reason of it is clear. The failure of a pupil to understand a single expression may mean he may lose ground that he can never make up. Except with very careful teaching these losses accumulate, so that one not infrequently comes across a pupil not merely detached, but completely isolated—far more isolated than a backward pupil in a form taught on old-fashioned lines; because in the latter case the text-book helps in a way to keep the class together, whereas, with the rigidly direct method, the failure to understand an expression leads to the failure to understand phrases based upon it, so that the pupil's ignorance tends to grow in a geometrical ratio. Hence the teacher has not only to attempt to maintain an incessant attention; he must also be perpetually taking precautions to see that he has maintained it. Something may be done, no doubt, by permitting answers in chorus, or by allowing all those who think they know to hold up their hands when a question is asked; but even then, with the native tongue forbidden, there is a real danger of the pupil forming merely a vague or even an incorrect idea, and thinking he knows the answer when he does not. I well remember a class in which *neige* and *blanche* were convertible terms. It is difficult enough for a child to differentiate ideas in its own native tongue: do we not set it at times too hard a task in asking it to differentiate them in a foreign language? The most amusing instance of complete misconception was given in the *Journal of Education* a month or two back. An inspector, if I remember right, cutting into a conversation on the Goodchild family that figures in the Hölzel pictures, asked, '*Et où est la mère?*' and the whole class pointed at the teacher. To guard against such misapprehensions an individual audit is essential, and the individual audit of a big class takes time. This is important, because all teaching is under our present conditions a match against time. It also means an excessive reiteration of practically the same questions for the brighter children to listen to. In the teaching of other subjects, or of French on less rigidly direct lines, the saying of a former headmaster always seems to me very much to the point. His advice was to go for the middle of the form. But here the imperative need of keeping the form together seems to imply that, if some pupils are not to be hopelessly tailed off, the pace must be not so much the pace of the 'middle markers' as of the 'hindmost.' This, in the

ordinary course of events, means a danger of producing listlessness among the brighter and better pupils. No doubt the clever teacher tries to bring them along by throwing them down something in advance of the rest, as a farmer throws down roots to draw on a herd of cattle, but he has necessarily less time to devote to the leaders than if he were teaching on other lines.

THE PROBLEM OF WILL-TRAINING.

This imperative need of keeping the forms together involves two further difficulties which are not so prominent in ordinary teaching. The teacher, being largely dependent on the goodwill of the class for their attention, is compelled to render his teaching as pleasant and attractive as possible. This is excellent as far as it goes, and is helping to bring into English teaching a conception of the real doctrine of interest as understood in America. But it has its perils and its limitations. The teacher is tempted to make things too pleasant, too easy. There is a tendency to avoid the hard and distasteful, and the class, unless the teacher is unusually enthusiastic, are apt to think it is a case of 'go as you please.' The training of the will, which teaches us to do unpleasant tasks and overcome obstacles, and which is the bed-rock of English education, is rather neglected. Again, with the unruly, the indolent, the unwilling to work, the teacher's task is a very difficult one. Once the arts of peace are exhausted, how is one to get behind the boy who refuses to work and professes not to understand? All teachers know the type of *fainéant* and *malingère* I mean. To give him up as hopeless is not to solve the problem. It is rather to acknowledge one's own hopelessness.

But the desire to make things too easy may not only have a bad effect on the character of the pupils: it may even react disadvantageously on their intelligence. In more than one school where the teaching has struck me as extraordinarily conscientious, I have also found it too peptonised. The consequences have been curious. I remember in one school, where the pupils had been usually carefully 'spoon-fed,' I used a simple word like *malheureusement* in a sentence otherwise composed of words the class had been learning, and the class displayed infinitely less resource in discovering what I was saying than pupils trained in ordinary methods or on rigidly direct lines. This is by no means an isolated case, and it

does seem to me, from the point of view of mental alertness, a serious matter. These children, being unused to obstacles, were stopped by something very simple.

THE PROBLEM OF VOCABULARY.

Again—and here I feel I am venturing on more debatable ground—I have been struck more than once, in schools in which the rigidly direct method obtains, at the slow rate at which the vocabulary is acquired, and at its extremely limited nature. My criticisms are based on two practical considerations which I will at once proceed to give. The first is—and every one who has learnt a foreign language will bear me out—that the business end of learning a foreign language is the amassing of a good vocabulary. An ounce of fact in these matters seems to me to be worth a ton of theory. I learnt German rather late in life, and I found as an absolute fact that, when I had gone through the grammar, and had been learning steadily the phrases of daily life from those around me in the country, I had still to tackle the vocabulary problem. I discovered that the famous six hundred words which are always being thrust down one's throat as the average vocabulary of a peasant were a downright snare and delusion for any one who wanted to talk at all in German; and that to discuss matters in anything like an adequate fashion one required to know a good deal more like five or six thousand words at least. So serious does this question of adequate vocabulary seem to me that I cannot help thinking it should be a matter for early consideration in the acquirement of the language. And now I come to the other practical point, which is, that there are vocabulary and vocabulary—not one, in short, but two. Is it not an undoubted fact that we require, whether it be in our mother-tongue or in a foreign language, two sorts of vocabulary, one which consists of words we use ourselves, and the other, a far larger one, which consists of words which we understand when we hear them or see them in print, but rarely if ever employ them in writing or conversation? I suppose the ordinary educated Englishman who is not a writer or public speaker uses about five thousand words, and knows at least ten thousand or fifteen thousand more. It would appear to be a matter of common-sense to assume that any one learning French or German would likewise acquire the two vocabularies, and would acquire them in

something like the same proportions. Now, unless I am mistaken, it seems that many of the new methodists take little or no account of this principle of daily life and common experience; but from the very beginning ram and cram into the speaking vocabulary of the pupil every word he comes across, instead of being merely content to teach him the correct pronunciation of the less common ones. Were they merely the most necessary terms in the language, there would be less to be said; but when we find at the outset pupils plunged into a series of farming and agricultural expressions, it is clear the pupils are learning to employ a certain number of words for which at present at least they will have no practical use, and may perhaps never need at all, unless they visit rural France; though, if these words are only meant to be added to what I would call the 'comprehensive' vocabulary, the objection is less forcible. In any case, it is fully evident that, if the compulsory assimilation and reproduction of every word were not insisted on, the pupil would probably get on faster and with more pleasure to himself, because he would not have been so often taken over and over again the same ground, or have contemplated for so many hours on end the same picture. At the same time he would have mastered more of the vocabulary, which, as has already been pointed out, constitutes a really serious difficulty.

As regards vocabulary, it has always seemed to me that the best way of learning it is by practising conversation on the reading lesson. The advantages of such a method are numerous and substantial. Neither pupil nor teacher need make mistakes, for all the material is given in a more or less ready-made state. A good deal more talking can be got through than by any other method; the questions can be graduated to any degree of difficulty; and there is no better way of teaching oral composition, which is, or ought to be, the basis of free written composition; only it ought to be based, at least at first, *on*, and not *about*, the subject-matter. An apt illustration of how not to do it was given me the other day by a French teacher to whom I tried to explain the system. There was a sentence which began, *Une veuve qui avait deux enfants*. Before he would allow me to explain that a typical question for beginners was *Combien d'enfants avait la veuve?* he blurted out, 'Oh! I see; you ask *Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'une veuve?*' No doubt, the difficulty of teaching vocabu-

lary with sufficient rapidity is increased for those who teach on rigidly direct lines by the absence of a sufficient choice of suitable text-books. Some of those which exist have fallen into the over-peptonising tendency mentioned above, and are written, at least as far as French is concerned, in a dull, lifeless style, from which the delightful lightness and sprightliness that characterise French books for children have simply evaporated.

PROBLEMS OF ORDER AND SYSTEM.

The other difficulties and dangers more especially connected with the rigidly direct method seem to me to be chiefly concerned with questions of order and system. Just as proper co-ordination between class and class is even more essential in the case of the direct method than in the case of teaching on the old classical lines, so within the class itself there is still more need for well-thought-out and carefully arranged teaching than in the case of the older methods, for the simple reason that with the older methods the framework and scaffolding of the lesson are largely supplied by the text-book, and the lesson for the day has therefore already received some sort of arrangement in the pupil's mind; while in the case of the new method, even when a text-book is used, the logical arrangement of the lesson is not so obvious, less stress is rightly laid on the importance of the text-book, and at the same time the lessons are far more dovetailed into one another and interdependent than other lessons framed on the old lines. In a word, the new method throws a great deal more responsibility on the teacher, which no doubt is right. But *corruptio optimi pessima*; there is a distinct danger of the teacher becoming flabby or invertebrate, because the supply of the structure rests in this case with the teacher. Another possible danger is the tendency to lessen unduly the written work. One fully admits it should be very light at the outset, but certainly in some schools more should be made of it. The whole secret lies in the fact of not making the exercise in writing too difficult. One sees this precaution neglected later on by teachers who often give their pupils free composition on original subjects far too early, or do not supply them with nearly enough subject-matter. I have seen free compositions which can only do the children who have attempted them positive harm; there was no sense of arrangement; the exer-

cise was not only crammed with mistakes in grammar, but the French itself was of the most canine description. The first thing is to supply beginners with an ample store of subject-matter. You can't make bricks without clay, and the wise teacher further assists the process by supplying straw in the shape of hints. A more serious fault is the neglect to insist on a proper conception of the work at the outset. This scant respect for accuracy appears to me inexplicable. One knows how in one's own case a mistake once made may take years to eradicate. Yet I have seen teachers who would not tolerate a slipshod pronunciation, apparently indifferent to howlers made in the written work. I remember a headmaster, who is rather a shining light, saying to me, 'We don't bother much about the written work.' He apparently looked on it as too disciplinary a matter. Yet surely accuracy in writing, whatever exercise one may think fit to give the pupil, is every whit as important as accuracy in accent and grammar.

PROBLEMS OF PHONETICS AND GRAMMAR.

And here we touch a point on which one would like to obtain the opinion of the teachers present. Do they really find that pupils who have learnt to read by means of a phonetic script really do in the later stages spell and write as correctly as pupils who have learnt to read straight away from an ordinary text-book? French spelling seems to come so difficult even to French children, we must be careful, if we can help it, not to render the task more difficult for our own children. One has been assured that it makes no difference, but it would be interesting to hear public opinion on the subject.

The last danger connected with the direct method is the possible neglect of grammar. Teachers, it seems to me, cannot give up their grammar drill any more than soldiers can give up military exercises. The whole point is to make these manoeuvres as practical as possible. A reference to Mr. Kirkman's notes on the method of using a reader, and his excellent hints on the teaching of the subjunctive after *vouloir*, will give an inkling of what I mean. But my experience convinces me that a knowledge of the genders, the uses of the pronouns, and of the prepositions after the verbs which take *à* or *de*, and of the parts of the verbs, all need, as some one has said, 'ramming in.'

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, let me repeat in the form of questions some of the various points I have raised, in order, if possible, to focus the discussion:

1. What are the results of trying to teach a class of thirty or over on the rigidly direct method?
2. If one cannot teach all the classes, which should one rather give up?
3. What is the best way of solving the problem when the class receives a large contingent of absolute beginners?
4. How do you get over the difficulty of pupils who are ill grounded in English?
5. How do you maintain attention, and by what means do you assure yourself that it is maintained?
6. Do you find the rigid exclusion of the mother-tongue compensated for by the quicker grasp that pupils obtain of the language?
7. How do you guard against vagueness of conception?
8. Do you go for the middle or the bottom of the form?
9. Do you sometimes feel there is a danger of playing down too much to the form, with the result that one does not get the best out of the brightest children?
10. How do you manage the *fainéants*, the indolent, and the malingerers?
11. Do you think there is a danger of vocabulary being acquired too slowly?
12. Do you consider the distinction between the two vocabularies should be established from the start, or when?
13. Do you feel the need of a greater choice of text-books? Are our text-books, generally speaking, sufficiently French in spirit?
14. Is there generally enough written work?
15. Do you find free composition on original subjects a success with pupils in the earlier stages?
16. What are your views on the correction of written work?
17. Does the use of the phonetic script handicap children from a spelling point of view in comparison with those who have used the ordinary script?
18. What are your views on the necessity of grammar drill after the newer models?

Such are some of the questions I have raised for discussion, and I trust my appeal will meet with a fruitful response. What we want at the present time is to centralise as much as possible the information which is largely scattered up and down the country. I cannot imagine this Association acting in a more fruitful fashion than, by means either of oral discussion or of printed *questionnaires*, making itself the common clearing-house of the experience of individual teachers.

CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

IS IT A REFORM?

'I have tried in a somewhat crude way perhaps to demolish this magnificent structure of the method which has bewitched so many teachers, especially in England.'—OTTO SIEPMANN.

No one welcomes criticism more heartily than the earnest teacher of modern languages. We are all experimenting; and I think there is no more hopeful sign than this. The teacher who is not continually reconsidering his methods, who is not alive to every stimulating suggestion, hardly deserves the name.

Those who rejoice in the interest which has been universally aroused by the changes suggested in modern language teaching have no doubt read Mr. Cloudesley Brereton's valuable address to the Modern Language Association on 'Some Dangers and Difficul-

ties connected with the Direct Method' and Mr. Otto Siepmann's animated address to the Association of Headmasters in Preparatory Schools on 'The Advantages and Fallacies of the New Method in Teaching French.' We have here the views of an inspector and of a teacher. As one who has had experience in both capacities, and has been interested in furthering the reform method in England, I may be allowed to discuss some of the statements made and some of the questions raised in the two articles I have mentioned; and for the sake of brevity, I shall allude to them as B. and S.

I need waste no time on the quite inadequate review of the history of the movement given in S. The two specific statements (i) that the movement received

¹ The italics are not Mr. Siepmann's.

its first impulse from Perthes' *Zur Reform des lateinischen Unterrichts*, and (ii) that Professor Viëtor's *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren* was published in 1886, are both inaccurate. Those who are interested in the matter may be referred to Mangold's article in *Die Reform des höheren Schulwesens in Preussen*, which gives much food for thought.

What was it that Viëtor demanded? That the nature of the child mind should be considered, not only the language taught; that the learner should be interested; that the reasoning powers should be cultivated, and not the memory alone; that the use of the foreign language should become instinctive, that is, that the child should learn as soon as possible to connect the object or idea with the foreign word; that due regard should be paid to the ethical and æsthetic side of teaching.

Look at the books in general use when, in 1882, Viëtor uttered his eloquent appeal, and ask yourself if nothing has been achieved. When a level-headed educational authority like Findlay uses these words:

Quite deliberately the present writer ventures to assert that the 'reform' in modern language teaching now in progress is one of the most noteworthy events in the sphere of *Teaching* since the Renaissance, surpassing in importance even the result of introducing Science to the schools,

we view with some suspicion attempts to discredit the reform.

I do not like the term 'new method,' and have avoided it as far as possible. The method is not new; nor is it, in its main features, applicable only to modern languages. Certain general principles underlie all sound teaching, and the application of these to modern languages is the great merit of the reform method. Naturally there are certain features peculiar to the methods of teaching modern foreign languages, as compared with the methods of teaching the mother-tongue, or the classics, or science.

A little thought will show that many of the difficulties pointed out in B. are not really peculiar to modern-language teaching. Thus the importance of maintaining the attention of the pupils is universally acknowledged; in B. this is done in the strangely worded sentence, 'Continuous attention, while essential to all forms of teaching, is absolutely indispensable in the case of the rigidly direct method.' I do not know what difference there is between 'essential' and 'absolutely indispensable.'

Another alleged difficulty is that 'the

teacher has necessarily less time to devote to the leaders than if he were teaching on other lines.' If this means that the manner of teaching necessitates the chief attention being given to the middle, i.e. the bulk, of the class, it is surely an advantage. In teaching a class of thirty children, the pace is set by the middle twenty to twenty-five. I think that is generally conceded.

A further statement in B. which seems to me to have no special bearing on modern-language teaching is this: 'The teacher, being largely dependent on the goodwill of the class for their attention, is compelled to render his teaching as pleasant and as attractive as possible'; and a fear is expressed that 'The training of the will, which teaches us to do unpleasant tasks and overcome obstacles, and which is the bedrock of English education, is rather neglected.' To my mind this raises questions which apply to all teaching. The attention of the pupils depends not on their 'goodwill'; unless we take that to be equivalent to 'interest.' Who will deny that all teaching should be made interesting? And to the vast majority of children who are well taught, interest renders the work 'pleasant and attractive.' There are illegitimate ways of rendering it so; the personality of the teacher may form too large an element in the 'pleasantness,' and he may not have realised that he can best interest his pupils in the subject by letting them find out as much as possible for themselves. The pupils' own efforts, the sense of what they have gained by their own work, the pleasure derived from jointly achieving results—these are what render the lesson 'attractive' in all good teaching. In modern languages, for instance, the cultivation of alert habits of combination leads to the power of quickly guessing the meaning of words from the context and from associated ideas: and this power is of far greater educational value, and adds far more to the interest of the work, than any amount of skill in turning over the pages of a dictionary.

'How is one to get behind the boy who refuses to work and professes not to understand?' is asked in B.; and again I would point out that the modern-language teacher is not alone in having to face this problem. I quite agree with S. in not hailing the reform method 'as a panacea'; and I do not think that even the most rabid reformer has claimed that it will cure all the ills to which juvenile human nature may be prone.

I pass on to consider briefly some of the general principles bearing on the teaching of modern languages which the reform method may claim to have emphasised, and their possible misapplication by inadequately trained or by pedantic teachers.

(1) Due attention should be paid to the pronunciation from the outset.

B. and S. agree on this point; and it is noteworthy that S. is now an advocate of the phonetic transcript, which found no place in his *German Primer*.

There is a danger that drill in sounds may be carried on exclusively for too long a time, and that teachers may use it without an adequate knowledge of phonetics.

(2) The vocabulary taught in the early stages should be useful, *i.e.* common words should be learnt thoroughly. For this purpose the vocabulary must be carefully selected, and repetition is necessary to impress the words, until there is direct association between the object or idea and the foreign word. This end is best achieved by the use of the foreign language in the classroom, the use of the mother-tongue being avoided as much as possible. As to the need for selecting the vocabulary and for repetition, B. and S. agree. Both rightly object to the 'rigidly' direct method, which absolutely excludes the mother-tongue. Any method which becomes 'rigid' is *ipso facto* erroneous. The true principle seems to be here, as in all teaching, not to do for the pupil what he can do for himself, and to use your common-sense in deciding when to give help and how much help to give. I may venture to quote from *Hints on Teaching French*.

If the teacher is not convinced that his pupils fully grasp the meaning of the new word, and cannot easily help them to do so, he may supply the English word. This should be regarded rather as a last resource; at the same time, it would be unreasonable to make oneself the absolute slave of the rule that the foreign language should be used in the classroom. Many who make the attempt will be surprised how very little English they will find it necessary to introduce. In bringing out some point of grammar, it will sometimes be found convenient to give explanations in English; but as soon as the pupils are somewhat advanced, this too is best done in French. (Page 10.)

As a teacher's experience grows, he becomes more skilled in thus leading his pupils to find out new words. At first it may often seem rather difficult, and there are critics who have not been slow to make fun of this feature of the method—to describe it as a childish game, a futile setting and solving of riddles. Yet, after all, does not the child learn new words in its mother-tongue in just this way? The child is led in both cases to find the meaning, by being shown the object designated, or

by being helped to associate it with something it already knows.

The process is indeed not to be compared to the setting and solving of riddles; rather is it like the use of algebraic equations, and it requires clear thinking and application to deduce the unknown quantity from several that are known. It is true that the definition of a new word given by the teacher is often suggestive, rather than exhaustive; but the end is achieved all the same, and the mental process represents a definite gain to the pupil, who has not only learnt the new word, but repeated several old ones, with which fresh associations are now formed.

This method appeals not only to the memory; it calls forth the reasoning faculty and the imagination. The lessons become more stimulating to the teacher and the taught; the former is not the servant of the printed word, the latter rejoices in thinking for themselves. (Pp. 32, 33.)

It has always seemed important to me to encourage our teachers to use the foreign language in class. It has often led to the altogether profitable result of making them anxious to acquire greater fluency in the use of the foreign language. That is why I have given the advice in the form 'avoid the mother-tongue' rather than 'use the mother-tongue for every new word.'

It would be idle to deny that many are using the foreign language in the class-room who speak it neither very fluently nor always correctly. Nevertheless, I disagree with the statement that 'If the teacher is not fairly capable, the older methods are perhaps better, for the simple reason that there is less to unlearn later on in the shape of acquired mispronunciation or pidgin-French.' A teacher who, though not yet 'fairly capable,' adopts the newer methods, shows by that very fact that he is anxious to improve; and if he teaches by the older methods, his pupils will attach some pronunciation to the foreign words, even though he should never utter a foreign word himself.

3. In the early stages there is no need to translate into the mother-tongue; only at an advanced stage is translation from the mother-tongue to be attempted.

The demand that the foreign language should be used as much as possible implies that systematic translation is to be avoided in the early stages; as Findlay says, 'every minute taken from native speech and conducted in foreign speech is a gain to the foreign language.' Not wishing to take up too much space here, I would refer those interested to *Hints on Teaching French* (Appendix A, 'Translation from and into French, and the use of French-English Vocabularies,' p. 127 of the third edition).

Considering the nature of public examinations, and the practice of coercing defenceless children into taking them, a teacher may be grateful if he can be allowed to teach his pupils on reform lines for two years. He finds then that his pupils can translate quite as well, and as a rule even more idiomatically, than those who have been taught according to the older methods.

4. Grammar is not made the keystone of the bridge.

To use words without knowing their inflections or acquiring habits of correctly placing them in the sentence, is to ignore the rules of grammar. To elevate these rules to a position of unique importance is to emphasise form to the detriment of matter.

One of the most frequent charges brought against the reform teachers is that they neglect grammar. Two considerations are usually left out of account, namely:

(a) That much depends on the way in which grammar is taught. To supply the rules and then give examples (and this is the universal practice in the older books) is far less valuable than to let the pupils find out the rules for themselves. If grammar amounts to nothing more than memorising, its place is very low indeed.

(b) That the amount of grammar that can properly be taught depends on the capacity (roughly, the age) of the pupil. If we take French at nine or ten, and as the first foreign language, we shall proceed more slowly than with the pupils of twelve who have already learnt Latin. In the younger child we make our teaching appeal more to the imagination; in the case of the older child we are justified in making greater demands on the reasoning powers.

I do not happen to know of any First French Book on reform method lines and published in this country, which does not pay a good deal of attention to the grammar from the very beginning.

The extent to which French should be used in teaching grammar is a matter depending on the teacher's common-sense and capacity.

5. A good vocabulary, a knowledge of the main rules of grammar (not of *all* the exceptions), and some acquaintance with French life and ways, are regarded as essential to a proper appreciation of French literature; and those books are preferred which may be regarded as expressing in an

exceptional degree the achievements, the aspirations, and ideals of the French.

It is a little wearisome to have to listen again and again to the allegation that the reform teacher cares nothing for culture, and that all his work is 'utilitarian.' Let us concede that among the adherents of the older and the newer methods equally there are those who have mean aims and a narrow outlook in teaching foreign languages; but let us hear no more of this preposterous charge that the desire to enable our pupils to speak and to acquire *Sprachgefühl* renders us insensible to the higher beauties of literature and indifferent to opening them up to our pupils. Such claptrap phrases are calculated to mislead the young teacher, and to turn him away from the reform method altogether.

In this connection let me advert to a passage in the circular of the French Ministry of Education: 'On renoncera résolument à faire de l'enseignement des langues vivantes, soit une gymnastique intellectuelle, soit un moyen de culture littéraire.' The Königsberg reactionaries pounced upon this sentence; and I am grieved to find it again in S. At the first glance it may indeed appear 'a startling confession'; but what does it really amount to, when we consider the circular as a whole? It simply means that the teaching of modern languages is not to be exclusively a juggling with grammatical terminology, nor solely a means to enable the pupils to read. These are real dangers, to which the French Ministry of Education is fortunately alive; to say that these words exclude grammar or literature from the curriculum is manifestly wrong, as an inspection of the regulations issued will show.

I have tried to put very simply the aims of the reform method; and in doing so, I have naturally not consulted the extremists. I am well aware that there have been, and possibly still are, extremists; but I do not think that those who have compiled First French Books in this country can be reckoned among their number. If there is much divergence of opinion among earnest reform teachers, there is far more upon which they agree. Such divergence as there is, let us welcome. 'The various Pauls, Cephases, and Apollos of the new method have fortunately not as yet been able to formulate a stereotyped creed. . . . The very absence of any rigidly codified dogma is at the present stage of development rather a gain than a loss' (B.). Yes indeed, heaven forbid that we should ever become

rigid ; it would be the *rigor mortis*. When I look at the First French Book which my valued friend Alge issued in 1887, and then at each subsequent edition up to our New First French Book of 1903, I witness a slow but steady progress, signs of a better understanding of the difficult problems involved, of ever greater agreement with what is regarded as essential in all good teaching. Mr. Siepmann is working in a different plane from ours ; it may be a higher plane ; but I hope and believe we are getting nearer to the child.

Since writing the above I have been engaged with my colleague, Dr. Edwards, in summing up the results of an inspection of modern language teaching in thirty-seven London schools, in the course of which 361 classes were visited and the work of 206 teachers and over 8200 pupils was observed. Our report, which will doubtless be published shortly in *The Technical Education Gazette*, shows clearly that a genuine reform is taking place, and that trained teachers in particular are quick to recognise the validity of the principles which guide us in our endeavours to ensure better teaching ; and that it is the untrained teacher who holds aloof, or applies them unintelligently, and thus brings discredit on the method.

The statement in the quotation which heads my article, to the effect that many teachers, *especially in England*, have been 'bewitched' by the new method, seems to imply that our English teachers are exceptionally liable to be taken in by specious appearances. As a matter of fact, the reform method has far more adherents on the Continent than in England : those who frame the Prussian regulations have yielded more and more to its demands, in France it has received the most ample official recognition, in Switzerland it has long been widely adopted, and in Sweden and Denmark are to be found some of the most valued pioneers of the movement. In this connection I would call especial attention to Prof. Jespersen's important book, of which an English rendering (*How to Teach a Foreign Language*) has just been published by Messrs. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. It was most gratifying to find that the distinguished Danish reform teacher uses very similar arguments to those which I have urged in the above article and elsewhere, more particularly as he seems quite unaware of what has been done in England during the last five or six years. I warmly recommend the perusal of his book to all who are interested in the problems of language teaching.

WALTER RIPPMAUN.

APERÇU D'UNE MÉTHODE.

TOUTE langue est l'ensemble de nos idées, résultat premier et dernier des perceptions, exprimées par des sons ou représentées par des mots et affirmées par la proposition, d'où la pensée. Selon un certain milieu, les idées, toujours invariables comme telles, sont rappelées par une différence de sons. C'est ce qui, avec des diversités dans l'enchaînement des jugements, fait en somme la différence d'une langue à l'autre.

Or, on ne peut, pour l'acquisition d'une langue étrangère, répéter strictement et de nouveau, ainsi que le veulent quelques-uns, les opérations de l'intelligence qui ont été faites pour la langue mère. Il est vrai qu'aussitôt que l'intelligence de l'enfant a été mise en rapport avec le monde extérieur, la mère, afin qu'il puisse exprimer ses idées, lui a donné pour chacune un certain son. Ainsi ont été acquis les vocables qui se

rapportent soit au tact, soit à la vue, à l'ouïe, au goût ou à l'odorat.

Cependant, il n'en est pas tout-à-fait ainsi quand il s'agit d'enseigner une langue étrangère.

Dans la langue mère, les idées sont le premier et dernier résultat des perceptions. Pour une autre langue que la sienne, ce fait de l'intelligence ne peut être reproduit.

Même pourrait-on concevoir une idée sans concevoir dans le même temps le mot qu'on a l'habitude première d'associer à cette idée, il n'est possible, surtout en classe, d'appliquer que très imparfaitement une méthode basée sur les perceptions, puisque le monde externe ne peut agir librement sur les organes et que, des cinq sens, on ne peut en exercer que deux : l'ouïe et la vue. Quant aux idées qui sont le résultat du tact, du goût, et de l'odorat, on est bien obligé d'accepter

celles qui ont été premièrement acquises. Il en est de même des sentiments. De même aussi trouvons-nous toutes faites les affirmations des idées exprimées par la proposition.

Force est donc, pour apprendre une langue étrangère, de se contenter de rappeler les idées premières auxquelles nous avons déjà donné des sons et des signes pour leur donner d'autres sons, les revêtir d'autres signes.

Si cela est, l'enseignement d'une langue vivante revient :

- 1° À la reproduction de nouveaux sons et de nouveaux signes ;
- 2° À la traduction de la proposition simple d'abord, puis complexe ;
- 3° À l'arrangement des propositions coordonnées.

D'après cet ordre, on doit, non seulement dès le début mais avant tout, exiger la prononciation.

Oubliant combien de travail est déjà accompli ainsi qu'il est démontré plus haut, nous voulons généralement aller trop vite. Tout au commencement il ne faudra qu'un vocabulaire choisi consistant de substantifs, de verbes et d'attributs qui seront répétés jusqu'à ce que la prononciation en soit parfaite.

Pour cette tâche, il vaudrait peut-être mieux avoir un livre de propositions simples. Quoi qu'il en soit, nos livres de lecture tels qu'ils sont ne remplissent pas leur but.

Si les élèves sont des commençants, on leur met entre les mains un 'Elementary Reader'; s'ils ont quelques connaissances de la langue, on leur donne des 'Advanced Readers.'

Or, au point de vue de la prononciation cette différence de livres est absolument illusoire car, que la texte soit facile ou difficile à traduire, les uns ou les autres présentent toutes et les mêmes difficultés de la prononciation.

An lieu de présenter toutes les difficultés à la fois et afin que l'élève puisse mieux les vaincre, il faut les amener graduellement. Prenant encore la langue mère pour grande base, l'on voit, en la comparant, disons, avec le français, qu'une partie du travail est fait. En effet, il n'est besoin de s'occuper des consonnes simples, leur valeur étant la même dans les deux langues à l'exception de très peu de difficultés. On peut en dire autant des consonnes doubles. Il reste donc 1° les voyelles pures, 2° les sons représentés par une combinaison de voyelles, 3° les sons nasaux et 4° les sons figurés par

certaines combinaisons de consonnes entre elles ou avec des voyelles et qui semblent plus particulièrement donner du mal selon la nationalité de celui qui apprend.

D'après l'expérience la chose est faisable. Un livre composé de propositions simples où entreraient et, par degrés, ces divisions de la prononciation, est à faire. Sans comprendre les exercices de répétition, il compterait environ trente-cinq leçons de lecture pour vaincre les difficultés une à une.

Les enfants, il est vrai, apprennent sans ordre aucun les différents sons des mots de la langue mère. Oui; mais parce qu'il y a une imitation et une répétition de tous les instants qu'on ne peut espérer remplacer que par quelque système analogue à celui que je viens de donner, mais qui doit être assurément différent de celui que l'on emploie généralement.

Une fois la prononciation de ces propositions bien acquise et les mots qui les composent sus par cœur, alors seulement commencera-t-on le thème avec des propositions non plus simples mais complexes, faites à haute voix plutôt que par écrit, pour exercer encore la prononciation et pour ainsi tenir l'élève mieux en haleine.

Dans ce but il n'y aurait, ce me semble, aucune objection à donner un autre livre, cette fois, de propositions complexes dans la langue mère, lesquelles propositions seraient traduites en présence du maître, l'élève se servant des connaissances déjà acquises par le travail précédent. Ce serait donc une continuation ou plutôt une progression. Il va sans dire que ce second livre contiendrait les mots que nécessite l'extension du premier travail.

Par ce moyen et par les variétés que trouve l'initiative d'un bon maître, il devient facile non seulement de faire émettre encore une fois les sons mais aussi de faire donner l'intonation. Et tant qu'il y aura hésitation, on fera répéter.

Jusque là il y aurait d'acquis un certain vocabulaire bien prononcé consistant à présent de substantifs, de verbes, d'attributs et de mots qui déterminent et le verbe et l'attribut.

Il reste alors une dernière extension : l'arrangement des propositions coordonnées et l'examen de leur différence avec celles de la langue mère.

La traduction de la langue mère dans une langue étrangère — ce n'est que plus tard que l'on devrait faire de la composition, c'est-à-dire des dissertations — est, quand on est passé par les degrés qui y amènent, le grand moyen.

Malheureusement, dans l'enseignement des langues modernes on a négligé cet exercice et ceux qui disent que c'est 'faire de la mosaïque' n'ont pas compris toute sa valeur.

C'est alors que la grammaire, plutôt la syntaxe, devient, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi, ouvertement permise. On a dès ce moment ses coudées franches et il est difficile de concevoir de leçons plus intéressantes, plus profitables que n'offre un pareil travail et pour le maître et pour l'élève, mais il faut s'y prendre d'une certaine façon.

Il ne faut pas avoir peur d'un texte, disons, anglais. Tant mieux s'il devient très anglais, plus les progrès se font sentir. Il sera d'autant plus utile qu'il servira à démontrer que la pensée d'une langue à l'autre peut prendre différentes tournures pour arriver à la même conclusion.

Donnés des textes choisis qui permettent une marche progressive, les élèves traduiront de vive voix, tirant des connaissances déjà acquises tout ce qu'il leur est possible. Si ce qu'ils disent tout haut a l'approbation du maître, ils le coucheront aussitôt sur papier afin qu'ils en retiennent l'orthographe et qu'ils l'aient plus longtemps sous les yeux. Au contraire, aussitôt que les élèves feront une faute, suivront au tableau les explications, les raisons, le pourquoi on a failli et, la correction faite, ils l'écriront comme ils ont fait pour ce qui a été approuvé et ainsi de suite jusqu'à la fin du thème.

Quant au vocabulaire, il ne sera pas assez étendu pour pouvoir se passer de quelque auxiliaire mais c'est le maître qui doit être cet auxiliaire et non le dictionnaire.

Dans un cahier spécial, qu'on pourrait appeler le 'cahier d'ignorance,' chaque élève y inscrira tout mot, toute règle, toute explication qu'il a pu demander pour les apprendre comme devoir.

De cette façon il se fait un vocabulaire à lui, de tout ce que lui particulièrement ne savait pas.

Ce vocabulaire aura aussi ce grand avantage pour la mémoire que le mot a frappé l'oreille, a été vu apparenté, associé à d'autres mots, enfin que c'est là le mot juste. Aussi le thème ne devrait-il pas être donné comme devoir en l'absence du maître ou alors on fera de la 'mosaïque.'

Comme devoir on demandera des compositions, des dissertations que l'élève devra tant bien que mal tirer de ses propres connaissances sur des sujets donnés et, bien entendu, à sa portée.

On a trop attaché d'importance à la traduction de la langue étrangère dans la langue mère.

Certainement ce travail exerce la mémoire des mots mais n'a guère d'autre avantage pour les jeunes, du moins en français. Il faut une attention trop soutenue, de plus grandes connaissances que n'ont la plupart des élèves pour pouvoir apprécier et vouloir chercher à retenir les nuances d'un texte en langue étrangère. C'est un travail d'étudiant et non d'écolier. Enfin, plus une classe entendra et fera entendre la langue qu'elle cherche à connaître, plus les progrès se feront sentir, et c'est, je crois, sur le thème de vive voix que nous devons baser toute méthode.

VICTOR E. KASTNER (Junn.).

REVIEW.

Elementary Phonetics, English, French, German: Their Theory and Practical Application in the Classroom. W. SCHOLLE, Ph.D., and G. SMITH, M.A.

THIS book is one of a class which continues to pour from the press on all subjects in great abundance, and which, if he were alive at the present day, would certainly not cause 'the weary King Ecclesiast' to retract the world-famous sigh so often echoed by all those whose profession forces

them to read books. The pity of it! One would have been delighted to welcome a new book on Phonetics, were it only as a sign that interest for this too often sadly neglected subject is gradually spreading. But in the case of the book before us even moderate expectations will be frequently disappointed.

To begin with, the general plan of the book is confusing for the ordinary reader. It seems to address itself in the main to the teacher, but much is treated in such an elementary manner that it appears rather to be aimed at the pupil. Directions for

teaching and descriptions of sounds are hence mixed up in a way which occasions rather more 'repetition of certain facts and observations' (Preface, p. vi.) than is likely to be agreeable to the more mature student. In other words, the book has a double aim: it claims not only to teach phonetics, but also to teach how phonetics are to be taught. Herein lies the fundamental mistake of the whole. It would undoubtedly have been better (and more interesting) if the authors had set themselves to produce either an elementary primer for schools, or a book in which they laid down the results of their own experience as teachers; either one or the other by itself, but, in the name of all that is scientific, *not* these two things united. How the mistake arose we can easily perceive. The Preface contains, after some pertinent, if not altogether novel, remarks on the necessity for Phonetics in the teaching of modern languages, a rather elaborate apology to the teacher who 'has a shot' at a subject and gives it up because he finds it more difficult than he bargained for. Text-books (p. xii.) are condemned for being 'as a rule' too elaborate and aiming too high, so that 'they confuse and discourage the beginner by too much detail, especially in the description of the different parts of the larynx and their functions.' Now against this it may be claimed, that, if the teacher really exists who likes to have a shot at a subject, who would find, say, Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics* (or any one of various other elementary books) too elaborate and too high in its aims to be mastered by him, such a one is either a duffer or an ass, and the best thing one can do is to leave him to himself. It is certainly not worth while to write books for his encouragement. He will surely never be an ornament of his profession, and is not likely under any circumstances to learn enough about phonetics to be able to teach phonetical principles in a persuasive manner.

I pass over now to a few remarks on various matters of detail. The arrangement of the scientific material which we find here excites criticism in many respects. It has up to the present been customary for the authors of books on phonetics to begin with certain fundamental principles. To take the example of one of the most famous authorities already referred to: Sweet begins his *Primer* with a definition of Phonetics as a science, which also gives an opportunity for impressing on the learner the attitude he must adopt towards this science. He begins his analysis with the

statement that the 'foundation of speech is breath expelled by the lungs.' This may be sufficiently evident in itself, but is at the same time the starting-point for a scientific classification and description of speech-sounds. All scientific writers begin in this or a similar manner. It is therefore not plain why the writers of the book under consideration have thought fit to break with tradition and start at once, without the slightest introductory remark, with 'the upper part of the windpipe.' In practical school teaching, of course, a more or less empiric method may or may not be necessary, but I imagine that nothing is gained by plunging even children straightway into a description of the speech organs, without first making clear to them why that description is necessary, which can, of course, be done only by starting from first principles. What would be thought of a book on chemistry which began with a description of the experiment by which oxygen is prepared from mercuric oxide? Even admitting that such a proceeding is practically useful in the classroom, where teachers can add or prefix the necessary comments and explanations, even admitting so much, there is no doubt that, when a book is put into the hands of the learner, that book should be a clear exposition not only of principles, but also of scientific arrangement. It is just this last feature which is sadly lacking in the *Elementary Phonetics*. 'Articulation' is not defined until the 22nd paragraph, and then only in a footnote! The authors may be termed helpless in this respect, as is instanced by the following. On p. 14 we meet a section headed General Remarks, which includes paragraphs on Lip Articulation, Activity of the lower jaw, Relation between quantity and quality of a vowel, etc. On p. 26 we are again confronted with General Remarks (still under the main division: Vowels—English). Here in three subdivisions (of § 52) we are told of (a) vowel-lengthening, (b) importance to the student of being able to produce vowels by themselves, and (c) the usefulness of practice in lip-rounding. Such a scheme of arrangement is bad enough, but one is further compelled to ask why § 52 (a), lengthening of vowels before voiced consonants, should be separated by ten pages from § 28, shortening of vowels before voiceless consonants? Should these two phenomena not stand side by side under one heading—Quantity? Most phoneticians would demand that before describing the speech-sounds of any

language it should be made clear what is meant by the basis of articulation. Nothing is said, however, about the basis of articulation till quite near the end of the book, long after the sounds of English, German, and French have been described in detail. The definition given there on p. 138 is not in the words of the authors (a fact which is characteristic of their attitude of mind), but in a series of paragraphs copied word for word, albeit with acknowledgment, from Sweet's *Primer*. One would have thought that the copying might easily have been done with accuracy, but this is not the case [e.g. *eliminate* instead of *eliminates*, *lips are articulated* instead of *articulate*]. Apparently the basis of articulation was an afterthought, and the authors had not time to elaborate an independent description of it.

Preface, p. x. The authors insist here and elsewhere (§ 187) upon the pronunciation of German on-sounding vowels with the glottal stop, the directions they give in this respect seeming to be based on Viëtor, *Elemente*, § 33. It may be as well, however, to point out that the German authorities are divided on the question of the use of the glottal stop. Sievers (*Grundzüge*⁴, § 358, see also *Pauls Grundriss*, I.², S. 299) gives it as usual only in the case of 'stark betonte Vocale im freien Anlaut,' and says that it vanishes 'im Satzinnern.' This certainly agrees with my own observations, which have impressed on me the fact that one very seldom indeed hears a word like *Verein* pronounced with the glottal stop, in spite of the testimony of Professor Viëtor. Whether, however, Sievers or Viëtor be right is not what I wish to debate here. I only ask, is it worth while to trouble English pupils with the glottal stop, except in the one comparatively rare case mentioned by Sievers? It would certainly be simpler and more easy to teach a school-boy to pronounce *Verein* as Sievers does rather than in the way claimed by Viëtor.

P. 11, § 14. 'Instead of narrow and wide the terms close and open are often used.' (About this quite unscientific use of the terms, see Sievers, *Pauls Grundriss*, I.², 296.) 'Sweet uses the terms high and low.' Of course he does—but not at all in this connection! Have the authors really read their Sweet? One is inclined, in spite of the copying referred to above, to doubt it after this.

P. 25, § 48. It is certainly wrong to class *direct* along with *balloon* as an example for *æ*. In educated English pronunciation,

unstressed short *i* may be more or less reduced, but it never becomes *æ*, the latter sound in such cases being in fact characteristic not of English but of Irish pronunciation.

P. 42, § 84. So far as I know, most authorities are now agreed that the ordinary German long *ü* has the tongue position not of *ɪ*, but of the long narrow *e*, while *ö* has the tongue position of the narrow English vowel which forms the first part of the diphthong *ea*. Even Viëtor admits that the 'artikulirende Hebung . . . etwas tiefer steht' (see *Elemente*, § 59). In addition to this, these vowels are over-rounded (cf. Sweet, *Primer*, p. 17), that is, have, according to Viëtor, an 'abnormally strong labialisation' (l.c. Note 2). These facts ought certainly to be alluded to even in an elementary book like the present.

P. 43, § 86. It is incorrect to say that a 'pouting of the lips' is *essential* to the learning of the *y* and *ø* sounds in German. A large number of Germans round these vowels energetically without pouting (cf. with this, Sievers, *Grundzüge*, in regard to *Rundung* and *Vorstülpung*, and also § 254). This being so, there can be little gained by teaching to English children the pouting rather than the other species of rounding, which is more in accordance with their normal habits.

P. 44, § 88. It is undoubtedly correct to warn against pronouncing a glide *ə* between vowels and *r* in German, in such examples as *dir*. Apart from this, however, the use of 'off-glide' here is unscientific, as the word has a special (not this) sense in phonetics. *Übergangslaute* are not unknown in German (cf. *Feuer, Mauer*), and that language is just as rich in off-glides in the proper sense (*Lautabsätze*, Sievers) as most modern tongues.

P. 70, § 138. German *j* is certainly not the same as English *y* in the pronunciation of most Germans; cf. Viëtor, *Elemente*, §§ 79 and 80. It is furthermore wrong to class *he* and *hue* together as is done here. *Çij* for *he* is certainly only 'sometimes' heard, but all people who pronounce normally say *çjuw* for *hue*.

P. 71, § 141 (b). It is necessary to protest energetically against the idea that the 'only difference' between English *b* and *p* is one of the presence or absence of voice. Can they not be distinguished from each other when we whisper? Or is there no difference between South German *b* and *p*, both being voiceless? From their remarks in §§ 191 and 211 the authors seem to have

felt that there is indeed a difference, but they have nowhere clearly expressed what it is.

P. 102, § 189. It is certainly an inconsequence that having laid so much stress on the necessity for pronouncing the glottal stop (see above), the authors should content themselves in regard to the German *l* with the following simple directions: 'The German *l*, though it has slight vibration of the sides (or of one side) of the tongue, may, for our purpose, be regarded as practically the same as the English *l*.' The glottal stop is a comparatively unimportant matter for the beginner, but I think most people will agree that the difference between the German and the English *l* is a very important one indeed. The deep-sounding guttural English *l* is a quite foreign sound to German ears, so far as my experience goes. A reference, however, to Sweet's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch*, p. 12, is quite sufficient to dispose of the idea that the two *l* sounds may be 'regarded as practically the same'—no matter for what purpose it be claimed.

What is meant by the 'slight vibration of the sides of the tongue' referred to above? Does this mean that German *l* is a sort of lateral *r*? That is certainly not the description usually given of it!

P. 109, § 207. The contrast here set up between vowels and consonants is superficial. Any one who whispers the vowels will easily be persuaded that the character-

istic difference between the articulation of vowels and open consonants (apart from the presence or absence of voice) is not one of kind but of degree. What is the difference between whispered *i* and consonant *y* in *you*? It will be sufficient here, however, to refer to Bremer, who, in his *Deutsche Phonetik*, § 66, well brings out the gradual transition that exists between consonants and vowels. The wording of this § 207 is absurdly self-contradictory. If a vowel is voice which passes 'unimpeded through the oral cavity, and between the lips,' how can it be 'thereby modified in different ways'?

In conclusion, there is one disagreeable feature of this book which cannot be passed over. This is the frequent occurrence of the 'split infinitive,' an irregularity in modern English which ought surely to be left as the untouched and unenvied property of the careless journalism that brought it into existence. In a book intended for school use this offence against the tradition of literary usage ought most certainly to be avoided with the utmost fastidiousness. One or two other slips are perhaps owing to the fact that the book has evidently been partly written by a German, but there is a rather bad mistake on p. 156, the existence of which I only mention as the authors have probably regretted it themselves by this time.

R. A. WILLIAMS.

FROM HERE AND THERE.

Two excellent lectures have been delivered this session under the auspices of The Modern Language Association. We regret to say that Dr. Reich's stimulating address cannot appear in the *Quarterly*; but Sir Hubert Jerningham's lecture on Dumas père will appear in our next number.

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We are also compelled to hold over a valuable article by Mr. Arthur Powell, of Brussels, in which he discusses the question how English should be taught to foreigners.

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Those who take interest in the matter will learn with pleasure of the establishment in London of a Holiday Course for Foreigners, in which the University of

London and the Teachers' Guild are co-operating. Among the lecturers we notice the names of Mr. Storr, Dr. Heath, Mr. Graham Wallas, Professor Hall Griffin, Dr. R. D. Roberts, Dr. E. R. Edwards, Mr. B. MacDonald, and Professor Walter Rippmann, who has been appointed Director of the Course.

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The Inaugural Address will be delivered by Sir Arthur Rücker on the 18th July. Further particulars can be obtained on application to the Director of the Holiday Course for Foreigners, University of London, South Kensington, S.W.

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At the Conference of Teachers held under

the auspices of the Technical Education Board on January 7th, 8th, and 9th, the whole of the second day was given to modern languages, our Association having assumed the responsibility of providing lecturers. At the morning session the Hon. W. N. Bruce was in the chair, and papers were read by Dr. E. R. Edwards on *The Application of Phonetics to Language Teaching*, and by Mr. F. B. Kirkman on *The Method of Using a French Reader*. In the afternoon the chair was taken by Dr. Heath, owing to the unavoidable absence of Sir Arthur Rücker, and Mr. G. G. Coulton contributed a paper on *Grammar Teaching in Modern Languages*, and Professor Rippmann an address on *Modern Language Examinations*.

The papers and the discussions are given in full in *The London Technical Education Gazette* for January and February 1904 (2d., by post 4½d.). The attendance was very good, and the audience most appreciative.

As we go to press, a number of our members are setting out for Paris, where a most attractive programme has been prepared. We regret to learn that Professor Sadler, our President, is unable to go; but Mr. Storr and Dr. Heath, not to mention several of the hard-worked members of the Executive Committee, will be there as spokesmen of the Association.

It gives us pleasure to record that Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, is once again to the fore in encouraging the study of modern languages. We learn that the governing body of Gonville and Caius College has determined as an experiment to establish for two years a 'Lectorship' in French. The Lector will be a graduate of a French university, selected with the help and sanction of the French Minister of Education. He will come into residence at the college in October next, and will be admitted on the status of an 'advanced student,' and will be expected to prosecute some special branch of study or research. As Lector he will give lectures on any subject he may choose in his own language, and will conduct at least two carefully-

planned conversation classes in French. Both lectures and classes will be open to the whole university.

Dr. Breul informs us that there are 42 candidates (18 men and 24 women) for the forthcoming Tripos, and that a large percentage of them will also take the examination in spoken French and spoken German. This is a much more serious test than the optional examination which used to be attached to the Tripos; it is open to any students who have passed the Tripos or the Modern Language Special.

M. Baron, Professor at the College of St. Servan, and a member of the Association, announced at the General Meeting that the Holiday Courses for Foreigners, which had been inaugurated at St. Servan in August 1903, under the patronage of the Alliance Française and of the University of Rennes, would be continued in 1904.

The Courses are under the direction of

M. Fettu, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Rennes.

M. Gohin, Professeur agrégé au Lycée de Rennes.

N.B.—All correspondence should be addressed to M. Gohin, Professeur au Lycée de Rennes.

References in England:—

J. H. Haydon, Esq., M.A., Headmaster, Tettenhall College, near Wolverhampton.

A. W. Street, Esq., B.A., Second Master, The Grammar School, Wantage.

R. H. Allpress, Esq., M.A., City of London School, Victoria Embankment, E.C.

[The London and South-Western Railway Company will issue return tickets available for one month, from Southampton to St. Malo, during the month of August, at the reduced price of £1 (second class), on production of the card of admission to the Courses.]

THE SCHOLARS' INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE.

MODERN language teachers having expressed their desire for a list of those teachers who find the international exchange of letters helpful to their pupils, we propose to publish such a list twice a year. For the information of those who have not yet tried the plan, it is perhaps well to give some of the approved rules.

1. The exchange of letters is always and everywhere under the supervision of the foreign language teacher. All foreign letters and other postal communications are under his control, and the school address only should be given.

2. If by mischance a scholar receives two letters, the teacher is asked to arrange that some other suitable scholar respond, and he or she is always free to rearrange, if, for example, one pupil appears to be more suitable as regards position in class and socially than another.

3. The rule is that the scholar should write alternately in his own and the foreign language, but the first letter should always be in his own tongue and written with great care, as a satisfactory development depends largely upon the first impression received.

The letters should be exchanged regularly; twice a month is usual.

4. As the letters in the mother tongue are intended as models for the partner, they must be written with care and must be grammatically correct. The scholar should endeavour to find something of interest to tell his friend. Questions should be asked and answered, and a helpful bond of union thus formed. Courtesy and sympathy are imperative.

5. The teacher or parent is asked to help in finding materials for letters. In some cases teachers have planned a series of letters, and have written suggestions each month on the blackboard. Political and religious topics are undesirable.

6. The faulty English of the foreign writer must be carefully corrected by the partner, and the foreign pupil will also correct his correspondent's mistakes. For this a wide margin should be left in letter.

7. The letters should be plainly and fully addressed, and the address of the foreign correspondent retained. It is not so customary abroad, as with us, to head the letter always with the address.

8. If a scholar no longer desires to exchange letters, he should at once send word to his or her correspondent.

It has been suggested that teachers will not care to make inquiry for every individual pupil, and will prefer to exchange batches of letters with one school alone. This would be fatal to the best interests of the scheme; the variety given, and the geographical knowledge ensured by the

rule of one boy, one place, being invaluable.

Supposing a teacher has ten pupils needing correspondents. He should send out five reply postcards, one to each of the schools which he chooses, asking the teacher of it whether he or she has a boy (or a girl) willing to correspond with one of his pupils, giving ages within prescribed limits, say, from thirteen to sixteen, or fifteen to eighteen, for instance, and asking about social position and ability in languages. On receipt of replies, he will be able to pair some of his ten at least. He can then send out other reply cards to other teachers, and fill up the remaining vacancies.

If a teacher has sixty or a hundred to arrange for at one time, this would be too great a tax. In such case, if a list be sent to Miss Lawrence, *Review of Reviews*, 14 Norfolk Street, Strand, she will arrange as hitherto, leaving teachers to bear part of the costs as they will.

No fee has been asked except when adults desired correspondents, when 1s. was required towards cost of search. But with an international list, Modern Language teachers would have no difficulty in finding a correspondent should they themselves desire one.

Miss Lawrence, believing that Modern Language professors would prefer to act without intermediary, has compiled this list, but she is as ready as heretofore to arrange when teachers desire, and to answer all inquiries, and she earnestly hopes that they will tell her how the plan works and give their opinion.

LIST OF FOREIGN TEACHERS WHO APPROVE
OF THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS.

FRENCH.

Professors in Boys' Schools.

- M. Andréü, Collège de St. Pol, Pas de Calais.
- M. Bally, École Primaire supérieure, Grenoble, Isère.
- M. Bastide, Lycée de Beauvais, Oise.
- M. Bazennerie, Collège de Coulommiers, Seine-et-Marne.
- M. Beltette, Lycée de Tourcoing, Nord.

M. Benard, École Normale d'Instituteurs, Douai, Nord.
 M. Berland, Collège d'Uzès, Gard.
 M. Binet, Collège de Condé-sur-l'Escaut, Nord.
 M. Bié, Collège de Mazamet, Tarn.
 M. Blancheton, Collège de St. Nazaire, Loire Inférieure.
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ALEXANDRE DUMAS.¹

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I must crave your indulgence at the outset for my presumption on the choice of the subject. When invited by the Committee of our Modern Language Association to read a paper on Dumas, I asked to be permitted to speak of the elder rather than the younger Alexandre, not because I do not admire the polished style of the author of so many works that brought him to the coveted honour of becoming a member of the French Académie, but because I have never considered him the born genius which his father undoubtedly was, and hence the interesting personality which that character constituted.

It seemed to me also that we English-speaking people, seeking as we always do for originality and colour, for warmth and strength, must necessarily more sympathise with Alexandre Dumas *père*, whose fiery imagination, probably without its equal, was like a rainbow in the literary firmament, displaying at one and the same moment every colour of the prism—than with his gifted son, whose dissecting psychology and somewhat maudlin philosophy have not given us the same hours of recreation, pleasure, and amusement.

To our British taste *Les Idées de Madame Aubray* and *L’Affaire Clémenceau* would never produce the exhilarating sensations of *Les Mousquetaires*, *La Reine Margot*, or even *La Dame de Monsoreau*.

Be this, however, as it may, I thought it might be acceptable to this audience if once again we examined the burly, rough, sparkling, old diamond that caused such a stir in his day, with a view of appreciating the secret of that power which he possessed instinctively, and which is at once the key to his success as well as to his manifold irregularities, not to use any stronger term. It may be we shall also find it to be the natural explanation of the unblushing manner in which he undoubtedly and admittedly appropriated whole scenes from the works of others whenever he thought his own inward sun could not shed upon his literary efforts all that lustre on which he relied for success.

I am conscious of the difficulty there is in saying anything new about the subject of our lecture. No less than one hundred known volumes and twenty journalistic

¹ An address delivered by Sir Hubert Jerningham, K.C.M.G., at a meeting of the Modern Language Association held on December 12, 1903.

appreciations in French and I know not how many in English have been separately printed dealing with Dumas as a man, as a novelist, and as a dramatist: and not satisfied with this bulk of information, a hundred-and-first volume was issued last year from an English pen which, I believe, for I only saw it casually a few days ago, is a *résumé* of the vast library on Dumas which, out of admiration for his subject, Mr. Davidson has considered it necessary to compile.

But, apparently, even this effort has not satisfied the author, credible as it appears to be, for he startles the reader at the outset by using somewhat strong language. 'None but a simpleton or an impostor,' says this latest biographer, 'would think to measure the length and breadth of Alexandre Dumas within the compass of one moderate volume.' To say the least this is disheartening, for if the epithets simpleton or impostor do really apply to whomsoever attempts a single volume without distinctly laying down limits, what epithets will be launched at the head of the unfortunate lecturer who tries to measure the length and breadth of Alexandre Dumas in a short paper and on the sole ground of gratitude for past enjoyments.

You may, however, remember those beautiful lines of Lamartine, I think, which truly say:

'Du besoin du passé notre âme est poursuivie,
Et sur les pas du temps l'homme aime à
revenir.
Il faut au jour présent de la plus belle vie,
L'espérance et le souvenir.'

I knew Dumas well personally, I knew his length and his breadth too; and my hope is that my few words will only be taken as a humble tribute to him of a very pleasing remembrance.

It is now thirty-three years since Dumas died, and there seems to be a tendency to forget or to ignore the influence which he unquestionably exercised in the dramas and plays which in France constitute so important a branch of national literature, or upon his literary contemporaries by the revelation of his disturbing vitality.

Even the best of the present day critics do not altogether appear willing to treat him fairly, possibly forgetting themselves that remark of Boileau, 'la critique est aisée et l'art est difficile'; and it is from this point of view of regret to note the tendency that I venture to speak of the man and of his work.

I was mostly lead to this by reading two books published, the one so late as last

year, the other in 1898 by M. Parigot and by M. Filon.

Thus M. Parigot, whose authority is great, for he was selected to write about Dumas in the great series of *Les grands écrivains Français*, writes in 1902: 'Dumas est inséparable de son temps. Plus tôt il eut été pris au tragique: plus tard il n'était plus pris au sérieux'; and M. Augustin Filon, whom we all know to be an eminent critic of histrionic art, as he resides amongst us and has given us one of the best, if not the very best, criticism of our own stage, deliberately declares that—'de 1825 à 1845 le Romantisme qui donne à la France une poésie, s'essaima en vain de lui donner un théâtre.'

These statements are staggering, for if they be at all correct and accepted, they mean that as Alexandre Dumas lived from 1802 to 1870, he neither could hold a place among the literary men of the last half of the eighteenth century, still less in the latter half of the nineteenth; and further, that his own efforts in his lifetime were fruitless. Surely such sweeping statements are rather too sweeping, and placed in conjunction, lead to a *reductio ad absurdum*, which reminds one of a celebrated pamphlet once written to prove that Napoleon was a myth.

The man to whom Lamartine wrote:

'You ask me for my opinion. I have opinions on things which are human but none on miracles.'

And Victor Hugo:

'Vous nous restaurez Voltaire.'

And Heine:

'Next to Cervantes and Shcherazade you are the most delightful *raconteur* I know.'

And the less poetical Michelet:

'Je vous aime et vous admire parceque vous êtes une des forces de la nature.'

And finally, Hugo, writing to console the son on the death of his father:

'Cet esprit était capable de tous les miracles.'

The man who did what Corneille, Voltaire, Diderot, Beaumarchais wanted to achieve and could not: what Delavigne vainly tried and others equally vainly attempted, viz. to liberate the stage from conventionalism and make the actors living beings, in contact with their hearers by means of simple words to express simple emotions: the man, in fact, who created in conservative literary France a drama of a new kind in which less heed is paid to

traditional methods than to dramatic effect, and which aims at emotional results rather than an intellectual repast, thus collecting, in one grand unity, public and actors, is scarcely the play-writer who can be said to have 'essayé en vain de donner un théâtre à la France,' or to remain unplaced among the great writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century who honoured their country by their talents. If it be borne in mind that the drama of *Henry III. et sa Cour* which caused the first stir was also the first serious effort of the scarcely educated 'demi nègre de 26 ans employé à 1500 francs,' the allusions to miraculous performances by both Lamartine and by Hugo are not so exaggerated as they sound.

Dumas' creative power deserves more recognition than the critics are ready to allow: his works merit more praise than the present age appear willing to bestow. He wrote as he spoke, impetuously, torrentially, and he had no time to follow Boileau's advice:

'Vingt fois sur le métier remettez votre ouvrage,
Polissez le sans cesse et le repolissez.'

Nor indeed would he have done so had he had the leisure. But he gained by force, clearness, and brilliancy from the world at large what he lost in appreciation by the lovers of correct art in writing; and yet though 'l'art d'écrire n'existait pas pour lui,' as M. Parigot mentions, still Nizard, no bad judge, thought proper to compare him with Balzac: 'Observateur moins profond que Balzac Alex. Dumas conte avec plus de vivacité: dialogue avec plus de verve et de naturel: écrit dans une meilleure langue.'

But elegant phraseology was not his aim. To create, to give life, to transfer to his pages the impetuosity of his own temperament and then to delight in the sensations he caused, was his ambition.

As M. Parigot more justly remarks: 'Pendant 40 années il crée, il anime; milieux époques et individus pour le plus grand plaisir de ses contemporains. Il n'est ni un penseur ni un idéologue et de méditer il n'eut jamais le loisir. Sa fonction est d'imaginer. Toute son existence, toutes ses œuvres, il les a livrées en proie à son imagination, et à ce don de répandre la vie, de là vient qu'il lui arrive de se confondre avec ses héros.'

He might have added that this was the gift that poets like Hugo, Lamartine, and Heine envied him, and because of which Michelet called him 'une force de la nature.'

If man in his early development is much influenced whether morally, physically, or intellectually by his immediate surroundings, we shall understand Dumas better and certainly take him *au sérieux* if we bear in mind that at Villers-Cotterets, where he was born, he never had a chance of intellectual development; very little opportunity of moral or religious teaching in his fathers' republican household; and was brought up to consider athletic feats as the acme of complete and perfect manhood.

It is this all-absorbing and early admiration of physical strength which first fired his love for startling scenes and whetted his appetite for thrilling situations, and it was his boyish admiration for an herculean father that gave birth to that hero-worship which never left him, and which later was to create a Porthos, whose prototype was no other than that same father as Dumas again saw him in fancy as the gay, gallant, and powerful dragon of the days of his infancy.

This conception of manly greatness in the possession of physical strength only harnessed to an imagination ever in search of stirring episodes to satisfy its cravings, was bound in the first place to make him an ardent reader, and in the next to seek in the books he devoured not for amusement but for a purpose, those powerful scenes which, when found, were at once transplanted from their foreign soil to French soil, peopled by him with French actors, and lightened by him with native wit.

It is this early power of adaptation which jealous rivals fastened on him to denounce him as a plagiarist.

Granier de Cassagnac in 1833 and de Mirecourt in 1845 attacked him in the press and in an ungenerous pamphlet, which at the present day is not agreeable reading.

But was he a plagiarist? He himself styled himself an 'arrangeur.' Is the man who gives a new turn to an idea, a new tone to a picture, a new use to an invention, necessarily a plagiarist? It is more a question of detail than of fact, and perhaps more for a judge to decide in court than for me to judge in Queen's College. But I think all will agree that he was more than an 'arrangeur,' for he was the artist who, by a touch of his pencil, can imprint on a composition the mark of individuality, and can borrow from his recognised masters situations of thrilling pathos to which he thinks he can add a note of pain or pleasure

or intensity, as he did in the great drama of *Antony*.

Dumas himself admitted that to Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Walter Scott, and the old chroniclers of France he owed the best of his dramatic work. But would Goethe who wrote *Egmont* have accused him of plagiarism, because of Christine; or Schiller, because of Henry III.; or Walter Scott, because of Richard Darlington? Or did they do so?

He wrote 67 plays in all and acknowledged 18 as written by himself only. Two, *L'Intrigue et L'Amour* and *L'Honneur est satisfait*, are translations from Schiller: all the rest, viz. 47, were written in conjunction with others, of whom the principal 'collaborateur' was Auguste Maquet, but few of them complained of their work being attributed to or claimed by Dumas alone, because they well knew that without his peculiarly forcible touch—that touch which gave to all writings a magnetic life, which enraptured audiences and charmed the reader—their individual efforts would have fallen on dull ears and on blind eyes.

Dumas wrote: 'Ce sont les hommes et non pas l'homme qui inventent. Chacun arrive à son tour et à son heure, s'empare des choses connues de ses pères, les met en œuvre par des combinaisons nouvelles, puis meurt. C'est ce qui faisait dire à Shakespeare lorsqu'un critique stupide l'accusait d'avoir pris parfois une scène toute entière dans quelque auteur contemporain: "C'est un être que j'ai tiré de la mauvaise société pour le faire entrer dans la bonne" et à Molière "je prends mon bien où je le trouve." Et Shakespeare et Molière avaient raison, car l'homme de génie ne vole pas, il conquiert.'

I would not for a moment let it be thought that I sympathise with the doctrine these lines lay down, but I would point out that in a man who fought his way to Paris with no money in his pocket and only a gun on his shoulder for the purpose of subsisting on any game he could poach on the way, it was but natural that he should rejoice in claiming the shelter and protection afforded by geniuses like Shakespeare and Molière, with whom he so naively and conceitedly identified himself.

But there is this much to be said in his behalf, that if he took from classic authors what best suited his purpose and cast all these into a new mould, the result was that out of the genius of Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, and Walter Scott there arose an eminently French product to the full as genuine as out of the wholesale emigration

of German, French, and Italian into the United States there comes out a wholly new individual—the genuine American.

And, after all, what was he himself but an exotic product of human vagaries. Let us consider his origin.

Antoine Alexandre Davy, Marquis de la Pailleterie, Dumas' grandfather, was a nobleman of the old school. Somehow or other without much reputation or fixed principles, he went to San Domingo, where he lived a few years, and married a negress of the name of Marie Cossette Dumas. A son was born to them of whom it is said by Dumas in his Memoirs with much pride:

'C'était un colosse au teint bruni, aux yeux marrons et veloutés, avec les dents blanches, les lèvres épaisses et souriantes; le cou solidement attaché sur de puissantes épaules, et malgré sa taille de cinq pieds neuf poudces une main et un pied de femme.

'Sa force était proverbiale. Junot en était jaloux, ainsi que des merveilles qu'il accomplissait avec le fusil ou le pistolet, et quand, s'accrochant à une poutre il enlevait son cheval entre ses jambes.'

As we read these remarks in the Memoirs written fifty years after the death of his father, it is impossible not to be struck by the kind of religious enthusiasm with which he recalls these acrobatic feats, glories in their performance; and exalts them into heroic deeds; indeed there is scarcely a single work of Dumas in which he does not in some way bring in the physical powers of his father, and so much did he prize physical strength that he once exclaimed, 'La force poussée à un certain point est presque de la divinité.'

But to return to the father, who was the first to drop the name of Davy de la Pailleterie.

Being anxious to enlist in the army he consulted the old marquis, who cared not what he did, provided his son did not carry his fine name into the ranks.

'If that be so,' said the son, 'I will take the name of my mother and drop yours.'

'Very well,' said the marquis, and they parted, never to meet again.

The recruit, as *le dragon Dumas*, became a general in the republican army of France, earned the nickname of the 'black devil,' and having quarrelled with Bonaparte, settled at Villers-Cotterets in 1792, where he married Marie Louise Labouret, the daughter of an innkeeper.

Ten years later, in 1802, the 'infant Hercules,' our present hero, was born.

His sire a 'black devil,' his grandsire a

marquis, his mother an innkeeper's daughter, his grandmother a San Domingo negress, he himself at his birth, as we are told, 'weighing nine pounds, measuring 18 inches, and displaying in his features unmistakable trace of his mongrel blood.'

Four years later the general died, and the child being told that *le bon Dieu au ciel* had taken away the father he so idolised, had a first inspiration.

Stealing one of his father's pistols from the room in which the body lay, he ascended to the top of the house (because it was nearer heaven than below), for the purpose of shooting at *le bon Dieu* because he had taken his father from him.

In 1816 the mother, who was extremely poor and had been unable to obtain any relief from Napoleon, who would never permit General Dumas' name to be mentioned, thought it would be a claim on the restored Bourbons if her son appealed to them under his real name and title. But the boy, who was then only fourteen, would listen to no such thing, and thus it came to pass that he remained Alexandre Dumas to the end of his life without once, even in the days of his greatest prosperity, evincing any desire to add social position to his fame by taking up a title which was, in fact, his birthright.

That was not his vanity. He had all the others, and could loftily dispense with one.

Every effort was made to give him some sort of education and to prepare him for a profession, but except reading and writing, which his sister taught him, and Latin, which he learnt from a village schoolmaster, he spent his boyhood in rambles through the woods and in poaching among his neighbours' preserves, ever fancying that he was emulating his father's deeds. He became a good rider, a good fencer, a good shot, and all these accomplishments served him well when his hour came and he had accurately to describe the pastimes of his heroes; but they were not remunerative. It was decided, however, that the boy must earn a living. His sister sang: why should he not sing? After two lessons it was acknowledged that nature had not made him a songster. Still he might be a musician. After three lessons the master, who was very poor himself, told the mother that he really could not stoop to rob her of her money. He had a good handwriting, so he was sent to Prévry to be apprenticed to a solicitor. Here he made the acquaintance of two men who between them exercised some sort of beneficial influence over him, and practically determined the bent which his future career was to take.

One was M. de Loewen, a Swede, whose father had been concerned in the murder of Gustavus III., and who having a turn for literature and some fortune, made journeys to Paris, and on his return excited the curiosity of his young, rough friend by bringing him translations of the latest productions of Goethe, Schiller, and Walter Scott, while opening out vistas of fame, success, and riches, if working together for the stage, they could bring their plays to be accepted.

No sooner imparted to him but Dumas insisted on carrying out the plan, and the result was that before he was twenty he and De Loewen, the future author of *Le Postillon de Longjumeau*, had written together *Le Major de Strasbourg: Le dîner d'amis*, and *Les Abencerrages*.

All this was rejected, and it struck the pair that the provinces were not suited to their plans. They must repair to Paris, where they were sure to be well received. No fear of failure entered their minds.

How could they entertain any such thing? De Loewen knew all the great actors of the day, and Dumas had read *Ivanhoe* with so much zest that he believed himself to be Walter Scott. He had also read *Egmont* of Goethe and some of Schiller's dramas, and fancied himself Schiller and Goethe combined in his single French brain. Had he not material enough in these three great writers' works to create a sensation when he came to put them on the stage of the *Français*, of the *Odéon*, of the *Ambigu*, in their new French dress and talk?

But all this meant work, and he remembered the advice of his other friend, De Ponce, an officer, who had taken a liking for him and had warned him that steady hard work was the *sine quâ non* of success. On the spot he resolved to work ten hours a day, and what is remarkable to relate is, that for forty years from that resolve he did work regularly ten hours a day despite his very erratic proceedings during the other fourteen hours of his day.

Perseverance generally wins in the end, and Dumas' Memoirs relate how quickly his conquest of Paris followed on his arrival there with his friend—only twenty-seven francs between them, a horse that they had alternately ridden on the way, and a bag of game shot as they came along.

That he had no means of subsistence was quite immaterial. His brain was sure to supply him with funds, but his mother could not come and live with him on his sole confidence in future success, and realising

this, he therefore called on General Foy for employment, when the following conversation took place.

'A quoi vous sentez-vous bon ?'

'Pas à grand-chose.'

'Savez-vous un peu de mathématiques ?'

'Non, général.'

'Avez-vous quelques notions d'algèbre ?'

'Non.'

'De droit ?'

'Non.'

'De comptabilité ?'

'Non.'

'Avez-vous de quoi vivre ?'

'Rien.'

Then moved by pity the general told him to write his address, and finding the handwriting good, kindly turned to the boy and said :

'Nous sommes sauvés. Vous avez une belle écriture. Vous entrerez comme surnuméraire au secrétariat du Duc d'Orléans.'

In a second the boy flew into the general's arms, embracing him wildly, and flinging these words at the astonished benefactor :

'Je vais vivre de mon écriture ; mais je vous promets qu'un jour je vivrai de ma plume.'

Three years from that day the general was at the *Français*, where all the world had congregated to applaud le 'chef d'œuvre d'un jeune nègre,' and to recognise that 'sa plume vaut encore mieux que son écriture.'

This was *Henri III. et sa Cour*, a drama which he wrote in two months, of which M. Lecomte, who has written much about Dumas, justly says :

'Ce fut l'avènement du drame historique avec une signification plus importante que la révélation d'un génie de 27 ans : c'était l'émancipation d'un genre jusqu'alors emprisonné dans les langes de l'imitation ancienne, une révolution littéraire dont les suites devaient être aussi utiles qu'intéressantes.'

A curious instance of his astonishing confidence in his genius is exemplified in the audience which he sought of the Duc d'Orléans on the very day when *Henri III.* was to be given, for the sole purpose of asking the Duke to be present.

'Mais j'ai des Princes et des seigneurs étrangers à dîner.'

'Amenez-les.'

'Mais nous dinons à 7 heures.'

'Mettez votre dîner à 6.'

And the royal Duke actually did as he was bid by 'le présomptueux petit commis nègre.' From that date, 11 Feb. 1829, Dumas was a made man. Pleasures, riches,

applause were his, and with his characteristic impetuosity he plunged into the vortex in a manner so new, so undreamt of, that if his talent amazed people, his dissipation alarmed them. And yet in the midst of it all he persevered in his ten hours' work, and determined still more to astonish the world by the vast quantity of his labour, having no doubt whatsoever of its quality.

It is only quite at the end of his life that he began to think there were degrees in his prolific pen. He preferred *Les Mousquetaires* to *Monte Christo*, but he would not admit that the stage had ever known so passionate a drama as *Antony*, a play so correctly put together as *Henri III. et sa Cour*, or a comedy more suited to *La Salle Molière* than *Mlle. de Belleisle*.

The pride he took in all he did was at times ludicrous and childish.

There being a vacancy in Parliament for one of the departments of the Seine, Dumas offered himself as a candidate on the ground that the produce of his brain had made over two thousand workmen live for twenty years, and hence he had a right to appeal to the workman's vote.

This is what he wrote :

'Je me porte candidat à la députation, je demande vos voix, voici mes titres. Sans compter six ans d'éducation, quatre ans de notariat et sept années de bureaucratie, j'ai travaillé vingt ans à dix heures par jour, soit 73,000 heures. Pendant ces vingt ans j'ai composé 400 volumes et 35 drames. Les 400 volumes tirés à 4000 et vendus 5 francs l'un, ont produit 11,853,600 francs. Les 35 drames joués cent

fois, chacun l'un dans

l'autre ont donné . 6,360,000 „

soit . 18,213,600 „

'Drames et livres, en fixant le salaire quotidien à 3 francs pour 300 journées de travail dans l'année, ont donc soldé en moyenne le travail de 2160 personnes.

'Ne sont pas compris là-dedans les contrefacteurs belges et les traducteurs étrangers.'

Amazing as this composition reads, Dumas naively believed it to be convincing in the same way that when writing to a clergyman he considered it a proof of his own sanctity of spirit when he ended his letter by 'Je vous salue avec l'amour d'un frère et l'humilité d'un chrétien,' after having informed the reverend gentleman that his reason for insisting on respect for holy things was that 'la religion étant au

premier rang des choses saintes, je voudrais autant qu'il est en moi contribuer à cette œuvre sociale.'

Of course it was childish, but in the appreciation of genius we have to make allowances; and as Edmund About once wrote about the lions that decorate the entrance to the tomb of Agamemnon at Mycenæ, 'L'enfance de l'art ressemble beaucoup à l'art de l'enfance,' in a similar way the ways of genius are for ever young because, like the soul, genius is immortal.

I have purposely dwelt on his origin, because out of such a mixture as he came from, no one had any right to expect either sanctity or even respectability, and out of such education as he got, no one could hope for learning, still less for teaching; and yet by the sole action of intuitive genius Dumas rose, despite his faults and virtues, to the proud position of inspiring pride in his own countrymen in the wonderful prolific pen which was his.

With a nose and hair that recalled his negro blood, with a stature, hands, and feet that did honour to 'le diable noir' his father, with an insouciance to this world's obligations which the marquis might have envied, with a kindness of heart which he owed to his humbly born mother, Dumas, for each enemy he made, inspired a friend. His generosity was unbounded, and it is on record that never did a single person apply to him for help in vain. Stories are innumerable on that score. But he was gigantically vain, bombastic in the extreme, and a spendthrift of colossal dimensions.

First and last, some one calculated that he must have earned 25,000,000 francs by his pen, or £1,000,000.

Put it at half that amount and properly used, he could easily have lived in comfort on between £15,000 and £20,000 a year.

Yet when he died, all he was possessed of was 16s.—one louis.

Seeing it on the chimneypiece from his bed a few days before his demise in the house belonging to his son at Dieppe, he exclaimed:

'Quand je vins à Paris je possédais un louis. Pourquoi m'accuse-t-on de prodigalité! Je l'ai toujours ce louis, tiens le voilà.'

I think I have said enough to show that, contrary to M. Perigot's and M. Filon's opinion, the man who invented the historical drama, the author who emancipated the French stage from its slavery to obsolete and conventional methods, would have been taken *au sérieux* even to-day,

and has by right of genius a place in the literary history of the nineteenth century. More, had he never written for the stage at all, the creator of *le roman historique en France* has an historical claim to the regard of his countrymen as he has that of the world. And I would add that if in this respect he was inspired by Walter Scott, it is doubtful whether even Walter Scott could have imagined such light-hearted Frenchmen as the cunning D'Artagnan, the masculine Porthos, the romantic Athos, or the discreet Aramis, who must ever remain the favourites of fiction and give their creator a high place in word-painting. And I would further suggest that, as great writers like his own son, Emile Augier, Jules Sandeau, Alphonse Daudet, Jules Lemaitre, are the fruits of Dumas' school, the critics have no right to put aside the master on a single point of literary technique, but are bound in honour to recognise the genius that shone despite grammar and orthography.

Monte Christo and *Les Mousquetaires* would have saved him from being 'pris au tragique' before 1802. His plays have to be taken *au sérieux* since 1870, and his work for forty years between those years has assured fame and literary immortality to his name.

It is not possible within the compass of this paper to review even briefly the 400 works, making together 1200 volumes, which bear Dumas' name, but it is not an invidious assertion to say that his great dramas are superior to his great novels, and that among the former *Antony* being the most powerful, is also the play which made the pulse of Paris beat with a frenzy never before experienced.

As is well known, *Antony* is a passionate love drama, at the end of which the hero Antony kills his mistress. This he does as the door opens and reveals the lady's soldier-husband, when, to save the honour of the faithless wife, Antony exclaims: 'Elle me résistait, je l'ai assassinée,' upon which the curtain drops.

This dramatic ending created such a furore that no audience would stir from their seats until the spoken words had followed the deed, and this fact gave rise to a ludicrous incident which redounded to the credit of the heroine.

Bocage and Madame Dorval were playing the principal parts in 1831, when one evening by mistake the curtain came down as Antony stabbed Adèle Hervev. The spectators, incensed at being deprived of the

proper ending, shouted for the curtain to go up. Dorval remained on the sofa where she was lying dead by the hand of her lover, and calmly awaited the return of Bocage, but the actor, furious at being deprived of his finest effect by the stupid

mistake of the curtain falling too soon, would not return. Whereupon Dorval, rising from the sofa, advanced to the footlights, and amid complete silence said:

'Messieurs, je lui résistais: il m'a assassinée.'

THE INFLUENCE OF PERCY'S 'RELIQUES OF ANCIENT ENGLISH POETRY' ON GERMAN LITERATURE.

A STUDY IN 'WELTLITTERATUR.'

THE study of international literary relations, of 'Weltlitteratur,' to use the aged Goethe's felicitous term,¹ can scarcely be said to have found much favour as yet with English modern language students. All the same it is one of the branches of literary science with which an acquaintance at least is essential to a true estimate of the intellectual capacity of mankind as a whole, and to a correct judgment upon any particular literature, or kind of literature. Especially is this the case with the literature of two peoples so closely akin as those of England and Germany. The very fact of their kinship cannot fail to rouse the suspicion in the minds even of beginners, that there must be literary as well as physical affinity between the two nations. Yet in spite of that suspicion, and in spite of the well-known fact that Germany possesses all the English classics, and indeed most of the second-rate English authors' works as well, in at least one translation, English modern language students have hitherto shown but little interest in the work of reproducing German works of note in English, and still less in investigating the problem of the literary relations between England and Germany.

In particular, although it has been said (cf. *Chambers's Cycl. Eng. Lit.*, ed. 1903, ii. 505): 'Percy's *Reliques* gave impulse to Herder and the German romantic movement,' and was no doubt the prime mover in the rise of the *Kunstballade*, an English essay on the influence of Percy's *Reliques* on German literature has never yet, as far as I can discover, been published.

In German there do exist three essays bearing on the subject:—

1. A. W. von Schlegel's *Bürger*, which deals with the influence of Percy's *Reliques*

on Bürger. (First published in 1800; re-edited, with additions, in 1828 in vol. ii. of A. W. von Schlegel's *Kritische Schriften*.)

2. A. Waag's *Über Herders Übertragungen englischer Gedichte* (Heidelberg, 1892), which traces in detail the relation of Herder's *Volkslieder* to Percy's *Reliques*.

3. H. F. Wagener's *Das Eindringen von Percy's Reliques in Deutschland* (Heidelberg, 1897), which gives a general account of the influence of Percy's *Reliques* upon German literature down to the appearance of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* in 1806.

No one of these attempts to deal with the whole subject embraced by the title of the present essay, although each of them is extremely useful as far as it goes. The present paper is an attempt to weave the threads of the information which they give about the direct influence of Percy's *Reliques* into a more complete whole; it includes a discussion of sundry modern adaptations of ballads from Percy's *Reliques*, which they do not mention at all. An account of the indirect influence will, I hope, constitute a companion paper at some future time. I have not as yet had opportunities of fully investigating the question, and so dare not attempt to discuss it at any length.

I. AN ACCOUNT OF PERCY'S 'RELIQUES.'

It may be well first to briefly consider the *Reliques* themselves.

In 1765, Dodsley of London published a collection of English ballads with this title: *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: consisting of old heroic ballads, songs and other pieces of our earlier poets (chiefly of the Lyric kind). Together with some few of later date.* The editor of the collection, Thomas Percy,² had begun his literary career in

¹ Cf. *Correspondence between Goethe and Thomas Carlyle*. Pp. 136, 148, etc. (W. Hertz. Berlin, 1887.)

² 1729-1811. Born at Bridgnorth in Shropshire of a tradesman family, though, in later life, he tried to trace his descent from the Percy family of Northumberland. Studied at Christ

1761 by a desperate effort to find some really new dainty to tempt the jaded appetite of his day in England. He published a translation of a Portuguese manuscript of a Chinese novel called *Hun Kion Choam*, and added as an appendix 'the Argument of a Chinese play, a collection of Chinese proverbs and fragments of Chinese poetry.' About the same time he became deeply interested in the older poetry of Europe, and under the influence of Macpherson's studies in Gaelic and Erse poetry, published in 1763 *Five pieces of Runic poetry translated from the Icelandic language*. Two years later appeared his collection of English ballads.

According to the historic story Percy had been inspired to make his collection by his rescue from the study floor of his friend Humphrey Pitt of Shifnal, in Shropshire, of an old folio manuscript¹ containing some 200 ballads copied out in a handwriting of the first half of the seventeenth century, but composed 'at all times and dates from the ages prior to Chaucer to the conclusion of the reign of Charles I.' (cf. Preface to the 1765 edition). With the help of his friends Percy supplemented this collection by ballads from the Oxford and Cambridge libraries (notably the Pepys collection in Magdalene College, Cambridge), Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire. The following words, to quote again from the Preface to the 1765 edition, show the principle which guided the ultimate choice of the poems in the *Reliques*: 'Such specimens of ancient poetry

Church, Oxford, where he received his M.A. degree in 1753. The same year he settled in a college living at Easton-Maudit, Northampton, where most of his works were written. In 1770 he received the degree of D.D. from Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In 1778 he became Dean of Carlisle, and in 1782 Bishop of Dromore in Ireland, in which see he remained till his death. Works:—1761—*Hun Kion Choam*, a translation of a Chinese novel. 1763—*Five pieces of Runic poetry translated from the Icelandic language*. 1765—*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. 1768—*The household book of the Earl of Northumberland in 1512*. 1770—*Northern Antiquities, with a translation of the Edda and other pieces from the ancient Icelandic tongue*. 1771—*The ballad of the Hermit of Warkworth*. Also, after leaving Easton-Maudit: *An Essay on the origin of the English stage, particularly the historical plays of Shakespeare*.

English editions of the *Reliques*—Authorised by Percy, four editions—1765, 1767, 1775, 1794. Posthumous editions—1823, 1839, 1844, 1847, 1851, 1856, 1857, 1865. (Cf. A. Sehröer's edition of *Reliques*, p. xxiv ff.); also ed. II. B. W. Wheatley, 3 vols. London, 1876.

¹ This folio MS. was reprinted by J. Hales and F. Furnivall. 3 vols. and Appendix (London, 1867). It is now in the British Museum.

have been selected as either show the gradation of our language, exhibit the progress of opposite opinions, display the peculiar manners and customs of former ages, or throw light on our earlier classical poets.'

Percy was quite unaware of his own literary importance; in fact, so far removed was the thought of any great literary revolutions coming from his work that he had serious misgivings as to whether he had employed his energies profitably, and expressed the hope that 'the names of so many men of learning and character' among his patrons would 'serve as an amulet to guard him from unfavourable censure for having bestowed any attention on a parcel of old ballads' (cf. Preface of 1765). Nevertheless 'that collection revived his nation's interest in popular poetry, and from its appearance we are accustomed to date the revival of natural poetry in England' (cf. Richard Wülker's *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*. Leipzig, 1896, p. 429). The impetus given to the collecting of old ballads in particular, by the publication of Percy's *Reliques*, showed itself in the rapid succession of volumes of the same class which issued from the press. Mr. H. B. Wheatley, in his admirable introduction to his edition of Percy's *Reliques* (London, 1886), has given a short critical summary of these subsequent collections, p. xci ff. Since, however, this paper is concerned with the influence of the *Reliques* on German literature, it is beside the mark to enter into detail about their influence on England.²

II. THE DIRECT INFLUENCE OF PERCY'S 'RELIQUES' ON GERMAN LITERATURE.

A. Die Geniezeit.

As before said, the *Reliques* were published in England in 1765. The first printed notice of the book, which is known to have been published in Germany,³ was in the first volume of the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freien Künste*, which appeared the same year. Raspe therein criticised the editor of the *Reliques* as a man 'of good taste, not without critical discernment and of unwearied diligence in bringing to light the history of poetry in his country.' He concluded his criticism

² Cf. Kiebitz, *The Influence of 'Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry' on the Development of English Poetry* (Bautzen).

³ Cf. H. F. Wagener's *Das Eindringen von Percy's Reliques in Deutschland*, p. 11 ff.

by expressing the desire for some German art critic who should with equal diligence compile a collection of old German poetry. A desire which was reiterated the following year by Gerstenberg in his *Briefe über Merkwürdigkeiten der Litteratur*, and by C. H. Schmidt in 1767 in his *Theorie der Poesie nach den neuesten Grundsätzen und Nachrichten von den besten Dichtern* (Leipzig, bei S. S. Crusius, p. 76). The immediate fruit of these criticisms was the publication of the first German edition of Percy's *Reliques* in 1767. It contained eleven ballads:—

The Child of Elle, . . .	Wheat., i. 131; Sch., 82. ¹
Harpalus, . . .	Wheat., ii. 75; Sch., 310.
Cupid's Pastime, . . .	Wheat., i. 314; Sch., 220.
Loyalty Confined, . . .	Wheat., ii. 326; Sch., 485.
Love will find out the Way, . . .	Wheat., iii. 232; Sch., 730.
The Spanish Lady's Love, . . .	Wheat., ii. 247; Sch., 413.
Winifreda, . . .	Wheat., i. 323; Sch., 227.
Bryan and Percene, . . .	Wheat., i. 328; Sch., 233.
Aleazar and Zayda, . . .	Wheat., i. 338; Sch., 241.
Lucy and Colin, . . .	Wheat., iii. 312; Sch., 778.
Margaret's Ghost, . . .	Wheat., iii. 308; Sch., 780.

This book was printed at Göttingen, the University city of the Electorate of Hanover, where at that time, owing to the close connection between the royal house of Hanover and that of England, the study of English literature was much more cultivated than in the other German Universities, and where in consequence a public appreciative of such a work might be expected. This first edition is of special interest only in so far as it is the first German edition of Percy's *Reliques*; it was too small a collection to do more than rouse interest in its original. Some critics, it is true, have said that it was this edition which fell into Bürger's hands during his early student days at Göttingen, and therefore was the spring of his enthusiasm for ballad poetry. Other critics, however, and those the latest, such as E. Schmidt, consider it improbable that Bürger really knew any but the original English edition. At all events, the first German edition only contains one of the ballads which Bürger eventually translated, 'The Child of Elle.' The first English edition, on the other hand, had a considerable circulation, especially among

literary circles in Germany, and it is the influence of the book in its English dress which must be taken into account.

What, however, was the state of the world spiritual in Germany in 1767? Only by realising that can the immediate effect of the entrance of the *Reliques* upon the literary stage of the day be gauged. Thomas Carlyle thus describes it in his Essay on 'Goethe's Works':—'As Disorder is never wanting, so at the present junction it specially abounded. The reign of Earnestness had dwindled into that of Dilettantism. No Divinity any longer dwelt in the world; and as men cannot do without a Divinity, a sort of terrestrial-upholstery one had been got together and named Taste, with medallist virtuosi and picture cognoscenti and enlightened belles-lettres men for priests. For two centuries German literature had lain in sere leaf. The Luther whose words were half battles, and such half battles as could shake and overset half Europe with their cannonading, had long since gone to sleep; Ulrich Hutten slept silent; the tamer Opitzes and Flemmings had long fallen obsolete. One unhappy generation after another of pedants, living on Greek and Hebrew; of farce writers, gallant verse writers, journalists and other jugglers of nondescript sort wandered nomadic-wise whither provender was to be had; among which if a passionate Günther go with some emphasis to ruin, if an illuminated Thomasius, earlier than his time, deny witchcraft, we are to esteem it a felicity.' In the sphere of poetry in particular the influence of Klopstock and Gleim reigned supreme. And the influence of both Klopstock and Gleim, artificial as was the form of their verse, and comparatively exotic as was their spirit, proved to be a forerunner of indispensable value to the new era which began with the arrival of Percy's *Reliques* in Germany. For one of Gleim's most important ideals and achievements was the renaissance of the ballad genre of poetry,² and one of Klopstock's principal claims to literary importance was his lifelong endeavour to revive the German spirit in the literature of his own country. So that, in spite of all their shortcomings, the work of Gleim and Klopstock can never be left out of account in tracing the evolution of the German ballad in the true sense of the word.

¹ These references and all subsequent ones are made to Wheatley's three-volume edition of the *Reliques*, published 1876, and to A. Schröder's reproduction of the first edition: *Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, nach der ersten Ausgabe von 1765 mit den Varianten der späteren Originalausgaben herausgegeben von A. Schröder*. First half in *Englische Sprach- und Literaturdenkmale*, ed. K. Vollmöller. Heilbronn, 1889. Second half published by E. Felber. Berlin, 1893.

² For a detailed account of Gleim's work for the German ballad, cf. P. Holzhausen's 'Ballade und Romanze bis Bürger.' *Zeitschrift f. deutsche Phil.*, xv. 129.

The University in which Klopstock had the most ardent company of admirers about 1767 was that of Göttingen. When G. A. Bürger went there in 1768, nominally to study law, he soon found himself a member of quite a large circle of Klopstock devotees. The more ardent of them formed themselves into a literary club in 1770, 'Der Hain,' for the purpose of practising and promulgating more effectually the theories of their hero. Two of their number, Boie and Voss, edited a *Musen-almanach* which continued to flourish for many years. It is the best witness to the modification of its contributors' views, and especially to the astounding change which passed over Bürger's work as a result of the reading of Percy's *Reliques*. The book came into his hands in 1770 through the medium of his friend Ludwig Hölty, who had taken it out of the University Library and circulated it among the members of the Hainbund.¹ Bürger seems to have been captivated by its popular spirit, the purity of its Englishism. He forthwith realised that if Klopstock had been right in urging the revival of the use of German by Germans in literature, the cultivation of his nation's native genius rather than the transplanting of foreign plants, he had been wrong in disregarding the natural vehicle for popular ideas and thought, popular forms of verse, such as the ballad. So he determined at least to arouse interest in the ballad by German translations of some of Percy's *Reliques* and by producing original ballads of the same kind. Percy's *Reliques* were his salvation, so to speak,² and without their influence in his work, A. W. von Schlegel would never have written of him:

'Den deutschen Volksgesang erschufst du wieder
Und durftest nicht erlernte Weisen borgen.'
An Bürger's *Schatten*, l. 5.

The first as well as the best example of Bürger's work under the influence of Percy's *Reliques* was 'Lenore,' which appeared in the *Göttinger Musenalmanach* of 1774. The inspiration of Percy originals is, however, apparent in:—

Lenardo und Blandine. 1776. Berger, ed., p. 92.³

Der Bruder Graurock und die Pilgerin. 1777. p. 135.

¹ Cf. Sauer's *Introduction to Bürger's Poems*, p. x. (in Kürschner's *Deutsche National Literatur*, vol. lxxviii. Berlin and Stuttgart, 1883.

² Cf. E. Schmidt, *Charakteristiken*, i. 204.

³ These and subsequent references are made to Berger's edition of Bürger's poems (published Leipzig und Wien. Bibliographisches Institut).

Des Schüfers Liebeswerbung. 1777. p. 149.

Die Entführung. 1777. p. 152.

Frau Schnips. 1777. p. 143.

Der Kaiser und der Abt. 1785. p. 218.

Graf Walter. 1789. p. 281.

Bürger's 'Lenore,' his masterpiece, and, according to some, the masterpiece of all German ballad poetry, has been examined and discussed by several critics. Any one desiring a nearer acquaintance with the ballad's inner and outer history can refer to the following:—

1. Herder's review of Althof's *G. A. Bürger nebst einem Beitrag zur Charakteristik desselben*; published 1798. Cf. Suphan ed. of Herder's Works, xx. 387.

2. A. W. von Schlegel's *Bürger*. Cf. A. W. von Schlegel, *Kritische Schriften*. 1828.

3. W. Wackernagel's *Zur Erklärung und Beurtheilung von Bürgers Lenore*, published 1835. Reprinted in *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. ii. Leipzig, 1873. pp. 399-427.

4. E. Schmidt's 'Bürger's Lenore,' published *Charakteristiken*, i. pp. 199-244 (Berlin, 1886).

A. Brandl's 'Lenore in England'—a contribution to E. Schmidt's essay, pp. 244-248.

5. W. W. Greg's 'English Translations of "Lenore,"' in *Mod. Lang. Quarterly*, ii. No. 5, p. 13 ff.

Of great interest is also Bürger's correspondence with Boie for the months of April—September of 1773.

In this paper it will be sufficient merely to mention the fact that although Bürger himself did not claim an English ballad as the original of his 'Lenore,' and his early critics were inclined to think it was worked up from some Low German legend, E. Schmidt and subsequent students of the ballad hold that it loudly re-echoes at all events, if it does not actually reproduce, 'Sweet William's Ghost.' (*Wheat.*, iii. 130; *Sch.*, 643.)

The loudest of these echoes are:—

(1) 'Lenore,' ll. 147-8.

Wohl um den trauten Reiter schlang
Sie ihre Lilienhände.

Cf. 'Sweet William's Ghost,' l. 37.

She stretched out her lilly-white hand.

(2) 'Lenore,' l. 137.

'Sag' an! wo? wie dein Kämmerlein?
Wo? wie das Hochzeitbettchen?'—

'Weit, weit von hier! Still, kühl und klein!—
Sechs Bretter und zwei Brettlein!'

'Hat's Raum für mich?'

Cf. Herder's translation of 'Sweet William's Ghost,' 'Wilhelms Geist,' l. 45 ff., which appeared in the summer of 1773 in the *Volkslieder*, Part II. Book iii. No. 25.

'Ist Raum noch, Wilhelm, dir zu Haupt,
Oder Raum zu Füßen dir?
Oder Raum noch, Wilhelm, dir zur Seit',
Dass ein ich schlüpf' zu dir?'

(3) The name of the hero.

In 'Lenardo und Blandine,' as in 'Lenore,' there are evidences of more than one original as is set forth in Berger's critical note on the ballad. To 'Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard' (*Wheat.*, iii. 68; *Sch.*, 601), it bears the following resemblances:—

1. In both a lady of high degree invites an inferior to go with her by night to a secret bower in the forest, and in both he accepts the invitation. Cf. Len. u. Blan., l. 61 ff.; Little Musgrave, l. 21 ff.
2. In both the lady is put to death as well as her lover. Cf. Len. u. Blan. l. 236 ff.; Little Musgrave, l. 26 ff.

The differences between the two ballads, however, greatly preponderate over the resemblances. In fact, it is a question whether there is more than merely a similar 'motif' in the two poems.

'Der Bruder Graurock und die Pilgerin' is a much more obvious adaptation of 'The Friar of Orders Gray' (*Wheat.*, i. 242; *Sch.*, 174). The only difference beyond that of the metre is that the lady pilgrim in Bürger's version already suspects her lover is in the monastery (cf. l. 13 ff.), whereas in the English ballad she thinks of him as a pilgrim and merely asks (cf. l. 7 ff.)

If ever at yon holy shrine
My true love thou didst see.

Only slightly less faithful to its original, 'The Passionate Shepherd to his Love' (*Wheat.*, i. 220; *Sch.*, 157), is 'Des Schäfers Liebeswerbung.' The metre in both is the same, and some lines in Bürger's poem correspond almost word for word with lines in original ballad:—

1. 1. Komm! bis mein Liebchen, bis mein Weib!
1. 1. Come live with me and be my love.
1. 5. Bald wollen wir von freien Höhn
Rundum die Herden weiden sehn.
1. 5. There will we sit upon the rocks,
And see the shepherds feed their flocks,
1. 11. Und an des Bächleins Murmelfall
Ein Solo holder Nachtigall;
1. 7. By shallow rivers, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals.

1. 27. Ein Röckchen weiss, aus zarter Woll',
Aus Lämmchenwoll', es tragen soll.
1. 13. A gown made of the finest wool,
Which from our pretty lambs we pull:
1. 35. Behagt dir dieser Zeitvertreib
So bis mein Liebchen, bis mein Weib.
1. 23. If these delights thy mind may move;
Then live with me and be my love.

'Die Entführung' is Bürger's adaptation of 'The Child of Elle' (*Wheat.*, i. 131; *Sch.*, 82). The general outline of the story is the same in both poems, but Bürger works his into a Kunstballade by filling in sundry omissions of the English version with its more popular style: e.g. when the Child of Elle is attacked by Emmeline's father and train:—

... he put his borne to his mouth,
And blew both loud and shrill,
And soone he saw his owne merry men
Come ryding over the hill.

Bürger accounts for their being within earshot of that blast by inserting these lines into his description of Ritter Karl's setting out to visit Gertrud:—

Drauf liess er heim sein Silberhorn
Von Dach und Zinnen schallen.
Herangesprengt durch Korn und Dorn
Kam stracks ein Heer Vasallen.
Draus zog er Mann bei Mann hervor
Und raunt' ihm heimlich Ding ins Ohr:
'Wohlauf! Wohlan! Seid fertig
Und meines Horns gewärtig!'

It is also worthy of note that Bürger altered the local colouring completely, likewise the nationality and the names of the characters.

The Hans Sachs-like burlesque 'Frau Schnips' is an elaboration of 'The wanton Wife of Bath' (*Wheat.*, iii. 333; *Sch.*, 655.) In both a woman of disreputable character is seen seeking entrance at the gate of heaven. She is interviewed by Adam, Jacob, Lot, Judith, David, Solomon, Jonah, Thomas, Mary Magdalene, the Apostle Paul, and scorned by all of them for her evil life. St. Peter then talks with her, and on her professing repentance such as his, the Lord God has mercy on her, and she enters heaven. Bürger's most striking addition to his original is his 'Apologie,' in which he applies the moral of the story to his contemporaries, ending thus:—

Ihr, die ihr aus erlogner Pflicht
Begnadigt und verdammet,
Die Liebe sagt: verdammet nicht,
Dass man nicht euch verdammet!

For some years after writing 'Frau Schnips' Bürger did not make use of Percy originals. In 1785, however, appeared 'Der Kaiser

und der Abt,' a close rendering of 'King John and the Abbot of Canterbury' (*Wheat.*, ii. 302; *Sch.*, 466); and in 1789 'Graf Walter,' an even closer adaptation of 'Child Waters' (*Wheat.*, iii. 58; *Sch.*, 595). In both these poems, as in 'Die Entführung,' Bürger made the local colouring German, instead of English. Indeed 'Der Kaiser und der Abt' has attained to quite the popularity of an indigenous story in Germany.

As before said, it was owing to the inspiration of Percy's *Reliques*, read for the first time in 1770, that Bürger conceived the idea of writing ballads with popular motives. His working out of that idea, however, was strongly influenced by a German contemporary, J. G. Herder, and more especially by his *Fragmente zur deutschen Litteratur* (published 1767) and his *Blätter von deutscher Art und Kunst* (published 1773). We owe these critical works of Herder almost, if not quite, as great a debt of gratitude in respect of Bürger, the ballad poet, as we do to Percy's *Reliques*. This is what he wrote to his friend Boie after reading the latter work of Herder: 'O Boie, Boie, welche Wonne! als ich fand, dass ein Mann wie Herder eben das von der Lyrik des Volks und mithin der Natur deutlicher und bestimmter lehrte, was ich dunkel davon schon längst gedacht und empfunden hatte.'

This mention of Herder brings me to the second great German author who profited by the influence of Percy's *Reliques*. J. G. Herder became interested in English literature in his student days at Königsberg when working with Hamann.¹ He studied between 1764 and 1765 Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Bacon's *Essays*, Hume and Shaftesbury, and became interested most of all in popular literature, the natural, untrained utterance of the common people. He gradually came to adopt as his own Hamann's most characteristic article of creed: 'Poetry is the mother-tongue of the human race.' It is not known how or when exactly Percy's *Reliques* fell into Herder's hands, but we know it was in his possession before 1770, for in that year one of the topics of conversation between Herder and his young friend Goethe at Strassburg was the value of folksong as shown in Percy's *Reliques*. Herder conceived the idea of a German collection of ballads which should correspond to Percy's *Reliques*, and reiterated

Raspe's and Gerstenberg's desire for 'a German Percy' in his essay *Über Ossian und die Lieder aller Völker*, published in 1773:—'In more than one province I know of the existence of folksongs, songs in dialect and peasant songs which are in no way inferior to the folksong of other nations as regards energy and rhythm, *naïveté* and vigour of language; but who is there who would collect them, who would trouble himself about them? Who would trouble himself about the songs of the common people on the streets, in the by-ways and on the fish-markets, about the glees of country-folk, about songs which are often without scansion and with bad rhymes? Who would collect them? Who would have them printed for our critics who are so clever at counting syllables and scansion?'

He shows how possible it might be to compile the collection if, after Percy's example, some German would commission his friends to ransack the provinces of Germany for folksongs. This idea appealed to the young Goethe, and we know he did collect some twelve Alsatian peasant songs, and sent them to Herder at Strassburg.

Herder, however, did not become 'the German Percy.' The desire that there should one day arise one generated in his mind a wider idea: he planned and executed his collection of folksongs translated from all languages. We can never be grateful enough to Percy's *Reliques* that it inspired Herder to do this work: it is one of the most remarkable collections ever made in European literature, in the width of its embrace, the critical insight with which the poems were selected, and the beauty of the translations from the various languages into German. Begun in 1773, the collection was almost ready for publication in 1774. Herder delayed it, however, 'bis das Publicum etwas liebefreundlicher sei.' He was evidently afraid of deriding critics, and it required all Karoline's powers of persuasion to bring him even to the contemplation of some day sending the manuscript to the press. In 1776 there appeared the first volume of Nicolai's *Feyner kleynere Almanach*, a nondescript collection of 'Volks- und Pöbellieder,' intended to quench the rising interest in popular poetry. In 1777 Ursinns published his *Balladen und Lieder altenglischer und altschottischer Dichtart*. In Herder's eyes neither of these was adequate to serve the purpose of showing Germany the wealth of popular poetry in other lands. He even called Nicolai's collection 'eine

¹ Cf. R. Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und Werken*, i. 53. Berlin, 1877.

Schüssel voll Schlamm.¹ So in 1777 Herder really set himself to complete his collection. He prepared the public for the appearance of the book by an essay in Boie's *Museum* of November 1777, entitled: 'Über die Ähnlichkeit mittlern englischen und mittlern deutschen Dichtkunst,' and containing the three prefaces written for Books 1, 3, 4 of the collection in 1774. The *Volkslieder*, subsequently called *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, appeared in 1778 and 1779.

The manuscript had increased in volume since 1774 and had been considerably altered in form: as eventually published it was merely a collection of poems in German. Into his 1774 manuscript, however, Herder had transcribed the English originals of fifteen ballads in the first book and of twelve in the third, while in the second book the original text of the *Scenes and Songs from Shakespeare* stood side by side with the German. As regards the Percy *Reliques* found among the *Volkslieder* of 1778, there are altogether twenty-seven ballads which can be traced to Percy originals. They are selected from every division of the *Reliques*, a fact testifying to Herder's intimate acquaintance with the entire collection, and may be classified into two groups: translations and adaptations. Many in the first group are almost word for word renderings, e.g. 'Edward, Edward'; 'Die Chevy Jagd'; while some of those in the second are as free adaptations as Bürger's ballads.² The following is the list of translations, with the titles of their originals:—

Alkanzor und Zaida, p. 148—Alkanzor and Zayda.

Wheat., i. 338; *Sch.*, p. 241.³

Bettlerlied, p. 511—The Gaberlunzie Man. *Wheat.*, ii. 67; *Sch.*, p. 592.

Chevy Jagd, p. 480—The Ancient Ballad of Chevy Chase.

Wheat., i. 19; *Sch.*, p. 23.

Edward, Edward, p. 476—Edward, Edward. *Wheat.*, i. 82; *Sch.*, p. 58.

Das Unvergleichbare, p. 521—You Eine in der Natur, f meaner Beauties.

Wheat., ii. 312; *Sch.*, 212.

¹ Cf. 'Über die Ähnlichkeit der mittlern englischen und mittlern deutschen Dichtkunst,' Suphan's edition of Herder's Works, ix, p. 530.

² For more detailed discussion of several of Herder's versions of Percy's ballads, cf. A. Waag's *Über Herder's Übertragungen englischer Gedichte*. (Heidelberg, 1892.)

³ These and subsequent references are made to Suphan's edition of Herder's Works, vol. xxv., published 1885, and, as before, to Wheatley's and Schröder's editions of the *Reliques*.

Die Judentochter, p. 190—The Jew's Daughter. *Wheat.*, i. 54; *Sch.*, 44.

Der Knabe mit dem Mantel, p. 244—The Boy and the Mantle.

Wheat., iii. 3; *Sch.*, 556.

König Esthmer, p. 232—King Estmere.

Wheat., i. 85; *Sch.*, 59.

Lied im Gefängniß, p. 516—To Althea from Prison.

Wheat., ii. 321; *Sch.*, p. 482.

O weh, O weh, p. 203—Waly, waly Love be bonny.

Wheat., iii. 145; *Sch.*, p. 653.

Röschen und Kolin, p. 180—Lucy and Colin.

Wheat., iii. 312; *Sch.*, p. 778.

Der Schiffer, p. 175—Sir Patrick Spence.

Wheat., i. 98; *Sch.*, p. 69.

Die schöne Rosamunde, p. 135—Fair Rosamund.

Wheat., ii. 154; *Sch.*, p. 348.

Weg der Liebe, p. 358—Love will find out the Way.

Wheat., iii. 232; *Sch.*, p. 730.

Wiegenlied einer unglücklichen Mutter, p. 164—Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament.

Wheat., ii. 209; *Sch.*, 391.

Wilhelm's Geist, p. 523—Sweet William's Ghost.

Wheat., iii. 130; *Sch.*, p. 643.

Wilhelm und Margreth, p. 192—Fair Margaret and Sweet William.

Wheat., iii. 124; *Sch.*, p. 638.⁴

The *Volkslieder* to be classified as adaptations from Percy's *Reliques* are the following:—

Der blutige Strom, p. 263—Gentle River, gentle river.

Wheat., i. 331; *Sch.*, p. 236.

Gewalt der Tonkunst, p. 377—A Song to the Lute in Musike.

Wheat., i. 187; *Sch.*, p. 133.

Der Glückliche, p. 274—The Character of a happy Life.

Wheat., i. 317; *Sch.*, 223.

Glückseligkeit der Ehe, p. 369—Winifreda. *Wheat.*, i. 323; *Sch.*, 227.

Der entschlossene Liebhaber, p. 277—The steadfast Shepherd.

Wheat., iii. 253; *Sch.*, p. 741.

Murray's Ermordung, p. 382—The Bonny Earl of Murray.

Wheat., ii. 226; *Sch.*, p. 402.

Das nussbraune Mädchen, p. 415—The notbrowne Mayd.

Wheat., ii. 31; *Sch.*, p. 285.

⁴ 'Chevy Jagd' omits the last three verses of the original, and 'Röschen und Kolin,' verses 1, 2, 4 of 'Lucy and Colin.' In 'Edward, Edward,' verse 4, and in 'König Esthmer,' verses 34 and 64 have been altered.

Die Todtenglocke, p. 278—Corydon's
doleful Knell.

Wheat., ii. 274; *Sch.*, p. 464.

O wend', o wende diesen Blick, p. 204—
Take those Lips away.

Wheat., i. 230; *Sch.*, 164.

Der eifersüchtige König, p. 119—Young
Waters.

Wheat., ii. 228; *Sch.*, 376.

It must be also remarked that Herder translated and adapted sundry other ballads from Percy's *Reliques* which do not stand either in the manuscript of 1774 or among the *Volkslieder* published in 1778. These may be divided into two groups:—

A. Translations intended for insertion in *Alle Volkslieder*, but not in the 1774 manuscript:

Die Dämmerung der Liebe, p. 125—Un-
fading Beauty.

Wheat., iii. 239; *Sch.*, p. 223.

Feind im Paradiese, p. 121—Jealousy,
Tyrant of the Mind.

Wheat., iii. 260; *Sch.*, p. 1072.

B. Translations intended for insertion in the *Volkslieder*, but not found in the 1778 edition:

Er und Sie, p. 603—Take Thy old Cloak
about Thee.

Wheat., i. 195; *Sch.*, p. 139.

Gretchens Geist, p. 561—Margaret's
Ghost.

Wheat., iii. 308; *Sch.*, p. 780.

Menschenreformation, p. 567—A Dyttie
to Hey Downe.

Wheat., iii. 44; *Sch.*, p. 584.

Nach einer alten englischen Ballade,
p. 559—Cupid's Pastime.

Wheat., i. 314; *Sch.*, p. 220.

Schottische Ballade, p. 566—Sir John
Grehme and Barbara Allan.

Wheat., iii. 133; *Sch.*, p. 645.

Ein Soldatenmärchen, p. 556—The
Spanish Lady's Love.

Wheat., ii. 247; *Sch.*, p. 413.

Süsse Einfalt, p. 555—The sweet Neglect.

Wheat., iii. 169; *Sch.*, p. 671.

Der Verliebte, p. 553—Why so pale?

Wheat., ii. 343; *Sch.*, p. 736.

Die Pilgerin. Ein zweites Gespräch, p. 564
—As Ye came from the Holy Land.

Wheat., ii. 101; *Sch.*, p. 326.

The following two ballads are found in the 1774 manuscript, but were not inserted in the 1778 edition of the *Reliques*:

Gespräch einer Pilgerin, p. 25—Gentle
Herdsman, tell to Me.

Wheat., ii. p. 86; *Sch.*, p. 318.

Jugend und Alter, p. 52—Youth and
Age.

Wheat., i. 237; *Sch.*, p. 170.

After the publication of Herder's *Volkslieder* there appeared a considerable number of translations from Percy's *Reliques* by other poets. These translations came out either in collections or singly in periodicals, such as the *Göttinger Musenalmanach* or the *Teutsche Merkur*. As, however, H. F. Wagner in his *Das Eindringen von Percy's Reliques in Deutschland* has treated the whole subject of these minor translators' productions with great care, I need only, for the sake of completeness, include their titles in this paper. They will be found in the table which concludes this essay.

B. 'Die Zeit der Classicität.'

The noblest of Herder's literary children is J. W. Goethe, the Colossus of the world of German thought. From Herder Goethe caught his enthusiasm for popular, and especially sixteenth-century popular, literature, though of course that was only a fraction of his debt to 'the first of modern thinkers.' During the months they spent together at Strassburg in 1770, when Goethe was made the Goethe we know by his daily and hourly contact with that master-mind, Percy's *Reliques* was often a topic of conversation. By Herder's ideals Goethe's poetical horizon was immeasurably widened, and in the tenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe says that he came to see poetry as 'an endowment of the world, of nations, and not the private inheritance of a few refined, educated people.'

As I have said, the immediate outcome of that intercourse in the darkened room of the 'Gasthof zum Geist' at Strassburg was Goethe's collection of twelve Alsatian folk-songs, which reached Herder in the end of August or the beginning of September 1771. Two of these were given places among the *Volkslieder*:

Das Lied vom jungen Grafen.

Das Lied vom eifersüchtigen Knaben.

The influence of Herder, however, and through Herder of Percy's *Reliques*, was far deeper than merely to entice Goethe to collect ballads for Herder's use or for a private collection of his own. Goethe was impelled to write ballads himself in the real spirit of ballad poetry, to take popular motifs and work them into poetry which would appeal to the popular imagination by its natural style, its lifelike truthfulness. And what

an array of ballads emerged from his citadel to win the common people back to the kingdom of literature!

Among Goethe's ballad motifs, however, there did not appear one out of Percy's *Reliques* for very many years after that book fell into his hands. Only in 1820, in his last period of work, when we are accustomed to style him 'Goethe der Romantiker,' did he publish his first and only ballad in which the influence of Percy's *Reliques* is tangible. His last ballad, 'Ballade vom vertriebenen und zurückkehrenden Grafen,' has its foundation in 'The Beggar's Daughter of Bednall Green' (*Wheat*, ii. 171; *Sch.*, p. 364), and shows traces of 'King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid' (*Wheat*, i. 189; *Sch.*, p. 135). In his own explanation of the ballad, written in 1821 (*cf.* Hempel ed. Goethe's Poems, i. p. 193 ff.), Goethe observes that 'eine vor vielen Jahren mich anmuthende altenglische Ballade, die ein Kundiger jener Litteratur vielleicht bald nachweist, diese Darstellung veranlasst habe.' So that it may be that from the days when he first became acquainted with Percy's *Reliques* in 1770 down to 1820, those two ballads had clung to his memory.¹

In the following points there is connection between 'The Beggar's Daughter of Bednall Green' and Goethe's 'Ballade':—

(1) In both a beggar maiden is wooed by a high-born gentleman, who disregards her poverty, and for his true love is rewarded by the beggar maiden's father's consent to marry her.

Cf. 'Ballade,' ll. 37-46. 'The Beggar's Daughter,' ll. 41-42, 81-132.

(2) In both a beggar minstrel comes into the castle of a knight and tells the story of his own life by way of amusing his audience.

Cf. 'Ballade,' ll. 10-53. 'The Beggar's Daughter,' part ii. ll. 49-120.

(3) In both the beggar proves his high-born origin and receives recognition as a prince.

Cf. 'Ballade,' ll. 82-98. 'The Beggar's Daughter,' part ii. ll. 81-120.

(4) In both the gentleman and the beggar maid are betrothed on the village green.

Cf. 'Ballade,' l. 44. 'The Beggar's Daughter,' l. 94 ff.

¹ Goethe intended to work out the subject of his 'Ballade' into an opera to be called 'Der Löwenstuhl.' *Cf.* Goethe's *Works*, Weimar ed., xii. 294 ff. Also Waetzoldt's essay on the subject, 'Zeitschrift für den deut. Unterricht,' iii. 502 ff.

In the following detail the influence of 'King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid' is to be traced:—

In both the high-born suitor saw the beggar maid by accident; neither of these ballads says anything of several lovers, who proved unequal to marrying a poor girl, as is the case in 'The Beggar's Daughter of Bednall Green,' l. 77 ff.

In thinking of Goethe's ballads it is almost impossible to dissociate them from his friend Schiller's. There is, however, no ballad of Schiller's in which the influence of Percy's *Reliques* can incontrovertibly be traced. The only one which may have been coloured by a ballad in that collection is 'Graf Eberhard der Greiner,' which was written in Schiller's earliest days of ballad writing, in 1782. The metre is the same as that of 'The more modern ballad of Chevy Chase' (*Wheat*, i. 249; *Sch.*, p. 178). A third line of eight syllables, however, is inserted between the third and last line of each of Schiller's stanzas:—

God prosper long our noble king,
Our lives and safeties all!
A woeful hunting once there did
In Chevy Chase befall.

Ihr, ihr dort aussen in der Welt,
Die Nasen eingespannt!
Auch manchen Mann, auch manchen Held,
Im Frieden gut und stark im Feld,
Gebär das Schwabenland.

It must be remarked that Gleim's *Grenadierlieder*, of 1758, are also in the same metre as 'The more modern ballad of Chevy Chase,' so that it may be they and not this Percy Relique which inspired the metre of 'Graf Eberhard der Greiner.' I cannot, however, find any mention of interest in Gleim's *Grenadierlieder* on the part of Schiller about the year 1782, whereas there is this remark in Düntzer's *Life of Schiller* (vol. i. p. 58): 'Man wetteiferte in den mannigfachsten eignen Versuchen und in begeisterter Aufnahme innerer Dichtungen. . . . An lyrischen Gedichten fehlte es nicht, bei denen Klopstock Hauptleitstern blieb, neben dem die im Göttinger Musenalmanach auftretenden Dichter, besonders Bürger, Hölty, Miller, Voss und die Grafen Stolberg, bewundert wurden.' And I, therefore, feel justified in supposing that Schiller was first interested in English ballads and Percy's *Reliques* in particular by means of Bürger's adaptations of them, which appeared in the *Göttinger Musenalmanach*. His 'Die Kindermörderin,' which bears so much resemblance to Bürger's 'Des Pfarrers Tochter zu Taubenhain,' appeared

in 1781, and in the *Anthologie auf das Jahr 1782* was published 'Graf Eberhard der Greiner.' Is it not probable that it was influenced by Percy's *Relique* 'The more modern ballad of Chevy Chase,' in which Schiller would have become interested indirectly through Bürger's ballads with Percy originals?

Before leaving Schiller, it is, perhaps, worth while noticing that Schiller, like Goethe, wrote his first ballads under the influence of the Storm and Stress poets. Like Goethe, Schiller also preserved an interest in their work long after he may be said to have outgrown their influence. In a letter to Körner from Weimar, dated April 30, 1789, Schiller wrote thus of the chief Storm and Stress poet, Bürger: 'Bürger was here a few days ago, and I have made his acquaintance. . . . He seems to be a frank, honest fellow.'¹

C. The Romantics and Uhland.

The death of Schiller is generally taken as the close of the Classic Age of German literature, and after 1805 a new era begins: the Age of the Romantics. Uhland has been here classed with that age, because his connection with Percy's *Reliques* is so closely bound up with one of the chief productions of the Romantic School: 'Des Knaben Wunderhorn.'

The Romantics of Germany, though their work shows such a deep impress of the indirect influence of Percy's *Reliques*, have not left many reproductions of Percy motifs. It is only among the poems of the minor Romantics that ballads based on Percy originals are found: e.g. 'Der kühne Schiffer,' by Samuel Christian Pape (1774-1817), recalls 'Sir Patrick Spence' (*Wheat.*, i. 98; *Sch.*, p. 69), though there are but slight resemblances between them:

(1) Ll. 3 and 4 of 'Der kühne Schiffer' are an echo of ll. 21 and 22 of the English ballad.

Der kühne Schiffer stand am Bord:
'Ihr Männer, auf ins Meer!'

Mak hast, mak haste, my mirry men all,
Our guid schip sails the morne.

(2) In Pape's poem one lady, the skipper's daughter, bids him farewell, and with foreboding awaits his return. In 'Sir Patrick Spence' many ladies are represented as doing so.

(3) In both the name of a place near

¹ Cf. Schiller's *Briefwechsel mit Körner*, ed. Goedeke, Leipzig, 1874, i. p. 308-9.

which the skipper was drowned is mentioned as a consolation to those awaiting his return:—

O Mädchen, still! Bei Helgoland,
Bei Helgoland im tiefen Meer,
Da ruht dein Vater rechter Hand,
Die Männer um ihn her.

Have owre, have owre to Aberdour,
It's fiftie fadom deip:
And thair lies guid Sir Patrick Spence,
Wi' the Scots lords at his feit.

'Das Gelübde,' by Ludwig Robert (1778-1832), is a ballad on the same Old Testament story as 'Jephthah, Judge of Israel' (*Wheat.*, i. 182; *Sch.*, p. 1066), and especially in the closing verses bears resemblance to the English ballad:—

'Nur ein Wort noch lass mich sprechen:
Noch drei Tage lass mich leben.

Manche Thräne auch vergiessen,
Weil als Jungfrau ich mein Leben
Ohne Liebe muss beschliessen;

Lass mich einsam mich verbergen,
Bis man mich zum Tode ruft.
Und der Vater sprach: 'So gehe!'

Und sie weinte . . .
Bis man sie zum Tode rief.

'But dear father, grant me one request,
That I may go to the wilderness,

There to bewail my virginity';

So he sent her away,
For to mourn, for to mourn, till her dying
day.

'Der Keuschheits Mantel,' by Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858), the translator of sundry poems by Robert Burns, is a free translation of 'The Boy and the Mantle' (*Wheat.*, iii. 3; *Sch.*, p. 556). Gerhard's version is greatly lacking in the true spirit of popular poetry, and is by no means to be compared with its original as regards force and spontaneity.

Among Uhland's poems, as among Goethe's and Schiller's, there is only one ballad which shows the direct influence of Percy's *Reliques*: 'Des Sängers Fluch' bears traces of 'The Bonny Earl of Murray' (*Wheat.*, ii. 226; *Sch.*, p. 402); 'Young Waters' (*Wheat.*, ii. 228; *Sch.*, p. 376); and 'King Estmere' (*Wheat.*, i. 85; *Sch.*, p. 59). R. M. Werner thus writes on the subject in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte* (i. 504 ff.): 'Uhland hat den Stoff seiner Ballade "Des Sängers Fluch" zwar frei erfunden, aber die Anregung dazu aus der schottischen Romanze "Der eifersüchtige König" gewonnen . . . Unmit-

telbar auf diese Romanze folgt in Herders Volksliedern, gleichfalls nach Percy, "Murrays Ermordung." Ein paar Klänge aus diesem Gesang tönen auch in Uhlands Ballade nach. . . . Auch das alte Märchen, bei Herder "König Esthmer" bietet ein paar Parallelen zu Uhlands Ballade:—

'Adler sagt (l. 75):

"Und ihr sollt seyn ein Harfner, Bruder,
Wie ein'r aus Norden pflegt,
Und ich will seyn Eur Singer, Bruder,
Der Euch die Harfe trägt.
Und ihr sollt seyn der beste Harfner
Der je die Harfe schlug,
Und ich will seyn der beste Singer
Der je die Harfe trug."

'Nun kommen die beiden in ihrer Verkleidung ins Schloss Adland's, dessen Tochter der Sultan noch hent freien will; in der Halle stehen sie:

"König Esthmer dann die Harpe zog,
Und spielt darauf so süß.
Aufstarrt die Braut an König's Seit!
Dem Heiden macht's Verdriess," u.s.w.

'Auch hier sind Motive welche nicht ohne Einfluss auf Uhlands Erfindung blieben; Vertrautheit mit Herders Volksliedern dürfen wir bei Uhland wohl schon damals voraussetzen.'

D. 'Die Politischen Lyriker.'

Passing on to those poets who worked in the troublous times of the middle of the century, and who on account of their many war-songs and songs connected with war, have earned the name of 'die Politischen Lyriker,' there is only one, as far as I can discover, who made use of a Percy motif. In 'Das Lied vom falschen Grafen,' by Moritz von Strachwitz (cf. *Gedichte*, ed. Reclam, p. 139), there are such clear echoes of 'Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor' (cf. *Wheat*, iii. 82; *Sch.*, p. 610), that it cannot but be concluded it was written under the influence of that ballad from Percy's *Reliques*.

(1) In both a nobleman while in love with a high-born lady swears he will marry a peasant girl, and in both the peasant girl kills the high-born lady in the very presence of the nobleman.

(2) In both the quaint adjective 'brown' is applied to the peasant girl:

The brown girl she has got houses and lands,
Fair Ellinor she has got none.

Eine Fischerdirn' mit braunem Gesicht,
Die rudert den Kahn mit Macht.

There are several important differences between the two poems, though the trend

of the story is so very much the same; e.g. Strachwitz has changed the local colouring completely, making the scene of the poem Denmark, not England, the farmer's daughter a fisher maiden, and the scene of her crime a cliff-bound coast in Scandinavia, not a peaceful English village church. Also Strachwitz causes the three lovers to meet their death together, while in 'Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor,' the browne girl kills Ellinor, is then put to death by Lord Thomas, who afterwards ends his own life.

E. Ballad Writers since 1860.

Among the ballad writers since 1860 there are two in particular who have worked at translations of ballads in Percy's *Reliques*. A brief account of Theodor Fontane's and Felix Dahn's versions will suffice to show that the power to fascinate German poetic genius has by no means departed from the *Reliques*.

Th. Fontane published his *Balladen* first in 1861, but since then his collected poems have appeared in several editions. In that of 1902 there are altogether fifty-four poems with English subjects, and of these twelve are ballads with Percy originals. They are to be classed into two groups: translations and adaptations.

1. Translations—

Barbara Allen, ed. 1902, p. 382—Sir John Grehme and Barbara Allan.

Wheat, iii. 133; *Sch.* 645.

Jung Walter, p. 384—Young Waters.

Wheat, ii. 228; *Sch.*, 376.

Sir Patrick Spens, p. 389—Sir Patrick Spence.

Wheat, i. 98; *Sch.*, 69.

Lord Murray, p. 391—The Bonny Earl of Murray.

Wheat, ii. 226; *Sch.*, 402.

Königin Eleonorens Beichte, p. 393—Queen Eleanor's Confession.

Wheat, ii. 164; *Sch.*, 357.

König Johann und der Bischof von Canterbury, p. 428—King John and the Abbot of Canterbury.

Wheat, ii. 303; *Sch.*, 466.

These are excellent translations, yet none of them do full justice to Fontane's skill as a poet. The ballads in the second group, however, are many of them fine poems, and had Fontane been willing to sacrifice their English local colouring, they would certainly have won great favour with his fellow-countrymen. As it is, in his desire not to forfeit the Englishism of his originals, Fontane has had to forfeit much of his merited popularity as a German ballad poet.

2. Adaptations—

'Von der schönen Rosamunde' (ed. 1902, p. 115 ff.) is a 'Romanzen-Cyclus' of nine chapters based on 'Fair Rosamond' (*Wheat.*, ii. 154; *Sch.*, 348). All the essential details of the English ballad are reproduced and elaborated in the German one, except the mention of the thread by following which entrance to Rosamond's bower could alone be gained. The most obvious elaborations made by Fontane are as follows:—

i. The opening lines of the English ballad:—

When as King Henry rulde this land,
The second of that name,
Besides the queene, he dearly lovde
A faire and comely damie . . .

give no indication of the story of Henry's meeting with and wooing of Rosamond. The ballad opens at the point in the story when Rosamond is established at Woodstocke, to the jealous indignation of Ellinor, and Henry is about to start for a war with France. Fontane, however, wrote three introductory chapters the titles of which indicate their contents: (a) 'Wie König Heinrich Rosamunden findet.' (b) 'Wie König Heinrich Rosamunden gen Woodstock führt.' (c) 'Von der Königin Leonore.'

ii. In that third introductory chapter Fontane goes into many details about the queen's hearing of the bringing of Rosamunde to Woodstock. He found simply this in the English original:

Yea Rosamonde, fair Rosamonde,
Her name was called so,
To whom our queene, dame Ellinor,
Was knowne a deadlye foe.

iii. Fontane has inserted an entire chapter about the king's return to his palace in London after his first night at Woodstock with Rosamunde: 'Wie König Heinrich gen London zieht.'

iv. In the two descriptions of Woodstock there is this notable difference: in the *Relique* it is a new tower built on purpose for Rosamond:

The king, therefore, for her defence
Against the furious queene,
At Woodstocke builded sneh a tower
The like was never seene . . .

while in Fontane Rosamunde was taken to an old castle long since in existence:

Schless Woodstock ist ein alter Bau
Aus König Alfreds Tagen . . .

v. After Heinrich has gone to France, Fontane inserts a scene between Rosamunde and a beggar woman who warns her she has been betrayed and that her end is near;

also a very beautiful chapter called 'Ein Sturm.' In the latter the wind is made to overhear these words in Woodstock, 'O komm, o rette,' and to carry them to the king's ears in his tent in France. Heinrich forthwith takes ship to come to the help of Rosamunde.

vi. It is not from actual violence that Rosamunde pleads to be preserved in Fontane's poem, for he makes the evil done to her by the queen to consist in this:

Kein Wörtlein von des König's Gruss,
Noch, dass im fernen Land sein Fuss
Darf je nach Woodstock dringen.

Ich bring ein köstlich Gift ihr bei,
Das Zweifelgift an seiner Treu—
Das muss das Herz ihr brechen.

Hence the end of the ballad is altered by Fontane: he makes Rosamunde take her own life in an agony of despair.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *letzte Nacht* (ed. 1902, p. 167 ff.) gives Fontane's ideas about the occasion of the beautiful ballad 'The Lye' (*Wheat.*, ii. 297; *Sch.*, 458). That Fontane was mistaken in his view that 'The Lye' voiced Sir Walter's feelings on the last night of his life is shown by the critical note prefixed to the ballad in Wheatley's edition. 'This poem is reported to have been written by its celebrated author the night before his execution, Oct. 29, 1618. But this must be a mistake, for there were at least two editions of Davison's poems (among which Percy found it) before that time, one in 1608, the other in 1611. So that, unless this poem was an after-insertion in the fourth edition, it must have been written long before the death of Sir Walter: perhaps it was composed soon after his condemnation in 1603.' Into the narrative of the poem Fontane has inserted his adaptation of 'The Lye.' In these rhymed stanzas of eight lines each (the rest of the poem is in blank verse) he has not kept closely to his original. In fact, the first and last stanzas are not in 'The Lye' at all, and a different idea is inserted for l. 1 of v. 12 of the English ballad. The following are the parallels in the two poems:—

Stanza 2, l. 1.

Des Hofes Glanz und Schimmer
Blinkt nur wie faules Holz,
Die Kirche lebt vom Flimmer
Und wird vor Demuth stolz.

Cf. 'The Lye,' l. 7.

Goe tell the court, it glowes
And shines like rotten wood,
Gee tell the church it showes
What's good, and doth no good.

Stanza 2, l. 5.

Des Reichen Opfer bringen
Der Quell, daraus sie springen
Heisst Sucht nach Ehr' und Ruhm.

Cf. 'The Lye,' l. 19.

Tell men of high condition
Their purpose is ambition.

Stanza 3, l. 1.

Des Klugen Witz verschwendet
Der Worte viel—nur nichts;

Cf. 'The Lye,' l. 43.

Tell wit, how much it wrangles
In tickle points of niceness;

Stanza 3, l. 3.

Die Weisheit wird geblendet
Vom Glanz des eignen Lichts;

Cf. 'The Lye,' l. 45.

Tell wisdom; she entangles
Herself in over-wiseness;

Stanza 3, l. 5.

Selbst du, des Weltgewimmels
Gepriesenste, o Kunst,
Es zeugt dich statt des Himmels
Die Mode und die Gunst.

Cf. 'The Lye,' l. 61.

Tell arts, they have no soundness,
But vary by esteeming;

Stanza 4, l. 2.

Die Lieb ist eitel Lust,

Cf. 'The Lye,' l. 32.

Tell love it is but lust;

Stanza 4, l. 3.

Ergebung kniet und fallet
Nur weil es heisst: 'Du mußt!'

Cf. 'The Lye,' l. 31.

Tell zeale, it lacks devotion;

Stanza 4, l. 5.

Die Treu ging längst verloren
In Schein und Lug und Trug,

Cf. 'The Lye,' l. 67.

Tell faith, it's fled the citie;

Stanza 4, l. 7.

Das Glück wird blind geboren;—

Cf. 'The Lye,' l. 55.

Tell fortune of her blindness.

Among those poems, which Fontane calls *Lieder und Balladen, frei nach dem Englischen*, there are several which are not such elaborate adaptations as the above-mentioned, but which are also by no means to be reckoned

as translations: 'Jung Musgrave und Lady Barnard' (ed. 1902, p. 365 ff.) is obviously a version of 'Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard' (*Wheat.*, iii., 68 ff.; *Sch.*, 601). It omits, however, the first stanza of the English ballad, it does not mention the English place-name Bucklesford—Bury, where Lady Barnard's bower was, it does not reproduce all the gruesome details of the English story, and passes over entirely Lord Barnard's self-recrimination at the end of the poem.

In 'Schön Margret und Lord William' (ed. 1902, p. 378) Fontane's version of 'Fair Margaret and Sweet William' (*Wheat.*, iii., 124; *Sch.*, 638) there are also sundry omissions:—i. William's saying to his retainers that he goes to Margret's bower 'by the leave of my ladie' (cf. ll. 39, 40). ii. These words of William to Margret's brother at her funeral:

For whatever is dealt at her funeral to-day
Shall be dealt to-morrow at mine.

iii. Also the following lines:

Fair Margaret dyed to-day, to-day,
Sweet William dyed the morrow:

Fontane has, however, made several additions to the original ballad, and that without spoiling it:—i. An expression of reluctance on the part of William to marry his rich bride; cf. l. 78. ii. Descriptions of the manner of Margret's death, l. 17 ff.; of her appearing to William, l. 25 ff.; of the growing again of the rose bushes after the sexton had cut them down, l. 83. iii. A concluding adage, l. 84.

'Chevy Chase oder die Jagd im Chevy-Forst' (ed. 1902, p. 396 ff.) is based not on the Ancient Ballad of Chevy Chase, like Herder's 'Chevy Jagd' and Bothe's 'Die Chevy Jagd,' but on the more modern version of the poem; cf. *Wheat.* i. 249; *Sch.*, 178. The parts of the English ballad which are reproduced by Fontane are comparatively close translations, but as so much of it has been omitted by him, I class it among his adaptations. The following lines are altogether omitted: 65-78; 145-149; 156-160; 165-169; 196-200; 227-262; 266-269. The passage from l. 117 to l. 127 is condensed into:

Das gab ein Stechen und ein Haun,
Manch breite Wunde klappte,
Längst unser englisch Bogenvolk
Nicht mehr den Bogen straffte.

The description of the many English and Scotch lords who fell in the battle (ll. 227-262) has the following equivalent:—

So fiel Sir Ralph Montgomery,
Und mit ihm sind gefallen
Auf beiden Seiten männiglich
Die Ritter und Vasallen.

A few lines have been added by Fontane to the original:—Percy's comparison of his foe to a deer, ll. 157-160; also the description of the field of battle after the fray in the second last verse of the poem. The closing verse is different from the original in Fontane; he evidently saw no reason for alluding, as does the English conclusion, to the troubled state of the time when the ballad was written.

God save our king and bless this land
With plenty, joy and peace;
And grant henceforth that fowle debate
'Twixt noblemen may cease.

Das war die Jagd in Chevy Forst,¹
Wo Herr und Hirsch gefallen.
Gott schütz' den König unsern Herrn,
Und sei uns gnädig allen.

In the two parts of 'Der Aufstand in Northumberland' (ed. 1902, p. 408 ff.) are treated 'The Rising in the North' (*Wheat.*, i. 266; *Sch.*, 190) and 'Northumberland betrayed by Douglas' (*Wheat.*, i. 279; *Sch.*, 196). Fontane follows Percy's suggestion in thus making the one ballad the sequel to the other.

'Percy und die Nortons' is much the closer rendering of the two, though even it omits several verses of the original, viz. verses 1, 8, 23, 28-30. The most important of these omissions are Earl Percy's wife's idea that she might serve as hostage for her lord at the court, and the episode of Sir George Bowes' flight to his castle instead of joining the rebels. Some minor differences are these: in ll. 6 and 14 Fontane mingles bashfulness in Percy's defiance of the court; in l. 42 Fontane has 'seine Söhne' for 'that goodly company'; Fontane mentions eight instead of nine Nortons, seven instead of eight of whom he makes join the rebels; in Fontane's version the Nortons go straight to Percy's castle and are there joined by the other nobles, while in the English ballad the host gathers at Wetherby.

'Percy's Tod' differs considerably from its original as regards details, though their subject is obviously identical. Fontane omits the following:—

1. The account of Percy's wanderings round Scotland before he reached the castle of Douglas. Percy simply says:

¹ This line closely resembles the last words of A. The Middle High German epic, 'Der Nibelunge Nôt':—'daz ist der Nibelunge nôt.' B. Uhland's 'Des Sängers Fluch':—'Das ist des Sängers Fluch.'

Mein Dach ist der Himmel seit manchem Tag,
Mein Lager zur Nacht des Waldes Streu:
Zu William Douglas will ich gehn,
Sein Schloss ist fest, sein Herz ist treu.

The reason underlying l. 26 of the English ballad,

He halched him right courteouslie,
is explained thus:

Als einst er floh, wie jetzt ich flieh',
Da fand er Schutz am Herde mein:
Die Douglas waren immer treu,
Auch William Douglas muss es sein.

2. The sending of the Lord Warden's demand to the Regent for 'the bannisht Earl,' cf. ll. 31-36, and so the occasion of Mary à Douglas' word of warning, cf. ll. 55-60, is not specified. In fact, the whole of the conversation between Mary and Earl Percy is much condensed; cf. Percy's *Tod*, ll. 37-84. Northumberland betrayed by Douglas, ll. 55-112.

3. The reference to Mary à Douglas' mother; cf. l. 133 ff.

4. The farewell between Percy and Mary à Douglas; cf. ll. 157-164, 169-188.

There are three elaborations of lines in the English ballad which are worthy of note:—

1. Fontane works out his third and fourth stanzas from l. 25:

And when he to the Douglas came.

2. Fontane's eighteenth and nineteenth stanzas are suggested by ll. 103-104:

Yet step one moment here aside,
He showe you all your foes in field.

3. The last stanza of the English ballad is supplemented by the three best stanzas of Fontane's, which give a detailed account of Percy's execution.

Felix Dahn, the other poet of recent years whose ballads show the influence of Percy's *Reliques*, has not used any outside those treated by Fontane. Whether this fact points to some intimate connection between them I have not had the means of ascertaining. None of Dahn's ballads, however, can be called translations; they are free adaptations of Percy motifs.

'Jung Douglas und schön Rosabell' (cf. *Gedichte*, 1^{ste} Sammlung, p. 219) is connected with 'Fair Margaret and Sweet William' (*Wheat.*, iii. 124; *Sch.*, 638) in so far that in both (1) the man marries another girl than his beloved, and the beloved, as she is combing her hair on the wedding morning, sees the bridal pair pass under her window; (2) there is introduced a rose motif; in the English ballad at the end of

the poem, *cf.* l. 71 ff., in the German earlier in the story, *cf.* ll. 31-34, 50-51, 61 ff. The names in Dahn's poem are different, and the whole story is more elaborate. He omits, however, the ghostly episode; *cf.* l. 17 ff., and all about Margaret's seven brothers; *cf.* l. 43 ff. The part played by the hero's father in the story is quite original to Dahn; *cf.* l. 13 ff.

'Der Zaubermantel' (*Gedichte*, 1^{ste} Sammlung, p. 242 ff.) is evidently a condensed reproduction of 'The Boy and the Mantle' (*Wheat.*, iii. 3; *Sch.*, 556), but between the two there are the following differences: Dahn gives a longer account of the banquet, ll. 5-9, though he curtails the description of the trying on of the magic cloak: only the virtue of the queen and one other lady is tested, whereas several other ladies are introduced in the original. Also in Dahn's poem the court ladies are challenged to try on the cloak, while in the English one they show no reluctance to doing so. Dahn omits altogether the last part of the English ballad, the episode of the boar's head; *cf.* l. 141 ff. In both, however, the queen is shown to be disloyal at heart, and in both the lady whom the cloak does fit has first to confess to the little fault of having once kissed her future husband before they were married.

'Rosamunde' (*Gedichte*, 2^{te} Sammlung, p. 138) is suggested by 'Fair Rosamund' (*Wheat.*, ii. 154; *Sch.*, 348); for both tell how a king of England, Dahn does not specify which, once kept his mistress, Rosamunde, shut up away from court in a hunting-lodge in the forest. In Dahn's poem, however, the king is given a higher moral tone than in the English ballad: there is no mention of another woman than his rightful wife. Eleanor is indeed introduced by Dahn, but as the king's mother. It is out of pity for the country that she does Rosamunde to death:

So länger kann dies Auge schauen—
Ich fühls—verloren ist mein Sohn.
Auf! tödtet sie! nur ihr Verderben
Giebt England seinen Herrn zurück.

In Dahn's ballad there is no mention of the king's going from the court for a war. One night after Eleanor had overheard her son reveal in his sleep the name of Rosamunde's refuge, she goes and has her murdered. Dahn closes his poem with a description of the effect upon the king of seeing his murdered beloved which is quite original:

Er schaut die Mutter, die Barone,
Er starrt der Schläfrin ins Gesicht:

'Nun magst du wieder tragen Krone
Der böse Zauber ward zu nicht.
Der schwüle Traum, er war vom Bösen:
Du kannst nicht irren mehr: es tagt—
Von Qual und Wahn musst' ich dich lösen'—
'Ja, Mutter, wahr hast du gesagt.
Nur eine Bahn ist mir geblieben:
Du lässt der Liebe keine Wahl!'—
Und bis zum Heft ins Herz getrieben
Traf ihn zum Tod der treue Stahl.

'Lord Angus und Jung Kenneth' (*Gedichte*, 2^{te} Sammlung, p. 151) echoes 'Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard' (*Wheat.*, iii. 68; *Sch.*, 601). In both a lady of high degree invites an inferior to a secret bower by night, and Dahn has added a description of the way in which the lady undertook to make easy the boy's coming. In both the boy pays her the visit, only in Dahn's poem it is as a ghost, for he was killed on his way to the bower by the lady's husband. There is no mention of a betrayal by another servant, but Jung Kenneth simply says: 'Lady Angus, dein Gatte stach mich todt.'

Besides the above-mentioned adaptations to be found among Dahn's poems it is worthy of note that in 'Ralf Douglas' (*Gedichte*, 2^{te} Sammlung, p. 141) there are three passages which are echoes of passages in 'Northumberland betrayed by Douglas,' though the two ballads are not on the same subject:—

(1) Ll. 23-28 of 'Ralf Douglas,' the invitation with its treacherous purpose given to King James to hunt in the demesne of the castle of Stirlingsford, corresponds to ll. 43-48 of the English ballad:

To-morrow a shootinge will bee held
Among the lords of the North countrye, etc.

(2) Thomas Kairn's answer to the king on being asked if the invitation should be accepted:

'Mir dünkt es sicher im eignen Haus: Wort, Glas
und Treue bricht'—

is much in the same strain as the warning given by Mary à Douglas to Percy; *cf.* ll. 55-60.

(3) The clearest echo of all, however, is in King James's words on his arrival at Stirlingsford:

'Die Douglas waren immer treu, ein Douglas
bist auch du.'

And again, on being awakened by Thomas Kairn from his sleep beside Douglas:

'Die Douglas waren immer treu, ein Douglas
ist auch der.'

They obviously reproduce ll. 147-8 of the English ballad:

'The Douglasses were ever true,
And they can ne'er prove false to mee.'

To conclude this account of the direct influence of Percy's *Reliques*, and to summarise as conveniently as possible both its information and that of the essays of A. Waag: *Herder's Übertragungen englischer Gedichte*, and H. F. Wagener: *Das Eindringen von Percy's Reliques in Deutschland*, I have drawn up the following table of the existing German versions of ballads in Percy's collection:—

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| 1. The Ancient Ballad of Chevy Chase.
Cf. <i>Wheat</i> i. 19;
<i>Sch.</i> 23. | 1. Herder. Chevy Jagd.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 480. | 6. Th. Fontane. Sir Patrick Spens.
Cf. <i>Gedichte</i> , ed. 1902, p. 389. | 7. Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne.
Cf. <i>Wheat</i> . i. 102;
<i>Sch.</i> 71. | 1. Bodmer. Robin Hood.
Cf. <i>Altengl. Balladen</i> , 1781. |
| 2. The Jew's Daughter.
Cf. <i>Wheat</i> . i. 54;
<i>Sch.</i> 44. | 1. Herder. Die Chevy Jagd.
Cf. Volkslieder, publ. 1795.
2. Herder. Die Judentochter.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 190. | 1. Bürger. Die Entführung.
Cf. Berger's ed. Bürger's <i>Gedichte</i> , p. 152.
2. Bodmer. Emmelyne.
Cf. <i>Altengl. Balladen</i> , 1781.
3. Bothe. Der Ritter von Elle.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , 1795. | 8. The Child of Elle.
Cf. <i>Wheat</i> . i. 131;
<i>Sch.</i> 82. | 1. Bürger. Die Entführung.
Cf. Berger's ed. Bürger's <i>Gedichte</i> , p. 152.
2. Bodmer. Emmelyne.
Cf. <i>Altengl. Balladen</i> , 1781.
3. Bothe. Der Ritter von Elle.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , 1795. |
| 3. Sir Cauline.
Cf. <i>Wheat</i> . i. 61;
<i>Sch.</i> 46. | 2. Bodmer. Das Kind im Ziehbrennen.
Cf. <i>Altengl. Balladen</i> , 1780. ¹
3. Kosegarten. Die Judentochter.
Cf. <i>Gesammelte Gedichte</i> , ed. v. p. 203. | 1. Herder. Gewalt der Tonkunst.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , Suphan ed. xxv. 377.
2. Goethe. Ballade vom vertriebenen und zurückkehrenden Grafen.
Cf. <i>Gedichte</i> , Hempel ed. i. p. 193. | 9. Edom o' Gordon.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 140;
<i>Sch.</i> 88. | 1. Bodmer. Gordon.
Cf. <i>Altengl. Balladen</i> , 1780. |
| 4. Edward, Edward.
Cf. <i>Wheat</i> . i. 83;
<i>Sch.</i> 58. | 4. Seckendorf.
Cf. <i>his Musenalmanach</i> , 1808, p. 5. | 1. Herder. Er und Sie.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , Suphan ed. xxv. 603.
2. Voss. Der Flausrock.
Cf. <i>Gedichte</i> , vii. p. 161. | 10. Jephthah, Judge of Israel.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 183;
<i>Sch.</i> 1066. | 1. L. Robert. Das Gelübde.
Cf. <i>Hub's Auswahl</i> , p. 277. |
| 5. King Estmere.
Cf. <i>Wheat</i> . i. 85;
<i>Sch.</i> 59. | 1. Bodmer. Cawlin.
Cf. <i>Altengl. Balladen</i> , 1780.
2. Bothe. Herr Kalin.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , 1795. | 1. Eschenburg.
Cf. Ursinns' 'Balladen altengl. und altschott. Dichtart,' publ. 1777. | 11. A Song to the Lute in Musicke.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 187;
<i>Sch.</i> 133. | 1. Herder. Gewalt der Tonkunst.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , Suphan ed. xxv. 377. |
| 6. Sir Patrick Spence.
Cf. <i>Wheat</i> . i. 98;
<i>Sch.</i> 69. | 1. Herder. Edward, Edward.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , Suphan ed. xxv. 476.
2. Seckendorf.
Cf. <i>Seckendorfs Musenalmanach</i> , 1808, p. 7. | 1. Herder. Wend', o wende diesen Blick.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , Suphan ed. xxv. p. 204. | 12. King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 189;
<i>Sch.</i> 135. | 1. Eschenburg.
Cf. Ursinns' 'Balladen altengl. und altschott. Dichtart,' ed. 1777, p. 165. |
| | 1. Herder. König Estlimer.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , Suphan ed. xxv. 232. | 2. Bodmer. König Liar.
Cf. <i>Sammlung altengl. Balladen</i> , 1780. | 13. Take thy old Cloak about thee.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 195;
<i>Sch.</i> 139. | 1. Herder. Jugend und Alter.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , Suphan ed. xxv. 52. |
| | 2. Uhland. Des Sängers Fluch.
Cf. <i>Bibliogr. Instit.</i> ed. p. 267. ² | 1. Bürger. Der Bruder Graurock und die Pilgerin.
Cf. <i>Gedichte</i> , ed. Berger, p. 135. | 14. Geruntus the Jew of Venice.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 211;
<i>Sch.</i> 150. | 2. Bodmer. Der Mönch vom grauen Orden.
Cf. <i>Altengl. Balladen</i> , 1780. |
| | 3. Bodmer. König Westmär.
Cf. <i>Altenglische Balladen</i> , 1780. | 3. Bothe. Der Mönch und die Pilgerin.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , 1795. | 15. Take those Lips away.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 230;
<i>Sch.</i> 164. | 1. Bodmer. Die Wildschützen.
Cf. <i>Altengl. Balladen</i> , 1781. |
| | 1. Herder. Der Schiffer.
Cf. <i>Volkslieder</i> , Suphan ed. xxv. 175. | 2. Schiller. Graf Eberhard der Greiner.
Cf. <i>Gedichte</i> , ed. Beller-mann, p. 54. | 16. King Leir and his three Daughters.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 232;
<i>Sch.</i> 165. | 3. Fontane. Chevy-Chase oder Die Jagd im Chevy-Forst.
Cf. <i>Gedichte</i> , ed. 1902, p. 396. |
| | 2. Bodmer. Patrick Spence.
Cf. <i>Altenglische Balladen</i> , 1780. | | 17. Youth and Age.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 237;
<i>Sch.</i> 170. | |
| | 3. Kosegarten. Das Lied von Sir Patrick Spence.
Cf. <i>Gesammelte Gedichte</i> , ed. v. p. 200. | | 18. The Friar of Orders Gray.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 242;
<i>Sch.</i> 174. | |
| | 4. Seckendorf. Sir Patrick Spence.
Cf. <i>Seckendorfs Musenalmanach</i> , 1808. | | 19. The more modern Ballad of Chevy Chase.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 249;
<i>Sch.</i> 178. | |
| | 5. S. Ch. Pape. Der kühne Schiffer.
Cf. <i>Hub's Auswahl</i> , p. 190. ³ | | 20. Death's Final Conquest.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 264;
<i>Sch.</i> 189. | |
| | | | 21. The Rising in the North.
<i>Wheat</i> . i. 266;
<i>Sch.</i> 190. | |

¹ The full title of this work — *Altenglische Balladen; Fabeln von Laudine; Siegestied der Franken*, publ. Zürich und Winterthur, 1780.

² *Ludwig Uhland's Werke*, ed. by Ludwig Fränkel, 2 vols., Leipzig und Wien, 1893.

³ *Ignaz Hub. Deutschland's Balladen- und Romanzendichter*, von G. A. Bürger bis auf die neueste Zeit. Würzburg und Karlsruhe, 1845.

- Cf. Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 408.*
22. Northumberland betrayed by Douglas. *Wheat. i. 279; Sch. 196.*
23. My Mind to Me a Kingdom is. *Wheat. i. 294; Sch. 204.*
24. The patient Countess. *Wheat. i. 299; Sch. 206.*
25. Dowsabell. *Wheat. i. 304; Sch. 213.*
26. Cupid's Pastime. *Wheat. i. 315; Sch. 220.*
27. The Character of a happy Life. *Wheat. i. 317; Sch. 223.*
28. Winifreda. *Wheat. i. 323; Sch. 227.*
29. Bryan and Perene. *Wheat. i. 328; Sch. 233.*
30. Gentle River, gentle river. *Wheat. i. 331; Sch. 236.*
31. Alcanzor and Zayda. *Wheat. i. 338; Sch. 241.*
32. The not-browne Mayd. *Wheat. ii. 31; Sch. 285.*
33. The Gaberlunzie Man. *Wheat. ii. 67; Sch. 592.*
- Cf. Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 408.*
1. Fontane. Percys Tod. *Cf. Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 413.*
2. F. Dahn. Ralf Douglas. *Cf. Gedichte, 2^{te} Sammlung, p. 141.*
1. Claudius. *Cf. Gött. Musenalmanach, 1774, p. 170.*
2. Matthesius. *Cf. Gött. Musenalmanach, 1779, p. 103.*
3. Bothe. Mein Sinn ist mir ein Königreich. *Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.*
4. Haug. *Cf. Epigramme u. vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii., publ. 1805.*
1. Bodmer. Die geduldige Gattin. *Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1781.*
2. Bothe. Die goldene Mittelstrasse. *Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.*
1. Bothe. Angelika, eine Ballade. *Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.*
1. Gerstenberg. *Cf. Brief 8 über Merkwürdigkeiten der Litteratur, publ. 1766, p. 57.*
2. Herder. Nach einer alten englischen Ballade. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 559.*
3. Bothe. Amors Kurzweil. *Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.*
1. Herder. Der Glückliche. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 274.*
1. Herder. Glückseligkeit der Ehe. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 369.*
1. Bothe. Bryan und Perine. *Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.*
1. Herder. Der blutige Strom. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 263.*
2. Seckendorf. *Cf. Seckendorf's Musenalmanach, 1806, p. 122.*
1. Herder. Alkanzor und Zaida. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 148.*
2. Ursinus. *Cf. Ursinus' 'Balladen altengl. und altschott. Dichtart,' ed. 1777.*
3. Seckendorf. *Cf. Seckendorf's Musenalmanach, 1806, p. 120.*
1. Herder. Das nussbraune Mädchen. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 415.*
2. Rosegarten. Das nussbraune Mädchen. *Cf. Gedichte, ed. v. p. 177.*
3. Anon. in 'Die Volksharfe,' publ. 1838, vol. ii. p. 7.
1. Herder. Bettlerlied. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 511.*
34. Harpalus. *Wheat. ii. 75; Sch. 310.*
35. Gentle Herdsman, tell to Me. *Wheat. ii. 86; Sch. 318.*
36. King Edward iv. and Tanner of Tainworth. *Wheat. ii. 92; Sch. 320.*
37. As Ye came from the Holy Land. *Wheat. ii. 102; Sch. 326.*
38. The heir of Linne. *Wheat. ii. 138; Sch. 471.*
39. Fair Rosamond. *Wheat. ii. 154; Sch. 348.*
40. Queen Eleanor's Confession. *Wheat. ii. p. 164; Sch. 357.*
41. The Beggar's Daughter of Bednall Green. *Wheat. ii. 171; Sch. 364.*
42. Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament. *Wheat. ii. 209; Sch. 391.*
1. Bothe. William und Fanny. *Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.*
1. Herder. Gespräch einer Pilgerin. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 564.*
2. Bothe. Guter Schäfer, sage mir. *Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.*
3. Bodmer. Die Pilgerin. *Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.*
1. Bodmer. König Edward und der Gerber. *Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.*
1. Herder. Die Pilgerin. Zweites Gespräch. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 564.*
2. Bothe. Der Pilgrim und der Reisende. *Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.*
3. Haug. *Cf. Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii., publ. 1805.*
1. Bodmer. Der Erbe von Linne. *Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1781.*
1. Raspe. *Cf. Recension über Percy's Reliques. Bibl. d. schönen Wissenschaften, vol. i. publ. 1765.*
2. Herder. Die schöne Rosamunde. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 135.*
3. Bodmer. Die schöne Rosemunde. *Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.*
4. Anon. in 'Die Volksharfe,' vol. i. p. 5, publ. 1838.
5. Fontane. Von der schönen Rosamunde. *Cf. Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 115.*
6. F. Dahn. Rosamunde. *Cf. Gedichte, 2^{te} Sammlung, p. 138.*
1. Ursinus. *Cf. Ursinus' 'Balladen altengl. u. altschott. Dichtart,' publ. 1777.*
2. Bodmer. Der Königin Eleonorens Beichte. *Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1781.*
3. de la Motte Fouqué. *Cf. Chamisso's u. Varnhagen's Musenalmanach, 1806, p. 52.*
4. Fontane. Königin Eleonorens Beichte. *Cf. Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 393.*
1. Bodmer. Des Bettlers Tochter. *Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1781.*
2. Goethe. Ballade vom vertriebenen und zurückkehrenden Grafen. *Cf. Gedichte, Hempel ed. p. 193. Weimar ed. vol. xii. p. 294 ff.*
1. Herder. Wiegenlied einer unglücklichen Mutter. *Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 164.*
2. Anon. in Weimar. Musenalmanach, 1798, p. 158.

43. The Murder of the King of Scots. *Wheat.* ii. 213; *Sch.* 393.
44. The Bonny Earl of Murray. *Wheat.* ii. 226; *Sch.* 402.
45. Young Waters. *Wheat.* ii. 223; *Sch.* 376.
46. The Spanish Lady's Love. *Wheat.* ii. 247; *Sch.* 413.
47. Corydon's doleful Knell. *Wheat.* ii. 274; *Sch.* 464.
48. The Lye. *Wheat.* ii. 297; *Sch.* 458.
49. King John and the Abbot of Canterbury. *Wheat.* ii. 303; *Sch.* 466.
50. You meaner Beauties. *Wheat.* ii. 312; *Sch.* 212.
51. To Althea from Prison. *Wheat.* ii. 321; *Sch.* 482.
52. Why so pale? *Wheat.* ii. 343; *Sch.* 736.
53. The Lady distracted with Love. *Wheat.* ii. 354; *Sch.* 500.
54. The distracted Lover. *Wheat.* ii. 355; *Sch.* 501.
55. The frantic Lady. *Wheat.* ii. 357; *Sch.* 503.
1. Bodmer. Der Mord des Königs der Schotten. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1781.
1. Herder. Murray's Ermordung. *Cf.* Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 382.
2. Uhland. Des Sängers Fluch. *Cf.* Bibliogr. Instit. ed. p. 267.
3. Kosegarten. Das Lied vom edlen Murray. *Cf.* Gedichte, 5th ed. p. 198.
4. Fontane. Lord Murray. *Cf.* Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 391.
1. Herder. Der eifersüchtige König. *Cf.* Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 379.
2. Uhland. Des Sängers Fluch. *Cf.* Bibliogr. Instit. ed. p. 267.
3. Fontane. Jung Walter. *Cf.* Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 334.
1. Herder. Soldatenmärchen. *Cf.* Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 556.
2. Bothe. Das Fräulein aus Spanien. *Cf.* Volkslieder, 1795.
1. Herder. Die Todtenglocke. *Cf.* Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 278.
1. Fontane. Sir Walter Raleigh's letzte Nacht. *Cf.* Gedichte, 1902 ed. p. 167.
1. Bürger. Der Kaiser und der Abt. *Cf.* Gedichte, ed. Berger, p. 218.
2. Bodmer. Der Abt von Kantelberg. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1781.
3. Fontane. König Johann und der Bischof von Canterbury. *Cf.* Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 428.
1. Herder. Das Unvergleichbare. *Cf.* Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 521.
1. Herder. Lied im Gefängnis. *Cf.* Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 516.
1. Herder. Der Verliebte. *Cf.* Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 553.
2. Anon. *Cf.* Göttinger Musenalm., 1781, p. 181.
1. Boie. *Cf.* Voss' Musenalm., 1792, p. 119.
1. Haug. *Cf.* Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii.
1. Haug. *Cf.* Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii.
56. The Braes of Yarrow. *Wheat.* ii. 362; *Sch.* 506.
57. Admiral Hosier's Ghost. *Wheat.* ii. 367; *Sch.* 509.
58. Jemmy Dawson. *Wheat.* ii. 371; *Sch.* 228.
59. The Boy and the Mantle. *Wheat.* iii. 3; *Sch.* 556.
60. The Marriage of Sir Gawaine. *Wheat.* iii. 13; *Sch.* 563.
61. King Ryence's Challenge. *Wheat.* iii. 24; *Sch.* 572.
62. King Arthur's Death. *Wheat.* iii. 27; *Sch.* 575.
63. A Dytie to Hey Downe. *Wheat.* iii. 44; *Sch.* 584.
64. Glasgerion. *Wheat.* iii. 45; *Sch.* 585.
65. Old Robin of Portingale. *Wheat.* iii. 50; *Sch.* 588.
66. Child Waters. *Wheat.* iii. 58; *Sch.* 595.
67. Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard. *Wheat.* iii. 68; *Sch.* 601.
1. Leuz. Yarrow's Ufer. *Cf.* Gedichte, ed. Weinhold, p. 162.
2. von Halem. *Cf.* Voss' Musenalm., 1792.
1. Bothe. Admiral Hosiers Geist. *Cf.* Volkslieder, 1795.
2. Kosegarten. Hosiers Geist. *Cf.* Gedichte, 5th ed. p. 239.
1. Haug. *Cf.* Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii.
1. Herder. Der Knabe mit dem Mantel. *Cf.* Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 244.
2. Bodmer. Der Mantel der Keuschheit. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
3. Bothe. Das Knäblein mit dem Mantel. *Cf.* Volkslieder, 1795.
4. W. Gerhard. Der Keuschheitsmantel. *Cf.* Hub's Auswahl, p. 302.
5. Anon. *Cf.* Die Volksharfe, publ. 1838, vol. i. p. 126.
6. F. Dahn. Der Zauber-mantel. *Cf.* Gedichte, 1^{te} Sammluog, p. 242.
1. Bodmer. Gaweens Heyrath. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
2. Bothe. Herrn Gabins Hochzeit. *Cf.* Volkslieder, 1795.
1. Bodmer. Der Mantel mit Bärten belegt. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
1. Seckendorf. *Cf.* Seckendorfs Musenalm., 1806, p. 110.
1. Herder. Menschenreformation. *Cf.* Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 567.
2. Bodmer. Der Landstörzer. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
1. Bodmer. Glasgerion. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
1. Bodmer. Robin von Portugal. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
1. Bürger. Graf Walter. *Cf.* Gedichte, ed. Berger, p. 281.
2. Bodmer. Waters. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
3. Bothe. Graf Walter. *Cf.* Volkslieder, 1795.
4. Seckendorf. *Cf.* Seckendorfs Musenalm., 1808, p. 120.
1. Bürger. Lenardo und Blaudine. *Cf.* Gedichte, ed. Berger, p. 92.
2. Bodmer. Der kleine Musgrave. *Cf.* Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
3. Fontane. Jung Musgrave und Lady Barnard. *Cf.* Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 365.

4. F. Dahn. Lady Angus und Jung Kenneth.
Cf. Gedichte, 2^{te} Sammlung, p. 151.
68. The Shepherd's Address to his House.
Wheat. iii. 80;
Sch. 609.
69. Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor.
Wheat. iii. 82;
Sch. 610.
70. The Lady turned Serving-man.
Wheat. iii. 86;
Sch. 613.
71. Fair Margaret and Sweet William.
Wheat. iii. 124;
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72. Barbara Allen's Cruelty.
Wheat. iii. 128;
Sch. 641.
73. Sweet William's Ghost.
Wheat. iii. 130;
Sch. 643.
74. Sir John Grehme and Barbara Allan.
Wheat. iii. 133;
Sch. 645.
75. The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington.
Wheat. iii. 135;
Sch. 646.
76. The Willow-tree.
Wheat. iii. 137;
Sch. 648.
1. Bodmer. Das Schäferkind.
Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
1. Eschenburg.
Cf. Ursinus' Balladen altengl. und altschott. Dichtart, 1777, p. 165.
2. Bodmer. Die schöne Ellinor.
Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
3. Strachwitz. Das Lied vom falschen Grafen.
Cf. Gedichte, ed. Reclam, p. 139.
1. Merck. Die in einen Diener verwandelte Lady.
Cf. Hamburg, Address-Com-toir-Nachrichten, No. 83.
2. Bodmer. Der Diener, der zur Königin wird.
Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
3. Bothe. Die in einen Diener verwandelte Lady.
Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.
1. Herder. Wilhelm und Margreth.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 192.
2. Bodmer. Die schöne Margreth und der süsse Wilhelm.
Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
3. Fontane. Schön - Margreth und Lord William.
Cf. Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 378.
4. F. Dahn. Jung Douglas und schön Rosabell.
Cf. Gedichte, Erste Sammlung, p. 219.
1. Bodmer. Barbara Elle.
Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
2. Kosegarten. Die Romanze von Barbara Allen.
Cf. Gedichte, ed. 5, p. 207.
3. Haug.
Cf. Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii.
1. Herder. Wilhelm's Geist.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 523.
2. Bürger. Lenore.
Cf. Gedichte, ed. Berger, p. 64.
3. Bodmer. Des süssen Wilhelm's Geist.
Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1781.
1. Herder. Schottische Ballade.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 566.
2. Fontane. Barbara Allen.
Cf. Gedichte, ed. 1902, p. 382.
1. Bodmer. Des Schnltzens Tochter zu Islington.
Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
2. Haug.
Cf. Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii.
1. Eschenburg.
Cf. Leipzig. Musenalm., 1773, p. 124.
2. Kosegarten. Das Lied vom Weidenbaum.
Cf. Gedichte, ed. 5, p. 213.
77. Waly, waly, Love be bonny.
Wheat. iii. 145;
Sch. 653.
78. The Lady Isabella's Tragedy.
Wheat. iii. 155;
Sch. 661.
79. The sweet Neglect.
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Sch. 671.
80. The Children in the Wood.
Wheat. iii. 169;
Sch. 672.
81. The Shepherd's Resolution.
Wheat. iii. 188;
Sch. 637.
82. Robin Goodfellow.
Wheat. iii. 199;
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83. Love will find out the Way.
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84. Lord Thomas and Fair Annet.
Wheat. iii. 234;
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85. Unfading Beauty.
Wheat. iii. 239;
Sch. 223.
86. The steadfast Shepherd.
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Sch. 741.
87. Jealousy, Tyrant of the Mind.
Wheat. iii. 260;
Sch. 1072.
88. To Lucrezia, on going to the Wars.
Wheat. iii. 264;
Sch. 745.
89. Valentine and Ursine.
Wheat. iii. 265;
Sch. 745.
90. Margaret's Ghost.
Wheat. iii. 308;
Sch. 780.
1. Herder. O weh, o weh.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 202.
2. Kosegarten. O Jammer, Jammer.
Cf. Gedichte, ed. 5, p. 210.
1. Bodmer. Der Stiefmutter Grausamkeit.
Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
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Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 555.
2. M. A. von Thümmel.
Cf. Gedichte, publ. 1782.
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Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
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Cf. Recension über Percy's Reliques, publ. 1765. Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften, vol. i.
2. C. F. Weiss.
Cf. Gedichte, vol. ii., publ. 1772, p. 253.
3. Eschenburg.
Cf. Göttinger Musenalm., 1773, p. 167.
4. Haug.
Cf. Epigramme u. Vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii.
1. Voss. Knecht Robert.
Cf. Gedichte, vol. iv. p. 200.
2. Bothe. Robert Gutfreund.
Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.
1. Herder. Weg der Liebe.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 358.
2. Haug.
Cf. Voss's Musenalm., 1792.
1. Bodmer. Der geöffte Ritter.
Cf. Altengl. Balladen, 1780.
2. Bothe. Der Ritter mit der langen Nase.
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3. Talvj.
Cf. Charakteristik der Volkslieder, publ. 1840.
1. Herder. Dämmerung der Liebe.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 125.
1. Herder. Der entschlossene Liebhaber.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 277.
1. Herder. Feind im Paradiese.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 121.
2. E. Kuhl.
Cf. Hinterlassene Gedichte, i. 229.
3. Haug.
Cf. Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii.
1. Haug.
Cf. Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte, vol. ii.
1. Bothe. Valentin und Ursin.
Cf. Volkslieder, 1795.
1. Hölty. Adelstan und Röschen. Die Nonne.
Cf. Hub's Auswahl.

2. Fried. Müller. Das braune Fräulein.
Cf. Hub's Auswahl.
3. Eschenburg.
Cf. Göttinger Musenalm., 1772, p. 161.
4. Herder. Gretchens Geist.
Cf. Volkslieder, Suphan ed. xxv. 561.
5. Fr. Ch. Rühls.
Cf. Göttinger Musenalm., 1801, p. 194.
91. Lucy and Colin.
Wheat. iii. 312;
Sch. 778.
1. Eschenburg.
Cf. Alm. d. deut. Musen., 1774, p. 154.
92. The wanton Wife of Bath.
Wheat. iii. 333;
Sch. 655.
93. The Hermit of Warkworth.
Sch. 1086.
6. Herder. Röschen und Kolin.
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3. Haug.
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1. Bürger. Frau Schnips.
Cf. Gedichte, ed. Berger, p. 143.
1. Campe.
Cf. Teutscher Merkur, 1774, Oct. p. 5.

E. I. M. BOYD.

OBSERVATIONS

EUPHUES AND THE 'COLLOQUIES' OF ERASMUS.

It is well known that Lyly's *Euphues* contains a section, 'Euphues and his Ephœbus,' the greater part of which is taken from Plutarch's treatise *De Educatione Puerorum*. There are, however, certain passages in it which are not to be found in the Greek, and which have, I believe, always been looked upon as Lyly's own. It is therefore perhaps worth while to point out that one of the longest of them, occupying nearly two pages in Mr. R. W. Bond's edition (i. 264-32—266-24), is taken, partly in the form of translation and partly in that of summary, from Erasmus' Colloquy called *Puerpera*.

The comparison of a single passage in each will serve to put the borrowing beyond doubt. I choose the first, though in some others the Latin is more closely followed, as a good average example of Lyly's use of his source.

Lyly has:—

'Is not the name of a mother most sweet? If it bee, why is halfe that title bestowed on a woman which neuer felte the paines in conceyuing, neyther can conceiue the lyke pleasure in nurseing as the mother doth? Is the earthe called the mother of all thinges onely bicause it bringeth forth? No, but bicause it nourisheth those thinges that springe out of it: whatsoeuer is bredde in the sea, is fed in the sea, no plant, no tree, no hearbe commeth out of the ground that is not moystened and as it were nursed of the moysture and milke of the earth: the Lionnesse nurseth hir whelpes, the Rauens cherisheth hir birdes, the Uiper hir broode,

and shall a woman cast away hir babe? (ed. Bond i. 264-32—265-7).

In the Latin the passage runs:—

Eutrapelus. Dic mihi, nonne sentis esse dulcissimum matris vocabulum? *Fabulla*. Sentio. *Eu*. Itaque, si fieri posset, pateris aliam mulierem esse matrem tui partus? *Fa*. Minime gentium. *Eu*. Cur igitur volens plusquam dimidiatum matris nomen transfers in feminam alienam? *Fa*. Bona verba, Eutrapele; non divido filium, sola totaque sum mater. *Eu*. Imo heic tibi, *Fabulla*, reclamat in os ipsa natura. Cur terra dicitur omnium parens? an quod gignat tantum? imo multo magis quod nutriat ea quæ genuit. Quod aqua gignit, in aquis educatur. In terra nullum animantis aut plantæ genus nascitur, quod eadem terra succo suo non alat: nec est ullum animantis genus quod non alat suos fœtus. Ululæ, leones, et viperæ educant partus suos; et homines suos fœtus abjiciunt?

This is from a passage about a quarter of the way through the Colloquy, and the borrowings continue from this part until after the quotation from Horace. Lyly now passes over several pages of the Latin, what follows, 'Therefore lette the mother as often as she shal beholde those two fountaynes of milke . . .,' being taken from 'Cum vides in pectore duos istos veluti fenticulos . . .' toward the end of the Colloquy. From this part comes all the rest, including the astonishing derivation of μήτηρ from μή τηρεῖν.¹

Admirably as Mr. Bond has worked out the sources used by Lyly, he does not seem

¹ 'Et in tales feminas mihi competere Græcorum videtur etymologia, qui μήτηρ dici putant a μή τηρεῖν, hoc est, a non servando.'

to have found any indication of acquaintance with the *Colloquies* of Erasmus. It would be strange if, making such use of one, he had taken nothing from any other. The point might be worth investigation.

R. B. MCKERROW.

names are only too frequent in M.E. MSS. In the Biblical Text mentioned above, the scribe writes, for instance, *alssone* for *Asson* (Acts xx. 14), and a *zate*, a gate for *Azoto* (ib. viii. 40).

A. C. PAUES.

CHAUCER'S 'DRYE SEE.'

(See *M.L.Q.*, April 1904, p. 15.)

IN support of Professor Torraca's and Mr. Paget Toynbee's views as to the meaning of *drye see* (= *Adrye see*) in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchesse*, l. 1028, I should like to quote the following verse from a *Fourteenth Century Biblical Version* which will shortly be published by the University Press, Cambridge:

Acts xxvii. 27: 'Bot efter þo fourten[d]e nyghte was comen, and we wore schippande in A-drye, aboute þo mydde-nyghte þo schipmen supposed þat þei see a contre.'

A-drye (the capital is my own) is the reading of the three MSS. in which the above text occurs, and it constitutes sufficient proof for the existence and use of the word in Chaucer's time.

That the word was comparatively rare in M.E. is extremely likely; in fact, Professor Skeat states that he has been unable to find it in any M.E. author. This very fact helps us to understand how the Chaucerian reading came about. The scribe found in the original *the a drye see*; now, since the name *a-drye* was unknown to him, the phrase appeared mere nonsense. He evidently took *the* and *a* to be articles, and emended the text by omitting the less suitable, hence *the drye see*.

Scribal disfigurements of geographical

DONNE v. DODSLEY.

ROBERT DODSLEY in his 'ballad farce,' *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (1741), introduces as a song (p. 30) the now well-known lines:

'As Death alone the Marriage Knot unties,
So Vows that Lovers make
Last until Sleep, Death's Image, close their Eyes,
Dissolve when they awake;
And that fond Love which was to-Day their
Theme
Is thought To-morrow but an idle Dream.'

The song is reprinted among Dodsley's poems in Chalmers' *English Poets*, vol. xv., and again appears under his name in Dodd's *Epigrammatists* with the inappropriate title *A Dream of Love*. I am not, however, aware if any one has pointed out that Dodsley's share in its composition was confined to skilfully expanding three lines from Donne's little poem called *Woman's Constancy*. (Donne's *Poems*, ed. E. K. Chambers, i., p. 5).

'Now thou hast loved me one whole day
To-morrow, when thou leavest, what wilt thou
say? . . .

[Wilt] say that now
We are not just those persons which we were? . . .
Or as true deaths true marriages untie,
So lovers' contracts, images of those,
Bind but till sleep, death's image, them unloose?'

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

REVIEWS

Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature. Vol. VIII. Published, under the direction of the Modern Language Departments of Harvard University, by Ginn & Co. Boston, 1903. Price 7s. net.

Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance. By LUCY ALLEN PATON, Ph.D. (Radcliffe). (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 13.).

Ginn & Co. Boston, 1903. Price \$1.50 net.

THIS volume of Harvard *Studies and Notes* is one of the most interesting in the admirable series to which it belongs. It consists of two essays of approximately equal length, the first by Mr. Arthur C. L. Brown on *Iwain*, and the second by Professor G. L. Kittredge on *Arthur and Gorlagon*. Some years ago Professor W. Foerster, in his editions of Chrétien de Troyes' *Cligés* and

Iwain, put forward the theory that the basis of the latter poem is a form of the 'leicht getröstete Wittwe' story which is most familiar in the *Matron of Ephesus*, a view which has met with by no means universal acceptance. Mr. Brown's contribution to the present volume is a new study of the whole question, in which he attempts to show that the real source is a Celtic other-world tale.

The story of the *Matron of Ephesus* is given from Petronius, together with an analysis of *Iwain*. From this it at once appears that only a quite insignificant part of the latter can possibly be derived from the former, and that, unless indeed it can be shown that other variants of the story existed which presented far more striking resemblances, Professor Foerster's theory is by no means satisfactory. As Mr. Brown shows, the 'leicht getröstete Wittwe' motive cannot be stretched to account for more than some five or six hundred lines at most out of the six thousand eight hundred of *Iwain*. Furthermore, the similarity resolves itself into little else than the presence in each of a lady's-maid who takes the part of the hero, and a bereaved widow who marries again suddenly. Such things are not altogether unknown in real life, and it seems hardly necessary to go to the *Matron of Ephesus* for them.

Mr. Brown next takes a number of Celtic stories of the journey to the other-world, and shows that in one or other of these parallels can be found for almost every incident in *Iwain*. The most striking case is afforded by the *Serglige Conculaind*, or *Cuchulinn's Sick-Bed*, in which he finds, in practically the same order, no less than ten of the incidents made use of by Chrétien. This single legend thus supplies a source for nearly half of the poem. For other incidents parallels are found in the *mabinogi* of Pwyll, Prince of Dyvet, in the Voyages of Bran and of Mailduin, and elsewhere. In fact, the only incident for which Mr. Brown finds no parallel in Celtic story seems to be that of the rain-making character of the fountain; but this, as he says, may well be a modification of the magic fountain which in ancient Celtic legend is a feature of the other-world landscape. Stories of such fountains are by no means uncommon, and the particular one at Bérenton with which Chrétien seems to identify the Fountain Perilous had already been described by Wace.

I can only say that, so far as it is possible to judge without a special study of the works themselves, Mr. Brown's theory of

the Celtic origin of Chrétien's poem appears to be absolutely conclusive. The argument is put forward with a clearness which is unfortunately not universal in writings on the terribly complicated subject of the Arthurian legends.

Professor Kittredge's study of *Arthur and Gorlagon* opens with a reprint of the text, a werewolf tale in Latin from Rawlinson MS. B. 149 at the Bodleian Library. This story, which seems to have remained up to the present altogether unnoticed, tells how, at a banquet at Caerleon, Arthur, making love somewhat too publicly to his queen, is told that he does not understand women ('nunquam vel ingenium mentemue femine comperisse'). 'If I have hitherto been ignorant of these matters, I will never taste food till I discover them,' cries the astonished king, and at once sets out for the palace of a neighbouring monarch, the wise Gorgol, from whom he hopes to learn the secret. From him he can obtain no information, nor yet from his brother Torleil (or Gorbeil), to whom he is referred, but from the third brother, Gorlagon, by the common device of refusing to accept of hospitality until he has been told what he wishes to know, he at last learns the story. This, to which all that precedes has been a mere introduction, is the tale of a king, Gorlagon himself, who, being turned by his wife into a wolf, in that form passed through many adventures, until he at last regained his proper shape and punished those by whom he had been bewitched.

The story itself is quite short, only occupying some twelve pages. The rest of the book is devoted to a detailed investigation of the relationship between this and other werewolf legends, particularly Marie's *Lai de Bisclavret*, the anonymous *Lai de Melion*, and an Irish form of the story, of which eight versions are known. It is quite impossible in the space at my disposal to attempt any discussion of the long and intricate, but very ably handled, series of arguments which Professor Kittredge puts forward; but the conclusion at which he arrives is briefly this:—That there were two Irish tales, one belonging to the Fairy-wife group, the other a werewolf legend. The second of these passed into Brittany, where it afforded the material for the *Lai de Bisclavret*. In Ireland the two stories were combined into a single saga, and, thus united, passed also into Brittany, where, somewhat altered, they became the *Lai de Melion*. In its original home the tale underwent still further modifications, being set in a frame-

story of a quester who has to discover 'the cause of the one story about women'—corresponding to the search for the 'ingenium et mens feminæ' of the Latin—and certain new incidents were added, the most important being the defence of a child by a faithful dog (the Beth Gêlert story). The whole, in its new form, passed into Wales, as appears by the names of Gorlagon and his two brothers, Gorgol and Gorbeil (?). There a new conclusion, describing the punishment of the sorceress, was added, to which the author has found parallels in the *Gesta Romanorum* and in certain Oriental tales, and, to suit this, the fairy character of the lady was suppressed and she became an ordinary mortal. It is from the Welsh version that the Latin story under discussion was derived.

At the end of the book there are some pages of notes, among which is to be found a very interesting investigation of the legend of the Faithful Dog already referred to.

Dr. Paton's work is an elaborate study of the history of Morgain la Fée in the Arthurian legend, and incidentally of La Dame du Lac and of Niniane (Nimue). The author finds the origin of all these characters in the fairy-mistress of Celtic legend, the earliest appearance of whom is in the *Imram Brain maic Febail*. Dr. Paton, however, opposes the view of Prof. Rhŷs, that the Lady of the Lake and Niniane 'may be taken as different aspects of the one mythic figure, the lake-lady Morgen,' and claims that they are in reality different personages, each with a distinct individuality and with a legend proper to herself.

The origin of the name 'Morgain' has been much discussed, and many derivations have been proposed. All these, however, connect her in some way with the sea, while, as Dr. Paton points out, in no early form of her legend has she anything whatever to do with the sea, except in so far as she is the inhabitant of an island. All the derivations hitherto proposed are therefore rejected, and it is suggested that her name may come from that of the Morrigan, one of the five ancient Irish goddesses of war, and the most prominent of them. Derivation from this goddess would not of course account for Morgain's fairy-mistress character, but it is shown that some of the minor incidents of her story recall, at least faintly, episodes connected with the Morrigan, and that she is credited with powers which are properly characteristic of the latter, the

chief being the gifts of prophecy and of shape-shifting. One can hardly say that Dr. Paton has succeeded in actually proving any connection between the two characters, but her theory is attractive and seems at least as plausible as any other.

The greater part of the book is devoted to an account of the various episodes in which the three chief fays appear, and of their relations to Arthur and his knights, and seems to cover the ground with great thoroughness. The most difficult question is perhaps that of the relationship or want of relationship of Morgain and the Lady of the Lake. In later times they were of course clearly distinguished, and Dr. Paton attempts with some success to show that the fays were from the beginning different characters. At the same time it might, I think, be argued that, if Morgain be the Morrigan, there is a somewhat suggestive parallel between the Lady of the Lake's most characteristic presentation as the fairy guardian and protectress of a young knight and the Morrigan's protection of the youthful Cuchulinn.

Niniane is somewhat more easily separated from the others as the real heroine of the single story of the enchanting of Merlin, the occasional substitution of the name of the Lady of the Lake for hers seeming to be due rather to confusion than to any original connection between the two characters.

At the end we find several interesting appendices, among them one on Morgan Tud, the physician of Arthur in the Welsh *Geraint*, who has been connected with Morgain, and another on the Diana myth in its relation to medieval fairy lore.

In conclusion, I need only say that the subject, intricate as it is, seems to have been treated with the greatest possible clearness, and that the notes and references to authorities leave in completeness nothing to be desired.

R. B. MCKERROW.

De usu articuli finiti anglici quantum differat in Scripturæ Sacræ translatione A.D. MDCXI edita et in hodierno sermone thesim proponebat Facultati Litterarum Parisiensi A. Barbeau. Lut. Par. apud A. Picard et filium. MCMIV.

PERHAPS those alone who have attempted to explain the use of the English definite

article to non-Aryan pupils can ever quite adequately realise how extraordinarily full of difficulties the subject is, but all are aware that both the older and present-day uses of it offer many apparent anomalies, and will welcome any investigation, either historical or logical, which will help to explain them. M. Barbeau's work is in conception excellent—to take an example of early prose written in a serious and careful style, and by analysing the uses of the definite article in it, to see how far these are at variance with its functions at the present day. Had he taken as the subject of his investigation almost any other book than the Authorised Version of the Bible, his work might have been of very great value. Unfortunately, however, in choosing this, he has made one of the worst selections for his purpose that he could have made. He seems to have quite overlooked the fact that the Authorised Version was by no means a new and independent translation from the Hebrew and Greek originals, but was in very great measure based on older versions, going back in a regular series to that of Wycliffe at the close of the fourteenth century. Of course, at each revision such archaisms as would render the text unintelligible to ordinary people of the time would be struck out, but a somewhat old-fashioned flavour would doubtless be no more distasteful to the various revisers than it is to us at present. Even if there had been in the minds of the translators of 1611 no deliberate intention of preserving this, it would have been quite impossible for men familiar with the earlier versions, as they must have been from constantly reading them and hearing them read, not to be influenced by them. As a matter of fact, the language of the A.V. and that of the four chief versions which preceded it, Tyndale's (1534), Cranmer's (1539), that of Geneva (1560), and the Rheims New Testament (1582), is on the whole extraordinarily similar, though there are of course many differences in the translation.

It results from this that the text of the A.V. is, standing alone, of comparatively little value for the grammatical investigation of the language of its time. Unless we can be sure that a given reading is not an archaism taken from an earlier version, the most we can say is that it was probably not so far out of date in 1611 as to have become unintelligible or to appear an obvious grammatical blunder, and it is clear that especially in the use of the article and in minor and

doubtful points of this nature it would take a very great deal of archaism to bring about such a result.

If we compare the quotations given by M. Barbeau from the A.V. with the corresponding passages in earlier versions, we find, first, that in a very large number of cases the peculiar use of the article seems to have been taken over from one or other of them, and, secondly, that the A.V. is frequently more archaic in this respect than the Geneva version of half a century before.

For example, in § 4, M. Barbeau quotes, as an instance of *that* where we should now use *the*, a phrase from John vii. 37, 'In the last day, that great day of the feast.' In the versions of Tyndale and Cranmer we also find *that*, but the Geneva version has 'the last and great day'; that of Rheims, 'the last, the great day.' The fact that the Geneva version differs from that which precedes it appears to render it at least as likely that the expression seemed antiquated in 1560 as that it did not so seem in 1611.

So too in the example in § 11, 'children of the youth,' the G.V. has the more modern 'children of youth,' and in the three quotations in § 12, n. 1, where M. Barbeau notes *the* used for *thy*, the G.V. has in every case *thy*; so also in the example given in note 2.

It is thus clear that we cannot immediately accept the readings of the A.V. as representing the normal English of 1611, and this of course renders instances quoted from it of doubtful value for the purpose which the author has in view, though, as here collected, they would form an excellent basis for a comparison of the use of the article in the earlier versions, a comparison which, I think, might prove of considerable value.

Even as it is, M. Barbeau's book is by no means without its uses. It seems to be a very careful piece of work and, so far as one can judge, complete, while at the end there is an excellent summing up of the general results of the investigation. In a certain number of cases perhaps more notes might have been given; the shades of meaning due to the article are often exceedingly delicate, and the exact sense of an expression must be decided before one can say whether its use is or is not in accordance with modern principles. Again, in some of the quotations the peculiarity seems to lie rather in the whole form of the expression, which would be, if not archaic, at least unusual in modern English, than in the use or omission of the article; for ex-

ample, in § 74, M. Barbeau quotes such phrases as 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians,' 'in Galilee of the nations,' 'in Syria of Damascus,' as examples of the omission of the definite article where in modern English it would be necessary. But were we to say, 'Great is the Diana of the Ephesians,'

etc., we should certainly imply that there were other Dianas, other Galilees, and other Syrias, which is not implied in the phrases as they stand. Is not 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles' quite correct modern English?

R. B. MCKERROW.

SHORT NOTICES.

Chaucer's Canterbury Tales: The Knight's Tale. Edited by ALFRED W. POLLARD. Macmillan. 1903. [2s. 6d.]

MR. POLLARD, even when he consents to produce a school-book, refuses to play the part of the mere compiler. Whenever he touches a literary subject, and whatever may be the side from which he approaches it, he always finds something original and suggestive to say. Thus he takes the opportunity afforded him in the Introduction to the present volume of boldly, and to our mind successfully, challenging the orthodox theory concerning the composition of the 'Knight's Tale.' Students will recall the facts which that theory has been advanced to explain. Briefly they are as follows. The 'Knight's Tale' is based upon Boccaccio's *Teseide*. The story of this poem is combined with other material in the fragment known as *Queen Anelida and False Arcyte*. Three stanzas properly belonging to the *Teseide* are introduced into *Troilus and Criseyde*, while sixteen stanzas of the *Parlement of Foules* can be traced to the same source. The theory which was formulated by Professor Skeat, and has met with general acceptance, is that 'Chaucer originally translated the *Teseide* rather closely, substituting a seven-line stanza for the *ottava rima* of the original' in a poem mentioned in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* as 'Palamon and Arcyte'; that being dissatisfied with this attempt he discarded what he had written with the exception of certain stanzas which he used up in the composition of other works, namely, *Anelida and Arcyte*, *Parlement of Foules*, and *Troilus and Criseyde*; and that at a later date he returned to his Italian original and transformed it into the 'Knight's Tale.' The theory, which Mr. Pollard advances in opposition to the above, may be best given in his own words:

'(i) that the first use which Chaucer

made of the *Teseide* was to try to combine the story of it with other material in *Anelida and Arcyte*;

'(ii) that when he failed in this he laid it aside, while using passages from the *Teseide*, according to his custom with other books, to enrich the *Parlement of Foules* and (perhaps) *Troilus*;

'(iii) that when he had finished the *Troilus* he returned to the *Teseide* and treated that on the same lines as he had treated the *Filostrato*, using the heroic couplet;

'(iv) that the Knight's Tale is thus substantially the same poem as that alluded to in the *Legend of Good Women* as treating of "all the love of Palamon and Arcyte," but that slight alterations were subsequently made to fit it for to place in the *Canterbury Tales*.'

It will be noticed that if this theory be adopted an important result follows, namely, that we must place the 'Knight's Tale' before the *Legend of Good Women*, and consequently regard the former as the first poem in which Chaucer employed the couplet form. This is, of course, opposed to the prevalent view of Chaucerian chronology, but it remains to be shown that any inherent improbability is involved. The theory, we may add, is not new, having been already touched upon by Mr. Jewett Mather in the *Furnivall Miscellany*; but it is in its inception Mr. Pollard's own, and was originally hinted at in the Introduction to the 'Globe' Chaucer; it deserves wider recognition than it has so far received.

Loci Critici: passages illustrative of critical theory and practice from Aristotle downwards, selected, partly translated, and arranged with notes by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Ginn and Co. 1903. [7s. 6d.]

THE fitness of the editor for his task will not be questioned by any one acquainted with the two volumes that have already appeared of Professor Saintsbury's *History of Criticism*. The idea of the volume, which sufficiently appears in the title, was an excellent one, and it has been carried out in a manner which should fully satisfy the most critical expectations. By the side of the most important passages from the great classics of criticism, supplemented where necessary by concise summary and analysis, we find a number of characteristic extracts, often only a line or two, from all manner, even of the least of writers, both ancient and modern, Similius, Aulus Gellius, Boethius, in the classical languages; Giraldi Cintio (for some reason called Cinthio Giraldi), Thomas Wilson, and several Spanish critics, among the moderns. The conjunction is often suggestive, and we learn to know and to recognise the possible importance of the forgotten writer who has left perhaps a single significant sentence. For the aim of the editor has been rather to extract and present to the student whatever there was of new in the criticism of each period, whatever step it could claim as its own in the general advance, than to illustrate from an historical point of view its general attitude and temper. Had the latter been his aim he must, for instance, have given far more space to the rather barren critics of the Italian renaissance, who he himself acknowledges 'founded criticism anew.' Even as it is we are not sure whether his own favourite views concerning literary criticism have not led him to do some little injustice to the importance of this school. Almost half the volume is devoted to the nineteenth-century critics and their immediate predecessors, to that portion of the subject, namely, to the Professor's treatment of which we still look forward in the third volume of his *History of Criticism*. It is this volume, we venture to think, that should prove the most valuable of his work, and we obtain an interesting foresight into the treatment we may expect, from the texts here selected. The volume is to be strongly recommended whether as a supplement to the *History* or as an independent critical 'reader.'

Columbia University: Studies in Comparative Literature. The English Heroic Play, a critical description of the rhymed tragedy of the Restoration,
VOL. VII.

by LEWIS NATHANIEL CHASE. [8s. 6d. net.] **Platonism in English Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries**, by JOHN SMITH HARRISON. Columbia University Press. Macmillan. 1903. [8s. 6d. net.]

It must be clearly understood that these works are rather of the nature of general essays on their respective subjects than of exhaustive monographs. This is in itself no demerit when fairly recognised, but the fact remains that the titles are capable of raising expectation in the reader which the volumes are far from satisfying, and the consequent disappointment may lend colour to the feeling of distrust with which, in certain quarters, everything which appears under the title of 'Comparative Literature' is apt to be viewed.

Mr. Chase's volume offers a 'critical survey' of the Heroic Drama of the Restoration 'with the object of determining the type.' So far, and in so far as the determination of literary 'types' can with precision and advantage be pursued, the work is satisfactory enough, but in the absence of any discussion of what, to make use of a now almost trite metaphor, we may term the biological history of the form, it remains what its author justly styles it, at most 'a partial introduction' to the complete subject. We understand that Mr. Chase is at present engaged upon the more essential portion of his investigation, a task in which we wish him every success, and it would therefore appear to be both more satisfactory to the reader and more just to the author to postpone criticism until the whole work lies before us.

Mr. Harrison traces the influence of Platonic, or, as he acknowledges, necessarily rather of Neo-Platonic philosophy, in its broad lines and in its more obvious examples in English poetry from Spenser and Milton. Of the beginnings of that influence and of its channels, native and foreign—of the Italian philosophers, of their English followers, of the foreign poets who wrote under the same influence—we hear little or nothing. The essay is rather suggestive and sketchy than exhaustive or minute. It contains, indeed, much that is thoughtful and of interest from a literary point of view. To mention only one instance, the tracing of a difference between the first two books of the *Faery Queen* and the rest of the poem, due to the difference between the fundamental virtues of Platonic philo-

sophy, and the more derivative or incidental virtues of Christian ethics which they respectively exemplify, is worth close attention. Nevertheless we are a little astonished at an essay of this nature being presented as a doctoral dissertation. Though fully alive to the danger of the narrow view of scholarship divorced from literary presentation prevalent in the German schools, we cannot help feeling rather dissatisfied with the tendency visible in some quarters in America, though in some only, to accept more or less suggestive and more or less brilliant, but at the same time vague and often superficial generalities, as evidence of sound scholarship. We intend no derogation to Mr. Harrison's interesting essay as such, but after all the object of academic dissertation is to test a man's powers of sound critical investigation, not his gift of constructing a suggestive literary essay out of nothing in particular. The assurance of solid building should come before the happiness of architectural elaboration.

The Elene of Cynewulf translated into English prose by LUCIUS HUDSON HOLT. (Yale Studies in English, XXI.) New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1904.

A CERTAIN interest always attaches to any attempt at rendering the peculiarities of Old English poetry through the medium of the modern idiom. In the present case the translator informs us that 'The aim of this translation is to give an accurate and readable modern English prose rendering of the Old English poetry. . . . While I trust that my rendering has not departed so far from the text that it will be useless to the student, yet at places it will be found that I have to some extent expanded or contracted the literal translation in the hope of benefiting the modern English version.' We can hardly, unfortunately, regard Mr. Holt's attempt as an unqualified success. Judged by neither of the two tests it is possible to apply to translation, does it appear to us satisfactory. Read without reference to the original it hardly produces a consistent or pleasing effect; the prose, of course, does not adequately represent the metrical qualities of the poem, while yet sufficient of the original rhythm survives to prevent its being good as prose. On the other hand, read by the side of the Old English text, it suffers from not being more literal, modern ideas

being at times suggested which are absent from the original, while the full meaning of the original is not always adequately brought out. The student who attempts to use the translation as a guide to the original will meet with serious difficulties. For instance, in the opening passage, the translator appears to have combined the two half lines 'geteled rimes' and 'pinggemearces,' and to render both together by 'as men mark the tale of time,' in connection with 'geâra hwyrftum,' which he translates 'in the turn of years.' This last phrase is surely very inadequate; 'the turn of years' conveys no meaning in modern English, and is not even particularly close to the original which evidently means 'the circling of the years.' 'As men mark the tale of time' really shirks the meaning of 'geteled rimes' (reckoned by number) and 'pinggemearces' (in the marking of events). It is, however, very possible that the two phrases should be taken in close connection with one another, in which case we suspect that, 'according to the reckoning of the chronicle,' would not be far from the poet's meaning, though hardly itself a literal translation. A few lines further on we find the following passage. 'The wolf in the wood howled his war-song, and hid not his secret hopes of carnage; and at the rear of the foe the dewy-feathered eagle shrieked his note on high.' We cannot help thinking that 'hid not his secret hopes of carnage' is a very far-fetched rendering of 'wælrûne ne mâð.' It can hardly mean anything but 'proclaimed the coming carnage' (literally, 'concealed not the slaughter-secret'). 'Sang âhóf,' again, is simply 'raised his cry,' and the paraphrase 'shrieked his note on high' does not strike us as happy either as a literal translation or as a literary equivalent. 'Dewy-feathered' is, no doubt, a possible rendering of 'ârigfepera,' it is even the orthodox one; but it seems to us that 'storm-drenched' would be an equally possible and perhaps more appropriate rendering ('deâwigfepera' is found, but not apparently in connection with the eagle, while 'ârigfepera' is specifically applied to that bird in more than one passage; while 'ârig,' though not found alone in Old English, is obviously the Icelandic 'ârigr,' wet, from 'âri,' drizzle). The aims of accuracy, or adequacy of literal rendering, and of readableness and literary presentation are not always compatible, but we regret that, while striving in a measure to combine both, Mr. Holt should, as it seems to us, have achieved neither.

The Cattle-Raid of Cualnge (Tain Bo Cuailnge). An Old Irish Prose-Epic translated by L. WINIFRED FARADAY. (Grimm Library, XVI.) David Nutt. 1904. [5s. net.]

THE *Tain Bo Cuailnge* is described by the translator as 'the chief story belonging to the heroic cycle of Ulster, which had its centre in the deeds of the Ulster king, Conchobar Mac Nessa, and his nephew and chief warrior, Cuchulainn Mac Sualtair.' It survives in several MSS., the most important of which are (i) *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, 'The Book of the Dun Cow,' dating from about 1100; (ii) 'The Yellow Book of Lecan,' a late fourteenth-century MS., which, however, sometimes preserves an earlier text than the above and supplies deficiencies; and (iii) 'The Book of Leinster,' which, though written before 1160, is evidently a later recension. The present translation is based on a collation of the two former MSS., while a German version of the latter is announced as imminent. Apart from isolated episodes which have now and again found their way into print, the work has been so far chiefly known from an analysis of the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* (with conclusion from the *Book of Leinster*) by Professor Zimmer, and another of a MS. closely related to the *Book of Leinster* in the 'Grimm Library' volume on Cuchullin. A facsimile of the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* has, however, been accessible, and an edition both of this and the *Book of Leinster* is in course of preparation.

Since the present translation is intended for those who are unable to read the original, all textual annotation has been rightly excluded. Notes on the folklore would, however, have been welcome. We doubt, moreover, whether without more helpreaders will find it easy to follow the allusive brevity of Old Irish style. The translator has had no easy task, and there are probably few who will make much of such a passage as: 'Cuchulainn was practising feats at that time, *i.e.* the apple-feat, the edge-feat, the supine-feat, the javelin-feat, the rope-feat, the — feat, the cat-feat, the hero's salmon [-leap?], the cast —, the leap over —, the noble champion's turn, the *gae bolga*, the — of swiftness, the wheel-feat, the —, the feat on breath, the mouth-rage (?), the champion's shout, the stroke with proper adjustment, the back-stroke, the climbing a javelin with stretching of the body on its point, with the binding (?) of a noble

warrior.' A good deal of this appears to defy the resources of modern scholarship, while even those portions in which the translator feels sufficiently confident to venture on an English version, can scarcely claim to have much meaning.

Gower: Selections from the Confessio Amantis. Edited by G. C. MACAULAY. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1903. [4s. 6d.]

ALL who are interested in the teaching of English literature will welcome this admirable text-book. In his preface the editor writes:—'In view both of the literary and the linguistic interest of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* it seems desirable that it should be made more accessible than it has hitherto been to young students. One author alone, even though that one be Chaucer, is not sufficient to illustrate the important period in the history of English literature and the English language which was reached towards the end of the fourteenth century, and in the history of the development of the standard literary language Gower properly takes his place beside Chaucer, notwithstanding his inferiority in genius. Indeed, for linguistic purposes the text of the *Confessio Amantis* is in many respects more satisfactory to deal with than that of the *Canterbury Tales*, since it has been handed down to us more exactly as it was written, and it was written by an author who was particularly careful in matters of language and orthography. The contents too are sufficiently interesting, and on the whole, no doubt, Gower represents the average literary taste of the time better than Chaucer.' Indeed, Mr. Macaulay's venture stands in need of no defence, while his name is sufficient guarantee for the quality of the work. With characteristic thoroughness, instead of merely reprinting portions of his monumental edition, he has based his text upon a thorough new collation of the Fairfax MS., which he has practically reproduced exactly, without such points of normalisation as were allowed in his former work. Thus the volume has an interest for the scholar, even apart from its usefulness as a text-book. The introduction has been ably condensed from the large edition, while the notes have been considerably expanded with a view to helping the younger students. Two miniatures from Bodley MSS. are reproduced as a frontispiece.

**Glossar zu Farmans Anteil an der
Rushworth-Glosse** (Rushworth 1).
VON ERNST SCHULTE. Bonn, Carl
Georgi. 1904.

THIS is a complete glossary to those portions of the Old English Rushworth Gloss which are due to the priest Farman

of Harewood, that is, to the Mercian portion. The Northumbrian portion has already been indexed by Lindelöf (Helsingfors, 1897), so that the whole is now accessible for the student's use. The work, which is based on Professor Skeat's edition of the text, has been elaborately planned, and executed with great care.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

WE have much pleasure in calling attention to the representations of Old English plays by the Mermaid Society. Those who remember the performances given by the Elizabethan Stage Society in its youthful days will welcome the formation of a new body with a similar aim. The Mermaid Society has already given representations of *Comus*, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, the *Mask of Cupid*, and *The Way of the World*. The list from which plays will be selected for

performance in the autumn is now published, and contains a number of most interesting pieces. Full prospectus will be sent on application to the president, Mr. Philip Carr, 3 Old Palace Chambers, Old Scotland Yard, Whitehall. The subscription is fixed at 5s. annually, which will entitle members to receive all announcements of the Society and to purchase tickets for the performances at a reduced price.

Modern Language Teaching

Edited by

WALTER RIPPMANN

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION: THE PARIS MEETING.

At the last Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association Miss Williams, the President of the International Guild of Paris, appeared in person to invite the Association in the name of that organisation to hold a meeting at Paris. Despite some foreboding of failure, the invitation was accepted, and the production of an excellent programme, containing among others the names of Professor Sadler, Monsieur Hovelague, Monsieur Passy, Professor Seignobos, and Dr. Heath, turned the hearts of many waverers and set their feet on the path to Paris. Some fifty members and their friends availed themselves of the special terms offered by the railway companies, and journeyed together, while a still larger number found their way to Paris independently. It was a matter for regret that so many who have for long years been prominent in the life of our Association were unable to take their share in this new departure, but it is not easy at Eastertide to find a date which will suit all parties.

The opening function, which took place in the Amphithéâtre Descartes, courteously placed at the disposal of the Conference by the authorities of the University of Paris, was conducted with a simplicity which could hardly be equalled even in the annals of republican Rome. There is no elaborate procession, but a file of black-coated men enter the room and silently take their places at a long table on a slightly raised platform. In the centre sits the Minister of Public Instruction, flanked on right and left by Monsieur Rabier and Monsieur Bayet, the directors of the branches for Secondary and Higher Education respectively. Monsieur Beljame begins to speak,

and in a few well-chosen words explains to the Minister the object of our coming. Monsieur Chaumié rises to address us, and emphasises the homeliness of the scene by removing his greatcoat before he utters those felicitous expressions of welcome which most directly appealed to all who heard them. The Association found a worthy spokesman in Sir Hubert Jerningham, who acknowledged with Gallic elegance the cordiality of our reception.

Two disappointments, however, awaited those who had come to attend the Conference. The Minister who had paid us such conspicuous honour by returning to Paris expressly to be present at the meeting, had to cancel, owing to his immediate departure, the reception fixed for that evening. As the main object of our visit was serious business and not pleasure, an even greater sense of loss was occasioned by the announcement that the President of the Association, Professor Sadler, had been obliged, by loss of voice consequent upon over-work, to give up all thoughts of coming to Paris.

There is no need here to give an exhaustive account of all the lectures that contributed so largely to the profit and enjoyment of our meeting; of the brilliant exposition of the aims and progress of the Reformers in France given by Monsieur Hovelague, a masterly display of his thorough grasp of detail, and delivered without the help of a single note; of the thoughtful paper by Dr. Heath on the relation of language to science in the field of education, which brought into clear relief our great need, even in the interests of science itself, of a closer and more exact study of language; of the lucid statement

by Monsieur Baret of the present organisation of Secondary Education in France; of the wit and humour of Mr. Storr, who amid a stuffy atmosphere kept his audience in a merry mood while he sketched the various phases of French teaching in England, as it was and as it is; of the scholarly and subtle analysis of some of the tendencies in contemporary French Prose by Dr. G. Pellissier, expressed in such balanced phrasing and delivered in such admirable fashion that every one was charmed; of the entertaining lecture of Professor Hudson on modern English Poetry, illustrated in the main from Watson and Kipling; of the most interesting address from our Hon. Member, Monsieur Paul Passy, who, though preaching to the converted, was able to show that the practical uses of a study of phonetics had not yet been thoroughly explored; of the practical application of phonetics to the science of Modern Language Teaching, dealt with by Dr. Edwards in a paper which rested on the results of numerous and close personal observations; of the interesting account by Monsieur Dispan de Florian, a member of the staff of the Lycée Lakanal, of the organisation and functions of a 'Lycée Autonome'; of

the most instructive analysis by Professor Seignobos of the elements which go to make up modern France—for are not these all written in the faithful record of the *Journal of Education*?

It is also to be remembered that the education authorities allowed us to visit certain schools, to be present at the class instruction at the Lycée Carnot and the interesting Collège Chaptal, and at the Lycées Molière and Fénelon for Girls. On the Saturday we were entertained by Monsieur Bazin, Proviseur of the Lycée Lakanal, a man of very considerable initiative and full of educational zeal. The school buildings are magnificent, and the arrangements may be commended to the earnest attention of all responsible for the management of boarding-schools in this country.

The Association owes a great debt to Miss Williams for the trouble which she took to organise the meeting, and for the making of such excellent arrangements for our comfort and enjoyment. We hope that the return visit may be equally enjoyable, and even happier in its opportunities of permitting us to gain a knowledge of our French colleagues.

THE NEUPHILOLOGENTAG AT COLOGNE.¹

THE Eleventh General Biennial Meeting of the German Modern Language Association was held on May 25 and the following days at Cologne, which, although it possesses no university proper, yet has an excellent Commercial Academy (*Handelshochschule*), and is in many respects a most suitable place for a 'Modern Language Day' on a large scale. The town of the 'holy three kings,' with its glorious cathedral, great in old and in modern times, famous in history and in legend, is full of interesting associations for modern language students. In it or near it the *Annolied* was composed early in the twelfth century, and in the present day it is the centre of most successful *Blumenspiele*; its early connection with England is also symbolised in legendary lore. It is the town of the 'good Gerhard,' a rich merchant, who, according to the naive poem of Rudolf von Ems, saved both the king and the future queen of England from misery and captivity, and who in return for eminent services rendered to them was

nearly made king of England by the grateful nobles of the realm when they despaired of ever finding their lawful king William again. Gerhard, however, modestly declined this honour, and brought the king and his queen in great state to London in his own ships. A modern merchant prince gave to his native town of Cologne the present flourishing Commercial Academy in which a number of modern languages are excellently taught and diligently studied, English occupying among them the place of honour. Not far from Cologne, a little further down the Rhine, is beautiful Düsseldorf, the town of artists and of great exhibitions, Heine's birthplace; while, on the other side, a few miles up the Rhine and near the 'Siebengebirge,' lies the University of Bonn, the town of Bopp and Schlegel, where Gaston

¹ Reports on the Ninth Conference (at Leipzig, written by Mr. Eve) appeared in the *Quarterly*, iii. 1 (July 1900), pp. 41-45; and on the Tenth Conference (at Breslau, written by Dr. Breul) in the *Quarterly*, v. 3 (December 1902), pp. 160-166.

Paris and Adolf Tobler sat in friendly rivalry at the feet of Friedrich Diez, where Simrock worked for the spreading of a knowledge of Old German poetry, where Delius expounded Shakespeare, and where the old traditions are now worthily upheld by Wilmanns, Foerster, and Bülbring.

Cologne is thus eminently fitted to be the place for a general Conference of professors and teachers of modern languages—ancient and modern art, industry and enterprise, scientific research, and active practical life are all focussed here. Rhenish hospitality, genial and kindly, was not wanting, glorious spring weather favoured the meeting throughout, and the exceptionally favourable position of Cologne, situated as it is on the high-road to Belgium and Holland, France and England, attracted an unusually large number of foreigners to the meetings.

Never before in the annals of the German Modern Language Association has there been such a large attendance. At the last meeting (1902) at Breslau there were about two hundred members, and that has been so far the average number; this time, however, there were no less than three hundred and sixty-four names on the final official list.

Among the German and Austrian university professors there were Hofrat Schipper (Vienna), Trautmann (Bonn), Wagner (Halle), Wetz (Freiburg), Foerster (Würzburg), Schneegans (Würzburg), Stengel (Greifswald), von Weilen (Vienna), Luick (Graz), and others; while Morf (Frankfurt), Curtis (Frankfurt), and the able and energetic President of the meeting, Schröer, represented two of the four great Commercial Academies. All the leading 'Reformers' were present this time—viz. Viëtor, Dörr, Walter, Hartmann, Wendt, Kron, Quiehl, Klinghardt, Rossmann, Gundlach, and others. Among other eminent pedagogues, some of whom took a very active part in the debates, there was, first and foremost, Geheimrat Münch (Berlin); there were also Oberschulrat Waag (Karlsruhe), the headmasters Hausknecht (Kiel), Hamann (Berlin), Unruh (Breslau), and many others; the veteran champions Sachs (author of the famous *German-French Dictionary*), and Ey (of Hanover, first President of the first Neuphilologentag at Hanover, at one time teacher of French and German to Lord Kitchener, and also for many years teacher of French and English to the writer of these lines).

Among the foreign visitors there were no less than twelve Frenchmen (including

Professors Schweitzer, Potel, and Sigwalt); four had come from England and Scotland [Professor D. H. Bellyse Baildon (Dundee), Dr. Thistlethwaite (Glasgow), Mr. Ph. Bauer (Bradford), Dr. Breul (Cambridge)]; there were some Belgian, Dutch, Swedish professors and teachers, and even Russians from Kieff and Tiflis.

The German official world was very largely represented, and clearly showed the interest and the appreciation with which the work of modern language teachers at schools and universities is now being watched by the educational, commercial, and military authorities in Germany. The members of the meeting were addressed and welcomed by the Oberpräsident (the highest official of the Rhine Province), by representatives of the ministries of education, of commerce, and of war, by several chief Government inspectors of secondary schools, by the mayor of Cologne, and by the representative of the Commercial Academy. Professors Schweitzer and Potel represented the French Minister of Education, the latter and Professor Sigwalt also the newly founded 'Société des professeurs des langues vivantes de l'enseignement public' (see *Quarterly*, vi. 3, p. 156). Dr. Breul expressed, on behalf of the Modern Language Association, the hearty good wishes of the English colleagues. The portraits of a number of the leading German and foreign modern language scholars and teachers appeared soon after the Conference was over in the magazine called *Das Rheinland in Wort und Bild* (iv. No. 28, July 10, 1904, Cologne).

As had been done on most previous occasions, a valuable *Festschrift* was presented to all who had come to Cologne, by the modern language teachers of the town. It contained, among other acceptable contributions, an essay by G. Blumschein on the vocabulary of the Cologne dialect; a verse translation of the Middle English metrical romance, *King Horn*, by H. Lindemann; an essay on Henry Becque, by E. Jäde; and a spirited address by the President, Professor A. Schröer, on the best way for modern language teachers to continue their scientific and practical training, and on the aims of the English and French *Seminar* at the Cologne Academy. Special numbers of *Die Neueren Sprachen* and of the *Neuphilologisches Zentralblatt* were also dedicated to the members of the Conference, the former containing, among other things, a very valuable *Aufstellung eines organisch-zusammenhängenden, stufenweise geordneten Lektüreplans nach den Beschlüssen des X. Neu-*

philologentages, the latter a useful digest of the subjects discussed at the first ten modern language Conferences, together with other statistics. The question of devising a reasonable and graduated *Lektüreplan* or *Kanon*, which has engrossed the attention of German modern language teachers for many years, will before long claim the serious attention of English teachers, who will be able to derive much assistance from the (still unfinished) labours of their German colleagues.

The statistics of the *Zentralblatt* show a steady rise in the numbers of the members of the German Association: in 1886, the numbers were 133, but in 1902 they had risen to 1551. A considerable increase may be safely prophesied for the immediate future, as in its final session the Cologne Conference resolved almost unanimously to admit henceforth women to membership of the Association. Probably many women will attend future conferences, as regular members; up to now only a few wives or daughters were present at the meetings.

There were all in all six meetings (on three days), five of which were devoted to papers and discussions, and the sixth to resolutions and other business. They were all held in the splendid large hall of the famous old 'Gürzenich,' which the mayor and corporation had most kindly placed at the disposal of the members of the Conference. The morning meetings began at 9 and lasted, with but short pauses, till 1 or even 2 o'clock. The afternoon meetings began at 5 and lasted till 7. The long interval between the morning and afternoon meetings proved very acceptable to all members of the Conference, as it left ample time for sight-seeing, and for valuable informal interchange of ideas with colleagues.

The discussions — the committee were well advised in imposing a time limit, which made them considerably shorter than at Breslau — were all most interesting, and the debates were conducted with perfect good feeling. Waag's views as set forth in his interesting paper on 'the importance of translation from the foreign language into the mother-tongue,' led to a lively discussion. The necessity or desirability of much translation was emphatically denied by most of the leading 'reformers,' while they admitted the usefulness of occasional choice renderings of especially difficult passages.¹

It is impossible to give in this place an account of the many interesting papers

even in the barest outline. Readers who are anxious to obtain this information will find good summaries in the July number of *Die Neueren Sprachen*, while some of the lectures will appear in full in the October and November numbers of the same periodical. The official report (*Verhandlungen des XI. deutschen Neuphilologentages*) will be published towards the end of the year at Cologne. An interesting impressionist account of the proceedings from day to day is contained in the June number of the *Bulletin mensuel de la société des professeurs des langues vivantes* (written by M. Potel), and a short but spirited article on the Conference was contributed by Prof. Bellyse Baildon to the *Dundee Advertiser* of Monday, June 13, 1904. I must content myself with giving a list of the papers read, from which it will appear that in the very varied programme many problems were dealt with by scholars and teachers of wide repute and much experience.

Among the practical papers those by Waag, Borbein, and Walter aroused the greatest interest, the two last ones being received with enthusiasm by the whole audience. Among the grammatical papers the one read by Morf was deservedly appreciated; the literary papers dealt with Molière, Shakespere, Byron, the Heliaud and Old English epic Literature, and Goethe in his relation to English literature.

It is also deserving of special mention that at the Cologne Modern Language Conference, for the first time a paper was read by a lady. Mrs. Marie Gothein, the highly accomplished wife of Professor Gothein of Bonn (now of Heidelberg) gave us a most stimulating paper, evidently the outcome of long and fruitful study, on 'the English landscape-garden in literature.' It is hoped that henceforth ladies will not only assist at the meetings as duly qualified members of the Association, but that they will occasionally contribute to the programme by reading papers.

Professors Viëtor and Dörr in short addresses urged upon the Conference the necessity of formulating for the benefit of modern language students a scheme of studies (*Studienplan*), and also of making suggestions as to the best way of preparing future modern language teachers for their particular work after they have passed through their university course. It was agreed unanimously that these two points should form subjects for detailed discussion at the next Conference to be held (in 1906) at Munich. Dr. Dörr's motion took up

¹ See also *Quarterly*, iii. 1, 43.

again the suggestions thrown out by Dr. Breul and others at the Breslau meeting (1902), while at Cologne among the practical questions dealt with those of the *Kanon*, or drawing up lists of suitable school-books (also treated at Breslau in 1902), of the value of translation (also treated at Leipzig in 1900), of the importance of using the foreign idiom in the teaching of higher forms, and of the desirability of requiring modern language teachers as a rule to teach only *one* modern foreign tongue instead of two (insisting, however, on his taking in addition to it, according to his gifts and inclination, another important form subject) stood in the foreground. Questions of great importance are not infrequently dealt with in Germany at two Conferences, the interval of two or more years serving for further investigation and interchange of opinion. Of the two main problems discussed at Breslau the one (the *Kanon* question) was further discussed at Cologne, and will probably be brought to some sort of conclusion at Munich. The other (preparation of future modern language teachers), which at Breslau stood in the centre of the discussions, will be taken up again in 1906.

The following is the official programme of the subjects dealt with at the various meetings—an unusually rich and varied list, in which about half of the papers were devoted to scientific and half to practical questions.

Mittwoch, den 25. Mai, vormittags pünktlich 9 Uhr, im grossen Gürzenichsaale: Eröffnung des 11. Neuphilologentages durch den 1. Vorsitzenden, Herrn Professor Dr. A. Schröer. Erste allgemeine Sitzung.

Vorträge.

1. Professor Dr. K. Luick (Universität, Graz): Bühnendeutsch und Schuldeutsch.

2. Professor Dr. Waag (Oberschulrat, Karlsruhe): Wie übermitteln die neusprachlichen Schulen gegenüber den altsprachlichen eine gleichwertige Allgemeinbildung?

3. Dr. H. Borbein (schultechnischer Mitarbeiter bei dem königl. Provinzial-Schulkollegium in Berlin, Friedenau): Die mögliche Arbeitsleistung der Neuphilologen.

4. Direktor F. Dörr (städt. Liebig-Realschule, Frankfurt am Main) und Professor Dr. W. Viëtor (Universität, Marburg an der Lahn): Anträge: a) Empfehlung eines Studienplanes für die Studierenden der neueren Philologie; b) Verlegung des Seminarjahrs an die Universität.

Mittwoch, den 25. Mai, nachmittags pünktlich 5 Uhr. Zweite allgemeine Sitzung.

1. Professor Dr. H. Morf (Akademie für Sozial- und Handels-Wissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main): Die Tempora historica im Französischen.

2. Professor Dr. L. Schemann-Freiburg i. B.:

Über Gobineau, insbesondere seine Werke über das neuere Persien.

3. Professor Dr. Charles Glauser (Handelsakademie, Wien): Die Fortbildung in den neueren Sprachen nach Absolvierung einer Real-Handelschule.

4. Professor Dr. V. Hoffmann-Gent: Les principes fondamentaux des humanités modernes.

Donnerstag, den 26. Mai, vormittags pünktlich 9 Uhr. Dritte allgemeine Sitzung.

1. Professor Dr. M. Trautmann (Universität, Bonn): Der Heliand, eine Übersetzung aus dem Altenglischen.

2. Frau Marie Gothein-Bonn: Der englische Landschaftsgarten in der Litteratur.

3. Karl Breul, M.A., Litt.D., Ph.D. (Cambridge University Reader in Germanie, Delegierter der Modern Language Association): Über das Deutsche im Munde der Deutschen im Auslande.

4. Professor Dr. H. Schneegans (Universität, Würzburg): Molières Subjektivismus.

5. Professor Dr. Karl Sachs-Brandenburg a. H.: Über Goethes Beziehungen zur englischen Sprache und Litteratur.

Donnerstag, den 26. Mai, nachmittags pünktlich 5 Uhr. Vierte allgemeine Sitzung.

1. Professor Dr. W. Wetz (Universität, Freiburg i. B.): Neuere Beiträge zur Byron-Biographie.

2. Dr. Th. Eichhoff-Charlottenburg: Über Kritik des Shakespeare-Textes.

3. Dr. Casimir Heck-Berlin: Quantität und Akzentuation im Modernenglischen.

4. M. Adelphe Zind-Birguet (Paris, Gymnase de la Voix): La Phonétique expérimentale et l'Enseignement de la Prononciation.

Abends 8 Uhr im grossen Saale der Bürgergesellschaft, Appellhofplatz 20A-26: Festmahl.

Freitag, den 27. Mai, vormittags pünktlich 9 Uhr. Fünfte allgemeine Sitzung.

1. Direktor Max Walter (Musterschule, Frankfurt a. Main): Gebrauch der Fremdsprache bei der Lektüre in den Oberklassen.

2. Oberlehrer Dr. Max Löwisch-Eisenach: Die litterarische, politische und wirtschaftliche Kultur Frankreichs in unserer französischen Klassenlektüre.

3. Direktor F. Unruh (Oberrealschule, Breslau): Bericht über die Aufstellung eines organisch zusammenhängenden, stufenweise geordneten Lektüreplanes nach den Beschlüssen des 10. Neuphilologentages.

4. Professor Dr. R. Kron (kaiserl. Marineakademie, Kiel): Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Ausschusses für den Lektüre-Kanon und Neuwahl der Ausschussmitglieder (die neue Vorschlagsliste wird den Teilnehmern vorher eingehändigt werden).

Freitag, den 27. Mai, nachmittags pünktlich 5 Uhr. Sechste allgemeine Sitzung. Geschäftliches.

Freitag, den 27. Mai, abends 8 Uhr: Festvorstellung im Neuen Stadttheater am Rudolphsplatz (Shakespeares Sommernachtstraum). Samstag, den 28. Mai: Rheinfahrt nach Königswinter.

Während der Verhandlungstage zu geeigneter freier Zeit: Besichtigung und Erläuterung einer von Prof. Dr. W. Scheffler (Techn. Hochschule, Dresden) im Isabellensaal des Gürzenichs veranstalteten Ausstellung, die besonders auch die

Frage der Ästhetik im neusprachlichen Unterricht klären soll.

Professor Scheffler's exhibition of models etc., illustrating the French classical stage and French literature generally, was much appreciated by members of the Conference.

Among the resolutions passed by the Conference at its final meeting the most important were the following:—

1. To admit women as ordinary members of the *Neuphilologen-Verband*.
2. To make representations to the proper authorities urging them:
 - (a) To provide the universities with sufficient means to ensure a thorough practical training of their modern language students, and especially to provide for foreign *Lektoren* at every German university, and
 - (b) To grant on a larger scale than before to modern language teachers travelling bursaries for a stay in the foreign country, and, moreover, to give them every five years half a year's leave of absence, with continuation of pay, in order to enable them to stay abroad for some length of time.

These proposals by Walter (taking up proposals made in 1896 at the *Neuphilologentag* at Hamburg—see K. Breul, *The Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages*,² p. 27) were supported on all hands, and to justify the demand of a periodical leave of absence of the length of six months it was urged that, while teachers of classics are able to enjoy a thorough rest during their holidays, modern language teachers are often kept at least as busy as in term time by attending lectures at holiday courses, etc., and that the successful carrying out of the principles of the direct method requires of the teacher a ready command of the foreign idiom and a thorough acquaintance with foreign life and customs, which cannot be acquired or kept up by a short stay abroad.

3. To express the strong conviction of the members of the Conference that it is highly desirable to discourage the teaching of English and French (the two foreign languages usually taught at German schools) by the same man, and to urge intending teachers to combine one modern foreign language with some other important subject, say French with Latin, English with German, or either foreign language with history or geography. The conviction is fast gaining ground that French and

English should cease to be regularly assigned to the same teacher, after the model of Latin and Greek; and will no doubt sooner or later be officially recognised in Germany.

Finally, I have to mention the unanimous adoption of an important proposal brought forward by Monsieur Potel, one of the French delegates. It runs as follows:¹

Le Congrès, considérant qu'il est indispensable d'assurer d'une manière permanente les relations entre les professeurs des langues modernes des différents pays, décide:

1. Une commission permanente, composée de représentants des différents pays, sera chargée de soumettre au prochain Congrès, qui se tiendra à Munich en 1906, un projet concernant la création d'un bureau international de renseignements à l'usage des professeurs des langues modernes.

2. Cette commission fera appel au concours des sociétés ou associations des professeurs des différents pays.

3. Dès à présent elle fournira dans la mesure du possible des renseignements aux professeurs qui s'adresseront à elle. Toute demande de renseignements doit être accompagnée d'une somme de 0 fr. 75 (60 Pfennig, 7½d.).

The names of the preliminary executive committee elected on May 27 are given in the *Bulletin Mensuel* of June, and on page 238 of the (July number of) *Die Neueren Sprachen*. The committee has the right of co-option, and several prominent members of the Modern Language Association have already promised me their active support. The present chairman of committee is M. Potel, professeur au Lycée Voltaire, Paris, who is admirably supported in his work by M. Sigwalt, professeur au Lycée Michelet, Vanves (Seine). The original English representatives on the committee were Professor Ph. Bauer of Bradford, and Dr. Breul of Cambridge. Germany was represented by Prof. M. Hartmann (2 Fechnerstrasse, Leipzig), Prof. O. F. Schmidt (12 Magnusstrasse, Cologne), Prof. Völeker (37 Mozartstrasse, Cologne). For Austria Prof. Glauser (23 Kolchitskygasse, Vienna IV) is ready to give information, and other gentlemen will help with other countries. How far the scheme may be developed remains to be seen. Much can and will no doubt be done in the future by other (official) channels, such as our Board of Education; still the formation of an international bureau consisting of modern language teachers ready to give reliable private information to colleagues will no doubt soon prove a real boon to our *Fachgenossen* on both sides of the Channel.

¹ For the German wording of the resolutions see *Die Neueren Sprachen*, xii. 4 (Juli 1904), 236-39.

From all that has been said so far it will be clear that a great deal was successfully achieved. But the most satisfactory result of the Conference was that another step was made towards a better mutual understanding not only between the university professors and the school teachers, but also between the supporters to the older methods of teaching and the radical reformers. From important statements made by individual members during the debates, it became clear that both parties have become less extreme; that on both sides concessions have been made, and will probably continue to be made; that it will be more freely admitted that the difference in the personality of the teachers may give rise to different, yet equally satisfactory solutions of the same problem of method. Already it is possible to speak of a conciliation of the different methods; the remaining differences between the older way of teaching and the new have become rather differences of quantity than of quality, which, with growing experience and fuller interchange of ideas, may be still further reduced. A certain amount of freedom in the choice of methods and consequently a certain variety will and should always remain. The 'peace of Breslau' was fully maintained at Cologne, and looking back on the developments and struggles of the last twenty years, one may well say that they have ended in a victory of moderate reform all along the line.

The social part of the Conference was no less successful than the lectures and debates in the Gürzenich. Everywhere the German and foreign members of the Congress were received with great hospitality. On Tuesday, May 24, before the actual beginning of the meeting, there was the customary interesting *Begrüßungsabend* in the large rooms of the *Lesegesellschaft*. We were offered a *Festtrunk*, we listened to addresses of welcome, various songs and recitations, renewing old and making new acquaintances; the presence of ladies graced the proceedings, and old and new songs were sung in chorus, accompanied by the music of an excellent military band. As on former occasions, Direktor Rosenthal of Hanover had provided for the use of the members of the Conference a charming *Liederheft*, containing *Kommerslieder* and other songs written for the occasion, and sung with much *elan*. Among the poems there were, of course, many old friends, but also a few humorous new songs. Of the large selection I mention the following:

Die Neuen.

'Du römisch-griechisch klass'sche Zeit,
Wohin bist du entschwunden,
Da einzig in der Toga Kleid
Die Welt ihr Heil gefunden?
Der Sprachgebrauch bei Cicero,
Zwei Spiritus beim Doppel—*pp*—
Hielt Alt und Jung gefangen.
In ehrfurchtsvollem Bangen,' etc., etc.

Der Neuphilologe.

'Es ist der Neophilolog
Ein vielgequälter Mann,' etc., etc.

A comic parody of the Lohengrin story in genuine Cologne dialect was sung with much amusement:

Lohengrin, oder bestrafte Neugeer.

'Op ehrer Burg zo Xante,
Met allerhand Trabante,
Doh wonnte, we bekannt,
Et Elsa vun Brabant.
It hatt nit Vah noch Moder,
Un nor 'ne kleinen Broder;—
Dän hätt' se grus'lig ümgebraht;—
So wodt ehr nohgasant,' etc., etc.

Old French songs and Middle English songs were again not wanting. Schwan's

'De totes pucelles gentils avenanz
Me plaist mielx belle Lorotte'

and Breul's

'The murie Mai ys eumen,
These meedes waxen green'

had already been sung at Breslau. Two new songs were printed along with them from manuscripts in private possession, the sources of which I leave to the members of our Association to find out. The first stanza of the Old French poem ('Ci comen-
cet une chancon molt delitable translatede
del latin') ran thus:

'Car tuit nos esledecons
Que que somes juefne et fort,
Des qu'om de jouente feste
Out et d'edage moleste
Saisit ermes de mort' (author unknown).

Dr. Breul published from the Codex, that also contains the 'may-song,' the song beginning:

'Yn the colblak whal at Assecalonne
Iij daies dronk a mon,
Till at the tabull of marbelstone
He lay as styлле as ston.'

A song of Regel's, not contained in the printed list, varied Simrock's famous Rhine-song, beginning:

'My son, my son, be advised full well:
By no means go to the Rhine;
The spirits of youth so highly there swell,
The country's by far too fine.'

On Thursday night there was a great dinner with many speeches and songs, the military band playing the accompaniments, and, besides several foreign national hymns, including 'Rule Britannia' and the 'Marseillaise,' a selection of music. On Friday night we were invited to assist at a splendid performance of the *Milsummer Night's Dream* in the 'new theatre.' After the performance most members remained together, chatting till a late hour in the open on the large terrace of the theatre. Saturday was entirely devoted to a delightful excursion on the Rhine. A special steamer with a military band on board left Cologne at eight o'clock in the morning on a perfect day with several hundred members and their friends, steamed up the Rhine past Bonn and past the Drachenfels, then turned and stopped for a few hours at Königs-

winter to give the party an opportunity of going up the Drachenfels. The steamer then took us across the Rhine to Godesberg, where a most successful and animated farewell-dinner, with many speeches, songs, and comic recitations was thoroughly enjoyed by every one, and in the evening we merrily steamed back to Cologne, chatting with many friends and acquaintances who a few hours later would again be scattered all over Germany, or be returning to England, Scotland, France, Russia, or Scandinavia. Thus a most successful Conference was brought to an end, and on taking leave I was charged with the kindest good wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the English Modern Language Association. Whoever will have the honour of representing it at Munich in 1906 may look forward to a most hearty welcome.

K. B.

THE APPLICATION OF PHONETICS: NOTES ON MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.¹

I AM very anxious that those who arranged this programme (and I was so busy at the time it was done that I had no share in it) are asking a great deal of you in expecting you to listen to a disciple directly after his master, and especially after such a master as M. Paul Passy. I have also here in this building something of the awed feeling that one who was but lately a sixth form boy would have, if he came back to his old school, to sit no longer in his accustomed place, but at the master's desk, for it is not many years since I was a humble student of the Sorbonne.

You might be less critical if the disciple had some startling new development to communicate to you, or something of a particularly inspiring nature. You will find that I have deliberately chosen otherwise. M. Passy has dealt with the actual application of phonetics; I shall content myself with trying to make you feel that there is a *necessity* for the application of phonetics.

Speaking generally, my thesis is 'that phonetics must form an important part of language teaching,' to which I shall add, as you will see from the examples, 'especially in the elementary stages.'

It is a thesis which has been proved a great many times already, infinitely better

than I shall be able to do it. But if, as I say, this thesis has been maintained many times already, I hope the mere fact of my venturing over the same ground will make you understand that what this side of language-study especially needs is more material, collected by a large number of trained observers, faithful records of facts of all kinds relating to the subject.

A great deal of the material for this paper is drawn from personal observation during the past few months of some two hundred modern language classes containing about six thousand pupils.

I hope to show you the effects of ignoring phonetics; so that my argument will chiefly be in a negative form: 'that language teaching without phonetics is unsatisfactory.' Incidentally you will learn something of various sound-systems, especially present English sound-systems.

M. Hovelague, on Thursday, in speaking of the kind of English heard in a French *lycée*, told us that they had 'une prononciation particulière et fort remarquable.' I am going to speak of the same thing in English schools, only instead of confining

¹ This Paper was read at the Paris meeting of the Modern Language Association on the 18th of April 1904.

myself to stating that it is so, I am going to inflict upon you many painful details.

And after you have heard them I hope you will not go away simply thanking Heaven that you are not as these other men are. It is you who know better who ought to make up your minds that it is high time an end was put to such slipshod work.

Before we consider these mistakes it is necessary to be quite clear about certain fundamental points. One of these statements may run as follows: 'A group of people in constant communication with each other at any given point in their history, will have certain habits of pronunciation, certain tendencies of their speech-organs, which may be described as their *basis of articulation*.' Minor differences in these habits, or exaggerations of these tendencies, constitute from a phonetic point of view dialects of the language in question, the differences being counted from that branch of the language which, for the time being, is the standard, generally the speech of the educated classes in and around the centre of intellectual activity and of government in that area.

We shall take as standard dialects in this sense the speech of the educated classes of London and a great part of the south of England, for English, and that of Paris and the north of France, for French.

It will be inferred that if the basis of articulation varies slightly with the dialects of the same language, the differences are immensely greater when we compare the speech of groups of people who are not geographically and historically connected.

There is another important point which must be considered. Let us suppose that speaking man makes use of twenty-five modifications of the voice passage which are musical sounds, and fifty more noises of the nature of pops and hisses, do we find on analysis that any one group of people uses all these seventy-five sounds to mark significant differences in their speech? The answer is that, speaking very generally, a given community finds it sufficient to use only half of this total—some twelve of the first category, and twenty-four of the second.

Another question we must ask: What generally happens when those who use this half of the sounds hear or try to imitate some of the other half? It is necessary to distinguish here in the answer: the majority will think they hear and will consequently utter some sound in their own system which

bears some organic or acoustic similarity to the new sound; I shall try to make this clear by examples presently. The minority, those with what is called a good ear, will hear that this is a new sound, and will produce the nearest acoustic approximation which their untrained organs permit.

These points are clearly shown in the borrowed words of a language.

Before we consider English and French together, I am going to show you the transformation which English words have undergone when they have been taken into a language with a very different basis of articulation and a very different sound-system.

During the past forty years a certain small number of English words have been borrowed by the Japanese.

I shall not go into a detailed comparison, but let us take the respective vowel-systems. Our present southern English system of vowels is a complicated one, containing from twelve to sixteen sounds, some of which do not seem well defined and well separated, except to an Englishman. A series like

ɔ of not
ʌ of but
ɔ: of bird
ə of again

or the æ of man and the middle e of men; these are not easy for a foreigner to distinguish.

Now Japanese make use of only five well-defined vowels, great use being made of quantity or length, to make up for the want of differences in quality.

With words containing the well-separated fundamental vowels, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, the borrowed words have passed in without serious alteration, so that when 'ink' and 'book' were borrowed to represent European ink and European books they became *inky* and *bukku*.

But when we come to the vowels of the less well-defined series, we shall see a change of the very kind I want to point out. Take the words 'tunnel,' 'shirt,' and 'button,' and we find they have become *tonneru*, *fatsu*, and *botaŋ*, that is, our intermediate sounds have been levelled with the nearest vowels in the Japanese system—*o*, *a*.

You may ask what that has to do with mistakes made in English secondary schools. I want you to see that the difference is only of kind and not of degree, when an English child says, *j'ai vu*, or *j'ai vuw*, instead of *j'ai vu*. He has his own basis

of articulation, his own sound-system, his accustomed movements of the tongue and lips.

A further point: a beginner may hear a new sound a thousand times without reproducing it rightly. This is the 'imitation fallacy,' to suppose that mere hearing is sufficient. There must be knowledge and conscious effort. It is interesting to note in this connection that of all the classes I visited, the pronunciation was worst in those held by foreigners teaching their own language to English children.

As a further example of approximation, take the Welsh sound which is written 'double l.' This sound, which is nothing but a breath lateral instead of the common voice lateral, suggests to English ears the fricative made by putting the tip of the tongue between the teeth, so it becomes *blan* instead of *lan*.

We can guess from an imported word like *blanc mange* (bləmændʒ) that the English child will need to be taught a new class of sounds, the nasal vowels; that he will have a difficulty in distinguishing *ā* and *ã*, and that, from the point of view of synthesis, there is a strong tendency to have alternate weak and strong stress, to stress one syllable of a group strongly and to slur over the rest, so that *mangei* is the line of least resistance from *manger* (mā.ʒe), and that *aijrei* is infinitely easier for him than *arriver* (arrive).

Take another word we sometimes use: *enui*, which is *ā.nui* (ennui); we can feel sure that the English beginner will make no difference between the *lui* of *je lui ai donné* and *Louis* of *Louis XIV.*

So we can see that there ought to be a step before teaching the foreign language at all, that is, we must know something about the basis of articulation of the mother-tongue, and the analysis of the sounds of the mother-tongue, finding out what the tendencies are, and how and where each sound is made.

And we have not, even yet, necessarily arrived at the starting-point. Let us presume that the teacher's starting-point is the standard dialect; it is not at all necessary that the pupil's is the same. It is just the same for the other parts of grammar as for phonetics; a child whose dialectal past tense is 'I sec (h)im when I come yesterday,' will hesitate whether to use *je viens* or *je suis venu*.

Take the pronunciation of the London child in many of the second-grade secondary schools. It requires a different process to

arrive at the French or German sounds, generally longer, because the London dialect in most cases exaggerates the tendencies and peculiarities of standard English. It is harder to arrive at the French lateral of *la table*, *ville*, from the exaggerated back position and curled tip of the tongue for the London dialectal *fiʒulz* (fields); it is more difficult to get the German diphthong of *Haus* (ha.us) from the dialectal *haus* or *hæus*, than from the normal 'house' (haus).

Or to get the high front vowel *i* of French *si* or German *Biene*, when the Cockney beginner says 'stæjt,' 'tøj,' with the vowel almost lowered to the position of 'e' in *été*.

Or to pronounce properly the initial consonant of the German *Gaumen* when his own plosive is frequently a front palatal instead of a back palatal, as in 'jæuə stæjt' (=Gower Street).

I think there has now been sufficient explanation to understand the point of the list of mistakes which I have grouped together.

I must preface this also with a remark: if the corrected form which I give after the mistake is not altogether what it should be, remember that owing to the necessity of changing the whole basis of articulation which has already been referred to, it is exceedingly difficult to change backwards and forwards at short intervals from one language to another. This, by the way, should be remembered in oral classes: it is easier, from a phonetic point of view, to speak French throughout the lesson than to mix the two languages. Further, it is quite sufficient for the purposes of my argument if the corrected form is in any way nearer the standard than the original mistake.

The mistakes ought, strictly speaking, to be discussed one sound at a time; but I think it will bring out the enormities better for non-specialists if we consider whole words, even if this makes the grouping difficult, since a word may be made up of many sounds.

Quality of Vowel.—Let us begin with two such forms as *tæblou* and *ta:lrou*, frequently heard instead of *table*.

This *æ* and *a*: instead of *a* is similar to the case of *botay* and *fatsu*, approximations to *button* and *shirt*. The *a* of *table* and *patte* only occurs in southern English in the diphthongs *ai* and *au*; it is not a regular tongue position, so that the English beginner takes it either as *a*, the vowel pronounced with the tongue in the lowest position, or takes it too high

up to *æ*, the vowel in *man*. The English beginner, of course, does the same in German *man*, which he calls 'mæn,' and *er hat*, which he makes 'hæt.'

Further instances of changes in the quality of the vowel: the *o* of *om* (*homme*) and *bon* (*bonne*) is less open than the *o* of English *not* and *bond*, so that the French *o* suggests the *a* of *butter*, and we get *am* and *ban*.

Diphthong for Vowel.—We have not yet explained the reason for the change in the final vowel of the first example we took: 'ta**blou**.' We can group with this 'bou' for *beau*, 'meim' for *même*, 'tei' for *thé*, 'sij' for *si*.

We see that this is nothing but applying to French what always happens in English. A stressed final vowel always becomes long, and all long vowels in southern English are more or less diphthongs, due chiefly to our preferring to speak with the muscles of the tongue as relaxed as possible. The tongue is flat and flabby, and flops, so to speak, into the position for pronouncing a given vowel [compare *ei*, *ou*]. In French, as a general rule, the muscles are firm and the tongue is kept high up and slightly arched: *e*: *o*:

As many French words end in a stressed vowel, and as there are many long pure vowels, this diphthonging is one of the commonest English mistakes.

These have been so far comparatively small mistakes, I say comparatively small, because these do not always destroy significant differences.

We shall now consider the mistakes which come from ignoring *sounds which are new to the mother-tongue*. These sounds are naturally used to distinguish words, so that the neglect of them means the neglect of significant differences; take an English example, the initial consonant of 'thimble,' 'thistle,' 'thin,' is for most non-Englishmen a new and difficult sound, and the beginner who has not been taught to pronounce it will choose some supposed equivalent 'fin,' 'sin,' 'tin.'

So the English beginner is severely handicapped who has not been taught the front rounded vowels of *vu*, *peu*, *seul*, which have no equivalent in English. For them there is no difference between *au-dessous* and *au-dessus*.

The sound *y* may also suggest the combination *juw*, so that we hear *j'ai* 'vjuw' as a variant of *j'ai* 'vuw.' In the same way, the unrounded vowel of 'bird' or 'third' is substituted for the other two front rounded vowels:

dæ: for *deux*
sə:l for *seul*.

With Cockney children who say *biwls* for *boots*, an intermediate between the *juw* mentioned above and *y* takes the place even of the back vowel *u*; *giit* for German *gut* is quite common.

The French nasal sounds are another class of sound which do not occur in English, so that the untrained beginner substitutes some approximate combination:

mɔŋ for *mon*
kɔŋtei for *compter*
mæŋ for *main*
ʃiæŋ for *chien*
aŋ or ɔ:ŋ for *un*.

Then since the nasalised form of a vowel gives the acoustic effect of a vowel one degree further back: *a*, *ā*; *ɔ*, *ō*; the English beginner hearing *ā*, thinks he hears *ō*, so that he tries to say

blɔ̃ for *blanc*
atɔ̃:dɪ for *attendre*
vjɔ̃:d for *viande*.

And the three or four combinations pronounced *dā* and the three or four pronounced *dō* become hopelessly confused when the pupils write dictations.

The mistakes in the *consonants* are just as common and almost as serious.

The difference in the average tongue position of French and English is very clearly heard in those consonants which the French pronounce with the tongue close behind or touching the teeth, and the English with the tongue in an alveolar, sometimes even in a palatal, position; the series *d*, *n*, *s*, and especially the lateral *l*: so that we get

ta:bul for *table*
fiəl for *fil*
viəl for *ville*.

In German also, and just as historically, *taulk* became *talk*, so the English beginner says

ɔlə for *alle*
and even ɔ:dlə for *Adler*.

Then just as there were new vowels to be learnt, so there are consonants which have no equivalent in English. These are particularly difficult for any beginners.

y in *lui*, *depuis*, suggest only the sound *w* of *water*, and *wijl* is substituted for *huile*.

The front palatal nasal is another stumbling-block; English people always go to *bulsin* (*Boulogne*). Strangely enough the front palatal does not seem to suggest our

back palatal of sing, sang, sung, but the dental *n* plus the front vowel *i* or its equivalent consonant *j*.

senjə: for *seigneur*
monta:nj for *montagne*.

So the *ich-laut* and the *ach-laut* in German present difficulties, and we get

i/ or ik for *ich*.

One of the most important of these neglected consonants is the trilled *r*. The southern English beginner is particularly handicapped with regard to this sound, since he has quite lost even his untrilled *r*, unless it is followed by a vowel; a Scotsman can say *fɜrst* and the North countryman *baird*, but in the South all trace of the sound in such positions is lost. For a final *r* there is the regular substitution of the neutral vowel *ə*: compare *hiə* (here) with *hi:r* (hier).

From this many significant differences in French are lost:

partir is the same as *pâtir*.

lə: may be the definite article or it may be the possessive pronoun of the 3rd person plural.

sə: for *sœur*
mə for *mère*
mjuwə for *mur*
pə:t for *porte*.

So in German *dijzə* may stand for masculine or feminine, and *heəfzə* stands for *hervor*.

Another tendency that must be noticed is the desire to avoid *difficult combinations* of sounds, that is, combinations unusual in the mother-tongue. We see this in German

naəbə instead of *knabe*
fenig „ *pfennig*.

It should be noticed in this matter that a known sound becomes difficult in a new position; for instance, a large percentage of you who are English would not be able, without considerable practice, to pronounce the Japanese nominative participle *pa*, although it is made up from two sounds quite common in English, the last sound of *song* and the *a* of *ask*.

These are only a few of the mistakes made owing to lack of training in the actual sounds; and there is the whole field of

synthesis to be covered with mistakes as well as the analysis.

I shall take just one point. Neglect of the rules of syllable division is responsible for a very favourite series of mistakes:

veniə	divided like ven/om	for <i>venir</i>
rega:dei	„ reg/ular	for <i>regarder</i>
pet-i	„ pett/y	for <i>petit</i>
resəvwəə	„ res/ervoir	for <i>recevoir</i>
devwəə	„ Dev/on	for <i>devoir</i> .

There are many mistakes, too, which can be better explained psychologically than phonetically.

Chief among these are mistakes due to the influence of the written word and analogy with written forms in the mother-tongue. An English child beginning German naturally wants to read *von*, *wasə*, *zein* for *von*, *Wasser*, and *zehn*.

The superfluous letters in *feuille*, *ail*, *clef*, the numeral *sept* worry him.

This is only another reason of course why a beginner should always hear and speak before he attempts to read and write.

The question must naturally arise after such a paper: Why is it that only lately special attention seems to have been called to this side of language work? One of the reasons is this: it was not at all unusual in elementary classes in the old days for 95 per cent. of the words spoken in a French class to be not French but English, since the object of these classes was not to teach the language but disconnected linguistic facts. And there are many classes still where the feminine of *grand* is not *grande* but

dʒij a:ɪ ei en dij ij;

and where the idea of the imperfect tense is not contained in concrete examples, it simply means

ei ai es, ei ai es, ei ai tij.

It comes to this, that modern language work has had to become more accurate and more practical since we now try to teach the language itself, instead of the supposed minimum of isolated facts necessary for a particular examination.

And not until our work becomes more accurate and more living will modern languages take the place they ought to have in the curriculum of our secondary schools.

E. R. EDWARDS.

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH TO FOREIGNERS.

THE educational atmosphere has been heavily charged during the past few years with schemes and methods, and suggestions for imparting modern languages to British youth. It will be the fault of these young people, and not of their teachers or the systems they employ, if their knowledge of foreign languages is not superior to, and more practical than, our own. We can all remember, when Plancus was consul, a merry hour or so in each week, devoted to what was jocosely called 'learning French.' These hours continued during a school-life of six, seven, or eight years, with the result at the end that the vast majority of us would as soon have thought of talking French as of talking Latin. Our sons are more fortunate, though they may not think so; and the methods of teaching now becoming general lead to more practical results, if they leave less joyous memories.

With all this, it is sometimes forgotten that English, the most curious, in some respects the most difficult of modern languages, is being taught, either by natives or by Englishmen, from Stockholm to Lisbon. The teaching of our language by English teachers, however, is chiefly confined to central and southern Europe. The Germans, with the enterprise and thoroughness that characterises them, learn English carefully and then teach it themselves; and their example is followed in a large degree by the people of Holland and the Scandinavian countries. But in such countries as France and Belgium, the English 'professor' is very much to the fore. And his mission is an important one. Since the days when 'barbarians' meant those whose language the Greeks could not understand, the *entente cordiale* has been greatly quickened by the increasing knowledge of our language on the Continent, if it is expressed by no more than the modest legend in a shop-window, 'Englisch spoken.' May I then, in view of the importance, international as well as educational, of the work, make a few remarks on how, to my mind, English should be taught. If I am not brief, it is because, like Horace, I fear to be obscure; and if I seem egotistical, it is because it is inevitable: for 'the method that seems to me the best,' is generally to be translated 'the method that I employ myself.'

First and foremost, then, the teacher should be English. I say this after some years of experience, and with the concurrent testimony of the more cultured and more thoughtful of my pupils. For English is by no means an easy language to acquire, still less to teach. The Latin languages, with their logical rigidity and inflexible pronunciation, are not hard to learn. German is certainly more difficult; but English, above all, should be taught by an English teacher. The eccentricities of the pronunciation may be mastered unaided; but the elasticity of our language, dating from foreign influence or from verbal importations by foreign rulers, Normans, Danes, etc., and the way in which the meaning of a word will change within a century, while they account for much of its richness and variety, greatly increase its difficulty for a foreigner. Again, when the pupil has embarked on the sea of English literature, he has, to borrow a simile from cycling, to adjust another speed-gear when he passes from one author to another. How difficult is Dickens! How much Kipling differs from Crawford, and Meredith from every one else! Again, for English as for other modern languages, the more or less direct method is the one to be aimed at: the teacher, therefore, must be one who will be perfectly at home in the language he is teaching, and who will make no mistake in it. A recent French Minister of Instruction has said that the knowledge of a language is based upon conversation in that language, and who is equal to that requirement but an Englishman?

The teacher, again, should be a man. I make this ungallant statement without reserve, though I know that female teachers of distinction abound, and though the most brilliant—yet most methodical—and most successful teacher of my acquaintance is a lady. But physical as well as mental power is needed in teaching, and a woman is often unequal to the strain of confronting a class of turbulent French or Belgian boys, who are prepared to treat their teacher with scant respect. Of course, for individual members of her own sex, a woman is indispensable. There is an evil form of education, known as 'walking out,' which is very dear to the heart of the French or Belgian

mother, and for this the 'English miss' is obviously necessary. For pure ground-work, again, a woman, with her attention to small details, and her methodical habits (it is only necessary to compare the state of a man's study with that of his wife's drawing-room), is often more successful, because more patient than a man. But when it comes to raising the superstructure high and broad, entering the wide field of literature, climbing the heights of art, or delving to the depths of philology, the man, with his less restricted outlook, and his larger experience of the world and of men, is the woman's superior.

For his qualifications, the teacher should be a graduate of one of the great universities. His knowledge of Latin and Greek will often prove an additional bond of union with a cultured pupil. A very charming Dutchman of my acquaintance would often propose to wind up an English lesson with an ode of Anaereon, in the interpretation of which he was certainly more at home than his teacher. The English graduate, too, is so very different to the continental 'student,' that the former's intimate knowledge of men—sometimes men who have since risen to high place in the nation—and the many-sided character of English university life, gives him, quite apart from any scholastic attainments that he may have, a social and moral value in the eyes of his pupils that is not without its uses. Being a university man, he will also probably be what is conventionally called a gentleman, that is, a man of some breeding, with the habit of comporting himself with dignity and courtesy, and, above all, of speaking English with purity and some distinction—certainly with distinctness and with no trace of provincialism. It is as necessary for a teacher of English to speak well as it is for a music-master to play well. 'But' said a new pupil, 'my ancient (*sic*) professor always said "Coom oop."' No doubt he did, and no doubt 'my ancient professor' hailed from north of Trent. But *pace* Mr. Barnes, however philologically pure the dialect of a Wessex peasant may be, the speech of a refined English gentleman is what we must try to impart to our pupils if they are to make their way in the intelligible world. The teacher should also be a man of general reading and varied information. He may be expected to answer a hundred questions on the geography, scenery, fauna and flora, politics and mercantile productions of these islands. I had one

intelligent French pupil who wished to know all about the British Lepidoptera, and another who hungered after the various architectural epochs, while a third was insatiable in his thirst for every conceivable branch of sport. The pupil is reasonable as a rule, and does not expect his mentor to be a walking encyclopædia, but he does expect an intelligent answer to any question that he may put. Another important matter: *Quis custodiet custodes?* The teacher's own English must be above suspicion. By this I mean that he must avoid that most vicious habit of speaking what is known as 'Continental English,' and yet which is not always accompanied by great fluency in any other language. The disease shows itself in a habit of saying 'arrive' for 'happen,' 'pension' for 'board,' 'actions' for 'shares,' 'to be abonné' (*sic*) for 'to subscribe to,' etc. This habit if acquired, should be rooted out at all hazards.

It is sometimes advanced that a more or less perfect knowledge of the pupil's own language is necessary for giving an English lesson. I think this is a mistake. Englishmen, from laziness or other causes, are not as a rule good linguists, and it is not generally expected of them. But a certain knowledge, colloquial rather than literary, of the language used as a medium, is indispensable (I am assuming that, in the earlier lessons at least, the teacher will speak to his pupils in their own tongue); and, for purposes of discipline, he must be able to speak *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* on occasion, and to tell a refractory pupil in French, etc., exactly what he thinks of him.

The question may naturally be asked—What book, grammar or otherwise, should the teacher use? I reply emphatically—none. There are many books, far too many, written by foreigners in their own language and in English; but the teacher should pin his faith to none of them. Still, I think he should read such as come in his way, and here and there he will pick up a useful hint. But the teacher, after he has been at work for a year or two, will find the 'teaching-idea' gradually shaping itself in his mind, and he will, to a great extent, be his own book, jotting down more or less elaborate notes for each lesson. I seem to be ignoring the many excellent manuals published in England, and of course the teacher will be familiar with the best of them. But writing in English for Englishmen is very different from teaching English to foreigners. In

the latter case, the teaching will vary very much with the language spoken by the pupils, and the teacher will often have to point out how the English word or phrase resembles or differs from its Latin or Teutonic equivalent. I think, too, it is an immense gain if no book comes between the teacher and the class, and if the teaching is oral or nearly so.

Now comes the crux of the whole question. What method shall our teacher employ? Needless to say, it is the man rather than the method that makes for success. The finest method in the world in the hands of an incompetent teacher is useless. Still, the teacher must have, from his first lesson, a clear idea of how he is going to convey his notions of English, from the present tense of the verb 'to be,' up to 'to be or not to be.' The old method, which dies hard, but is nevertheless dying, is to spend an hour in speaking (say) French, with an English word or phrase thrown in here and there, just to show that English is really being taught. According to that method, the nationality of the teacher is of small importance; but it is happily *in extremis*. The antipodes of this is the direct method pure and simple, where the teacher speaks nothing but English from the first word of the lesson. For children (the younger the better) the method is ideal: they learn like parrots or mocking-birds. But for older pupils I question if it is so useful. The constant repetition with variations of the same phrase, is sometimes irritating to the pupil, and it is often tiresome for the teacher. Again, when strictly adhered to, it often wastes precious time. For instance, the teacher wishes to describe a broom and its uses. If he is a slave to the direct method he may say (unless he has a model—and models are expensive), 'A broom is a long thing made of wood; at one end is something made of fibre or little branches of trees,' and so on and so on. This, as a witty colleague of mine said, is 'going all round the village to find the pump!' Let him say *le balai* at once, and time is saved. But the teaching of English in English is the goal to be aimed at, and sooner or later the ideal method will take that shape, beginning, in a small degree, with the very first lesson. The teacher will then take his stand at his opening lesson, his class in front of him and a big black-board at his back. He will begin by giving his pupils in their own language certain 'principles'

which govern English, as, that the last consonant of every word is pronounced, that capitals are much used, that the definite article is often omitted, that the passive voice is used more than in French, etc., etc. He will then tell them that one learning a foreign language is like one travelling in an unfamiliar country, like India or China, or like a little child beginning to notice the objects that he sees. In both cases, the question that is most frequently on their lips is 'What is that?' And that introduces the root-idea of his first lesson, that of Existence and Identity. He will take the principal objects in the room, writing their names on the black-board, and making the pupils read them carefully. This will introduce the important words 'Why' and 'Because,' and the more usual tenses of the verb 'to be.' The pupils then leave with the satisfaction of having carried on a conversation, however elementary—'Why is this not the desk?' 'Because it is the table,' in a language previously unknown to them. The next lesson will introduce the idea of position, introducing such words as Where? Here is, etc., taking objects from outside, and gradually using longer sentences as illustrations. 'The soldier is not in the post-office, because he is in the barracks.' The third lesson will deal with the possession of objects, making the acquaintance of the verb 'to have,' and the possessive adjectives. Further lessons deal with the number, size, quality, etc., of adjectives, important phrases being written down and learned, as, 'What is a horse like?' 'What sort of country is Russia?' 'What season do you like best?' etc. A lesson on irregular verbs will comprise only those of common use, as come, go, begin, think, etc. Lessons on such subjects as the English form of the negative and interrogative may be made very interesting; while a charming little lesson may be made on the various English equivalents of *N'est-ce pas?* Is it not? Is it? Do they not? Shall we? etc. To keep up the practical character of the teaching, the ordinary grammatical lessons are varied by such subjects as travelling by train, shopping, cycling, etc. The method now becomes very plain sailing, and it grows plainer as the pupils begin to 'feel their feet' more. Dictation is introduced as early as possible, according to the capacity of the pupils. It is invaluable as a help to learning a language, for eye, ear, and brain all work together. A reading-book should be introduced at the very first.

lesson, even though the matter is barely understood and has to be carefully translated. The pupils soon get to distinguish words previously learned, and the exercise of reading aloud is invaluable. And here I must make a plaint as to the paucity of reading-books for foreigners. In fact they do not exist; for the ordinary *Standard Readers*, excellent as they are for English children, naturally presuppose a greater knowledge of the language than foreigners can possess. Again, their style is often faulty, and a reading-book, like a grammatical explanation, must be more or less faultless. An excellent plan is to make the pupils learn the dictation by heart: at the next lesson they repeat it, explaining certain words in *English*, and answering questions on the subject-matter. The teacher will also make frequent use of the excellent German system of 'teaching by pictures.' A large picture, representing a familiar scene in town or country, is hung up, and the pupils tell the story of the picture. In this way their conversation becomes more elastic, and their vocabulary is enriched. Nothing, especially for a class, will be neglected that is of a practical nature. A special lesson will be given on the art of writing and addressing a letter, so that the pupil may learn not to begin his letter 'Dear Mister,' or to write 'Sir Smith' on the envelope. Much the same method will be employed for classes as for private pupils, though for the latter the lessons will naturally be more thorough and at the same time more familiar. In a year, or two or three at the outside, the class comes to an end. In the 'Cercle Polyglotte' of Brussels, an excellent teaching institution, combining the ideas of a social club and an adult school, where almost every language is taught from Russian to Esperanto, four English teachers are employed, one of whom devotes himself entirely to commercial subjects. The English course is divided into three classes, Elementary, Intermediate, and Higher, with a further course of popular lectures on English literature. After quitting such classes, those of the pupils who attend for practical purposes find themselves more or less in a position to undertake posts in which a knowledge of English is required, or to teach English in the various Brussels schools. Private pupils are of different classes. One wishes to pass an examination in a hurry, another to qualify for residence in India or China, a third—and this is the most interesting type—takes up

the study of English from pure love of the subject. I have known one such, a man approaching middle life, who has continued the study of English long after he could speak fluently, write accurately, and read with appreciation and enjoyment. The choice of reading-books (not 'Readers') for private pupils is naturally varied. *Little Lord Fauntleroy* is always a favourite; so are Anthony Hope's books and Conan Doyle's short stories. *The Wide Wide World*—it is difficult to say why—was for a long time in vogue; but now it has received decent burial. A most charming book for an intelligent pupil is Besant's *London*. But nothing was more pleasurable than to see how the gentleman of whom I have spoken above, would appreciate the somewhat mordant style of *Plain Tales from the Hills*, and even enter into the purely local fun of *Voces Populi*, a book as difficult for a foreigner as Gyp's *Parisian Sketches* are for an Englishman. It must be remembered too that the average pupil has most of his time occupied by his profession or his business, and can only give his spare moments to the study of English. One golden rule for the teacher is *Ne nimis*, especially with a view to grammar. There is a tradition among the profession that a painstaking German once set himself to account for every variation in English grammar, with the result that his mind gave way under the strain. The moral needs no pointing. The more the pupil *reads* and *talks*, and the more he breaks loose from the 'faultily faultless' phrases of the average book of exercises with their Ollendorffian disquisitions on the beauty of the tulips in the garden of his grandmother (say his grandmother's garden), the easier our eccentric language will become for him.

The work of teaching English, then, is difficult, involving as it does, not only the ordinary arts of the teacher, but also average intelligence, fairly wide reading and varied interests, courtesy, tact, and occasional severity. But if the work is difficult and exacting, it brings its intellectual reward. For nothing is so delightful and refreshing for the teacher as to see the pupil gradually grasping the often crabbed diction of an English author, seeing his points, and appreciating his humour, his pathos, or his sarcasm. He feels moreover that, by inducing a community of tastes and interests in the language studied, he is doing something, however humble, to bring two minds of different, sometimes hostile, nationalities into closer union

through the medium of the language. He will find himself a member of a profession which, in southern Europe at least, is regarded with scant respect, and he will probably never earn more than the wages of a journeyman mechanic; but in his modest way he will be playing the part of a bridge-maker, if he can never call himself more than a Pontifex Minimus.

ARTHUR POWELL.

P.S.—Since writing the above, *La langue anglaise*, by Mr. Harold Palmer, a teacher of English at Verviers, Belgium, has come into my hands, and seems an admirable exposition of the 'common-sense' method of teaching English.

A. P.

DES TABLEAUX ET DE LEURS LIMITES.

LA plupart de nos 'méthodes' ne sont pas de la méthode parce qu'elles ne reposent sur aucune base scientifique. Ces nouveautés, malgré ce qu'en disent quelques-uns, ne sont que de l'empirisme embarrassé de tout un attirail qui en impose aujourd'hui, il est vrai, mais qui bientôt rendra l'enseignement des langues vivantes ridicule si nous ne descendons pas des tréteaux.

Entre autres amusettes, il y en a qui préconisent les Tableaux.

Je sais qu'on parle beaucoup des enfants, 'qu'il faut revenir à l'enfance.' Or, il s'agit de savoir si, en dehors du kindergarten, les images sont aussi utiles qu'on voudrait le faire croire pour enseigner à parler dans nos classes.

A mon avis, elles n'ont pas l'utilité qu'on leur suppose d'abord, parce que, si l'on interroge les données de la conscience de l'élève, il ne reste rien de ces Tableaux qu'il ne sache déjà et, puis aussi parce que leurs limites sont telles qu'ils ne servent tout au plus qu'à faire de l'enfantillage.

La conscience de l'élève à l'âge où il apprend une langue étrangère, même accepterait-on la théorie de la table rase, n'est plus une table rase.

Il y a longtemps que les fonctions d'acquisition, de conservation et d'élaboration ont été mises en œuvre dans des limites plus ou moins grandes selon le progrès de l'individu dans son évolution. Or, l'état passif d'une perception externe est une image.

De la foule d'images, résultat final du passage de la sensation par la perception, dépend l'imagination reproductrice ou la faculté que nous avons de nous représenter l'extériorité actuellement absente. L'idée ne va donc jamais sans image et cette

image est à la fois schématique et sonore. L'idée de 'cheval,' par exemple, amène 1° l'image schématique de 'cheval' et, 2° l'image sonore du mot 'cheval.'

Par conséquent, à moins qu'un être ou un objet ne soit point réel ou plutôt, ne reste étranger à l'intelligence parce qu'elle n'a jamais eu la possibilité de le percevoir, nul besoin de s'embarrasser de représentations imitées par l'art puisque nous avons l'image schématique de tout être ou de toute chose qui est de la connaissance générale soyons-nous ou Anglais ou Français ou Allemands. Mais ce que n'a pas l'élève et ce qu'il lui faut quand il apprend à parler une langue étrangère, ce sont de nouvelles images sonores, c'est-à-dire, la prononciation aidée de la mémoire.

Il est vrai que l'image produit sur nous les effets de la sensation et, il est aussi admis qu'il y a des images plus ou moins générales de tous les sens. Cependant, je ne croirais pas donner, par exemple, le sens de l'odorat à mes élèves, si je portais un mets répugnant dans ma classe de français. Je pourrais provoquer des nausées, sensations perçues et antérieures à la représentation, mais je ne pourrais leur donner, leur apprendre que l'image sonore de la sensation en français.

D'autre part, on ne peut trouver la raison d'être de ces Tableaux dans la loi d'association où quelques-uns s'imaginent la découvrir. Certainement les données de la conscience sont des groupes. Donné un élément d'un groupe, tout le groupe peut reparaître mais cela ne veut pas dire que si j'apprends une langue étrangère et, parce qu'on m'aura mis sous les yeux, par exemple, la représentation d'une ferme, la poule dans la cour me rappellera par association l'image sonore de tout autre objet qui peut bien se rapporter à cette ferme. La contiguïté des

éléments est un rappel dans la langue mère car alors l'esprit a acquis une tendance à les penser ensemble. Travail tout fait quand il s'agit d'une langue étrangère et pure perte de temps de vouloir le reproduire. Aussi perdrait-il son temps si celui qui apprend une langue étrangère n'avait jamais vu dans la réalité les quatre saisons avec leurs effets concomitants, car il faudrait qu'il passât antérieurement par cette expérience pour que l'idée d'association eût bien du tout.

La représentation graphique ne devient donc utile dans l'enseignement que pour ce dont nous n'avons pas d'expérience, de ces choses dont, sans elle, nous n'aurions qu'une fausse conception. En effet, pour la compréhension complète, disons, d'un sujet littéraire ou historique, un tableau, une gravure, par exemple d'un marquis du temps de Louis XIV. ou d'un incroyable à l'époque du Directoire, est d'une certaine utilité, mais autrement les Tableaux ne sont qu'un jouet qui, dans une classe, porte à rire, car c'est insulter à l'intelligence de la jeunesse sortie du kindergarten.

Que l'on cherche à faciliter la connaissance, cela se comprend, mais il faut d'abord s'enquérir si les moyens qui doivent conduire à cette fin ne sont pas aussi trompeurs que faciles.

Toute connaissance repose sur une connaissance. Pourquoi alors ne pas tirer tout l'avantage possible de ce qui est déjà acquis pour aller de l'avant au lieu de chercher en route des passe-temps? Puisque les opérations sensibles entrent d'elles-mêmes spontanément en exercice, il s'agit de voir que, par l'attention, la répétition et la vivacité, l'élève arrive, avec une spontanéité presque égale à celle qu'il a pour la langue mère, à exprimer en classe, des idées au moyen de nouvelles images sonores sans cause extérieure apparente autre que son propre alphabet.

Pour enseigner à parler une langue étrangère, les apprêts, tout un attirail effarouche l'élève. Il ne faut pas le mettre, pour ainsi dire, sur ses gardes ou alors, comme nous le savons par expérience, il

en résulte une conversation tirée par les cheveux aussi décourageante pour le maître que pour l'élève et tous les deux finissent souvent par se tenir coi.

Surtout quand les classes sont grandes et qu'il faut faire dire quelque chose à une trentaine d'élèves en une heure de temps, un livre de propositions dans la langue mère est encore ce qu'il y a de mieux. Données, par exemple, trois heures de français par semaine, l'on demandera comme devoir trois thèmes consistant d'une douzaine de phrases bien choisies et le vocabulaire qui s'y rapporte après l'avoir fait prononcer. Une fois ces devoirs corrigés par le maître chez lui et pour lesquels il a donné des points, il s'est rendu compte des difficultés qu'a eues l'élève non pas, bien entendu, à s'exprimer de vive voix, mais à donner ce qui doit en être le moyen en classe. Alors il fera répéter à haute voix ce même thème que l'élève a encore tout frais dans la mémoire. La mémoire ainsi soulagée et donc plus prompte au rappel, l'élève a plus de courage à produire, à donner ce que j'appellerai la 'sonorité' de la pensée qu'il a prête en tête. Ainsi on a un certain fonds de conversation et tout maître avec un peu d'initiative peut en faire sortir plus qu'il n'en faut pour une heure de travail très profitable.

Il faut toujours tenir compte de ses élèves. Tout maître sera d'accord avec moi si je dis qu'un travail quelconque fait à la débandade démoralise une classe. Même la classe n'aurait-elle rien retenu des variétés qu'a pu faire le maître sur le thème donné, tout n'a pas été laissé au hasard, a quelque chose de décousu, car on aura ainsi travaillé sur un fonds qui conduit progressivement vers une fin.

Quel que soit le sujet d'étude, il est dans la nature des élèves d'aimer l'ordre et, on ne peut les encourager dans la voie qu'en leur faisant sentir que d'étape en étape ils arriveront sûrement à un but qui, s'il n'est pas définitif, sera au moins déterminé.

VICTOR E. KASTNER (Junn.).

EXAMINATIONS.

COMMON EXAMINATION FOR ENTRANCE TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

WE think our readers will be interested

in seeing a specimen of the papers that have been set at the first Examination which was held on June 27 and 28 at the Preparatory Schools themselves—another improvement

on the old method of making small boys travel long distances and be under examination sometimes from 7 A.M. till 5 P.M.

The only criticism of the following paper that we should like to make is that question A 3 is hardly clear enough for boys to understand what they were required to do. The Exercise and the Unseen seem to hit the just medium between the old-fashioned and the new-fangled schools. The questions on Idioms seem especially noteworthy.

FRENCH.—One and a half-hour.

[N.B.—Half an hour will be allowed for each of the three sections (A, B, C) of this paper. They will be collected separately on the expiration of the time allotted for each.]

A.—GRAMMAR.

1. Conjugate in full :—

- (a) Present indicate (negative) of *le nier* (to deny it).
- (b) Perfect conditional (affirmative) of *s'amuser*.
- (c) Present subjunctive (affirmative) of *je vends mon cheval* preceded by *il faut que*.

2. Use the adjectives of columns A with the nouns in columns B :—

A	B
eet oiseau blanc	fleur.
un soldat suisse	servante.
un dieu grec	armée.
ee bon livre	plume.
un homme boiteux	femme.

A	B
des œufs frais	roses.
mon chapeau neuf	robe.
notre frère cadet	sœur.
sa sœur est muette	frère.
la première leçon	livre.

3. Rewrite the following six times, inserting the words given below and making the necessary alterations :—Des maisons.

- (a) beaucoup. (c) la plupart. (e) bien.
- (b) petit. (d) vieux. (f) point.

4. Rewrite the following sentences, substituting a personal pronoun for the expression printed in italics :—

- (a) Il parlait *aux enfants*.
- (b) Je pense à *mon voyage*.
- (c) Il a besoin d'*une plume*.
- (d) Il a écrit *les lettres*.
- (e) Nous obéissons à *notre père*.
- (f) Parlez de *vos aventures*.

5. Give the third plural of the present indicative, preterite or past definite, and past indefinite of the following verbs (each set of verbs on a separate line):—*s'en aller*, *revenir*, *s'asseoir*, *dormir*, *vouloir*, *les voir*.

B.—EXERCISE.

1. Translate into French :—

- (a) He started (past indefinite of *partir*) at a quarter past one.
- (b) He will return (*revenir*) next week.
- (c) I must know it (use *il faut que*).
- (d) How long have you been learning French?
- (e) They will be punished unless they do it at once.
- (f) Whatever you do, do it well.
- (g) Do you believe that he can do it?
- (h) That is the best house I know.
- (i) You ought to have given them to me.
- (j) Where are the letters? Have you not yet written them?

2. I got up (past indefinite of *se lever*) at half-past seven. When I came down (*descendre*) breakfast was ready. I took a cup of tea, some toast with butter, and a fresh egg. As soon as I had finished my breakfast I went out, because I had a headache. The weather was beautiful and the birds were singing merrily. When I came back (*rentrer*) the postman had just arrived. After reading my letters I set to work.

C.—UNSEEN.

1. Translate into English :—

Le chien Bob, raconte un journal anglais, a péri sous les débris d'une charpente.¹ Dès que le tocsin² sonnait, il s'élançait avant les pompes³ et arrivait toujours un des premiers sur le théâtre de l'incendie; aussitôt qu'on avait dressé les échelles, il y grimpait, entrait par les fenêtres et pénétrait dans les chambres avant les pompiers eux-mêmes. Il portait un collier de cuivre avec ces mots: 'Ne m'arrêtez pas, mais laissez-moi courir, je suis Bob, le chien des pompiers de Londres!' Pendant les années de son service, il a sauvé la vie à plusieurs personnes par son intelligence et son dévouement.

¹ *La charpente*, timber work. ² *Le tocsin*, alarm-bell. ³ *La pompe*, fire-engine.

2. Translate into English prose :—

Une nuit claire, un vent glacé. La neige est rouge.
Mille braves sont là qui dorment sans tombeaux.
L'épée au poing, les yeux hagards. Pas un ne bouge.
Au-dessus tourne et crie un vol de noirs corbeaux.

3. Translate into idiomatic English :—

- (a) Il vaut mieux tard que jamais.
- (b) Je m'en suis tiré sain et sauf.

- (c) Il est au bout de son latin.
 (d) La fin couronne l'œuvre.
 (e) Il s'agit de savoir s'il consentira.

AN ELEMENTARY FRENCH EXAMINATION PAPER.

A Test of Memory or a Test of Power?

THE question to decide on reading these two papers, which are the same paper set in two different ways, is this: Which is the better test of an elementary knowledge of French? One of them is the type of paper very commonly set in English schools, the other is not.

PAPER A

1. Translate:—

Les Vieux (from Daudet).

Une lettre, père Azan?

Oui, monsieur—ça vient de Paris.

Il était tout fier que ça vient de Paris, ce brave père Azan. Pas moi. Quelque chose me disait que cette lettre tombant sur ma table de si grand matin allait me faire perdre toute ma journée. Je ne me trompais pas, voyez plutôt:

Mon cher ami,

Il faut que tu me rendes un service. Tu vas fermer ton moulin pour un jour et t'en aller tout de suite à Eyguières—Eyguières est un gros bourg à trois ou quatre lieues de chez toi—une promenade.

En arrivant, tu demanderas le couvent des Orphelines. La première maison après le couvent est une maison basse à volets gris avec un jardinet derrière. Tu entreras sans frapper—la porte est toujours ouverte—et en entrant, tu crieras bien fort: 'Bonjour, braves gens! Je suis l'ami de Maurice.'

Alors tu verras deux petits vieux, oh! mais vieux, vieux, archivieux, te tendre les bras du fond de leurs grands fauteuils, et tu les embrasseras de ma part, avec tout ton cœur, comme s'ils étaient à toi.

Puis vous causerez; ils te parleront de moi, rien que de moi; ils te raconteront mille folies que tu écouteras sans rire—Tu ne riras pas, hein?—Ce sont mes grands-parents, deux êtres dont je suis toute la vie et qui ne m'ont pas vu depuis dix ans. Dix ans, c'est long! Mais que veux-tu? Moi, Paris, me tient; eux, c'est le grand âge.—Ils sont si vieux, s'ils venaient me voir, ils se casseraient en route. Heureusement, tu

es là-bas, mon cher meunier, et en t'embrassant, les pauvres gens croiront m'embrasser un peu moi-même.

MAURICE.

2. (i) Write the feminine of *petit*, *vieux*, *archivieux*, and the plural of *mon cher ami*.
- (ii) Give the 2nd person plural present subjunctive of *rendre*, the 2nd person plural present indicative of *aller*, the 1st person singular preterite definite of *s'en aller*, *crier*, *voir*, and negatively, the 1st person singular preterite indefinite of *rire*.
- (iii) Name some French verbs conjugated with *être*, not *avoir*.
- (iv) Which past tense is most used in ordinary conversational French, and which in historic writing?
3. (i) Give examples of the disjunctive personal pronouns.
- (ii) What is the order of pronouns before the verb?
4. What is the rule for the elision of the vowel of *si*?
5. Write out in French words: 94, 658.
6. (Disconnected English sentences to be put into French.)

PAPER B.

1. Put the following into good English:

Les Vieux (from Daudet).

Une lettre, père Azan?

Oui, monsieur—ça vient de Paris.

Il était tout fier que ça vient de Paris, ce brave père Azan. Pas moi. Quelque chose me disait que cette lettre tombant sur ma table de si grand matin allait me faire perdre toute ma journée. Je ne me trompais pas, voyez plutôt:

Mon cher ami,

(a) Il faut que tu me rendes un service. Tu vas fermer ton moulin pour un jour et t'en aller tout de suite à Eyguières—Eyguières est un gros bourg à trois ou quatre lieues de chez toi—une promenade.

(b) En arrivant, tu demanderas le couvent des Orphelines. La première maison après le couvent est une maison basse à volets gris avec un jardinet derrière. Tu entreras sans frapper—la porte est toujours ouverte—et en entrant, tu crieras bien fort: 'Bonjour, braves gens! Je suis l'ami de Maurice.'

(c) Alors tu verras deux petits vieux, oh!

mais vieux, vieux, archivieux, te tendre les bras du fond de leurs grands fauteuils, et tu les embrasseras de ma part, avec tout ton cœur, comme s'ils étaient à toi.

(d) Puis vous causerez; ils te parleront de moi, rien que de moi; ils te raconteront mille folies que tu écouteras sans rire—Tu ne riras pas, hein?—Ce sont mes grands-parents, deux êtres dont je suis toute la vie et qui ne m'ont pas vu depuis dix ans. Dix ans, c'est long! Mais que veux-tu? Moi, Paris me tient; eux, c'est le grand âge.—Ils sont si vieux, s'ils venaient me voir, ils se casseraient en route. Heureusement, tu es là-bas, mon cher meunier, et en t'embrassant, les pauvres gens croiront m'embrasser un peu moi-même.

MAURICE.

2. If the above letter had been intended

for two Frenchmen instead of one, what changes would you make in paragraph (a)?

3. Rewrite (in French) paragraph (c), supposing that Maurice's friend had been asked to visit the grandmother only.

4. Write a short letter in French (not more than ten lines) from Maurice's friend in answer to Maurice, saying that he had done all that he had been asked to do: that he had gone to Eyguières, that he had found the house, paid the visit, etc., making use of the words in the letter.

5. 94×7 . Do this multiplication sum, writing out every step in French words.

6. Write an account in French (about ten lines) of what you hope to do in the summer holidays.

O. A.

ASSISTANT TEACHERS IN FRENCH LYCÉES.

THE Board of Education have received from the French Government a notification of their intention to attach as temporary assistants to certain Lycées a number of young English Secondary Schoolmasters, or intending schoolmasters who have undergone an approved course of training and hold some recognised diploma for Secondary Teachers.

These assistants will not take any share in the regular work of the school, but will conduct small conversation groups under the direction of the Proviseur. Two hours' work a day will be expected of them. The rest of their time will be at the disposal of the assistants, who will thus be able to

pursue their own studies. The assistants will receive no remuneration, but will be boarded and lodged at the institutions to which they are attached.

Candidates for such posts should forward their application to the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports, St. Stephen's House, Cannon Row, S.W., enclosing testimonials as to character, capacity, and teaching experience, and a medical certificate of health. It will also be necessary for each candidate to have a personal interview with the Director at his Office, and should any candidate have any special desire as to date of interview, it would be well to indicate it when forwarding the application.

REVIEWS.

Recueil de Locutions Françaises Proverbiales, Familières, Figurées Traduites par leurs Équivalents Anglais. Par A.-G. BILLAUDEAU. Paris, Boyveau et Chevillet. 1903.

IF assiduity alone deserved praise, we could not withhold it from this compilation of about 50,000 idiomatic phrases. It must represent the work of years. In spite of this, it is unsatisfactory. It is possible

that a Frenchman might produce a book of this kind alone; but he would be well advised to consult an English scholar before publishing it. M. Billandeau's book has been 'soigneusement revu par A. Antoine, Professeur de français à l'Institut scientifique et littéraire Birkbeck (de Londres).' Professor Antoine is known to us as a very capable teacher of French, but it may be doubted whether his acquaintance with the difficulties of English idiomatic usages is sufficiently extensive to enable him to revise

the proofs submitted to him by M. Billandeau.

The *Recueil* seems to have been taken from dictionaries old and new, no distinction being made between what is obsolete and what is common nowadays, between literary and vulgar language. There are no explanations, no references, no quotations. It therefore lacks the scientific value of such a book as Mr. Payen-Payne's, of which a fourth edition is now in the press.

In order to justify our criticism, we add some instances from the book—the result of glancing through a page here and there. There are misprints, such as 'to wear the stock' for *chausser le brodequin*, 'enemy,' 'mouster (for monster),' *put* (for *pu*), 'eat (for eaten),' etc. Quaint translations abound: 'a hellish noise' (for an infernal row), 'a logger-head' (*une bûche*), 'a hell-cat' (*une harpie*), 'of a stretch' (*tout d'une haleine*), 'he lives, God knows how' (*il vit de la grâce de Dieu*), 'genteelly' (*de bonne grâce*), 'have thy fling' (*dis ton dire*), 'he deserves the discipline' (*il mérite la discipline*), 'she is but an antiquated jilt' (*ce n'est plus qu'une antiquaille*), 'he is a special good fellow, a notable blade, a hearty cock, a jovial and harmless man' (*c'est un bon apôtre*), 'her eyes are very sprightly' (*elle a les yeux bien éveillés*).

We could fill columns with similar examples. Our readers will recognise another

case of misdirected effort, and will extend their sympathy to the author, who has produced a work which testifies to his industry no less than to his lack of method. The book can be recommended only for English readers who wish for half-an-hour's mild amusement; French readers must be warned against an indiscriminate use of the alleged 'équivalents anglais,' for the book contains much that is obsolete, and omits much that is currently used.

English Synonyms Explained and Illustrated. By J. H. A. GÜNTHER. Groningen, J. B. Wolters. 1904.

THE author of this admirable book is English Master in the 'Eerste hogere Burgerschool met driejarige Cursus,' Amsterdam. In a brief preface he points out the reason for the presence of synonyms in the English language, and gives a list of the authors from whose works he has taken his illustrative sentences. He is singularly successful in his definitions and in the selection of quotations, and his work is of real value to the student. There are close on 2200 synonyms, arranged in 621 groups. The printing is excellent, and the proofs have been read with great care. It affords genuine pleasure to recommend this book.

FROM HERE AND THERE.

PROFESSOR WALTER RALEIGH, who has held the Chair of English Language and Literature in Glasgow University since 1900, has been appointed Professor of English Literature in the University of Oxford.

Señor Fernando de Arteaga y Pereira, the Tylorian Teacher of Spanish at Oxford (an office he will continue to hold) has been appointed Lecturer in Spanish and Italian at Birmingham University.

Mr. C. F. Herdener, chief modern language master at Berkhamsted School, has been appointed Lecturer in French and German at Durham University.

Mr. E. Talbot Baines has promised £10,000

to found a Chair of English in the University of Liverpool, in memory of his late brother, Mr. T. C. Baines, of Alexandria.

Mr. C. E. Vaughan, M.A., since 1899 Professor of English Language and Literature in the Durham College of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne, has been appointed Professor of English Language and Literature at Leeds University.

Mr. O. H. Fynes-Clinton, M.A. (Oxon.), has been appointed Lecturer in French at Bangor. He took Classical Honours at Oxford, obtained the Tylorian Scholarship in Spanish in 1892, and a *proxime accessit* in Italian (1893), and in French (1894). From 1899-1904 he was Assistant-Master at the Aston Grammar School, Birmingham.

Mr. Thomas Rea, M.A. and Junior Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland, B.A. (Cambridge Research degree), has been appointed Lecturer in German at Bangor.

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The University of Leeds has conferred an honorary degree on Dr. Joseph Wright, of Oxford.

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Mr. C. D. Linnell, M.A. (London), B.A. (Cambridge Advanced Student), has been appointed English Lektor at the *Handels-hochschule* in Cologne.

* * * * *

Results of the last Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos at Cambridge:

	Men.	Women.	Total.
First class, . . .	1	4	5
Second class, . . .	4	12	16
Third class, . . .	8	6	14
Failed, . . .	6	1	7
Ægrotat,	1	1
Total entered, . . .	19	24	43

Results of the Examination for 1st and 2nd year students of Modern and Medieval Languages at Cambridge:

	Men.	Women.	Total.
First class, . . .	4	10	14
Second class, . . .	4	16	20
Third class, . . .	15	17	32
Failed, . . .	11	3	14
Total entered, . . .	34	46	80

It is gratifying to see from these statistics that during the past year over 120 students have been working for our Tripos.

* * * * *

The first Holiday Course for Foreigners organised by the University of London proved a distinct success. About one hundred students were expected, but more than twice that number came. The following statistics may be of interest:—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Argentine Republic, . . .	2	...	2
Austria, . . .	6	6	12
Belgium,	1	1
Denmark, . . .	18	13	31
England,	1	1
Finland, . . .	3	6	9
France, . . .	21	8	29
Germany, . . .	44	22	66
Holland, . . .	7	6	13
Hungary, . . .	3	...	3
Italy, . . .	2	1	3
Japan, . . .	1	...	1
Norway, . . .	2	3	5
Spain, . . .	2	...	2
Sweden, . . .	11	16	27
Switzerland, . . .	4	...	4
	126	83	209

It seems likely that the authorities of London University will feel justified in making the Holiday Course an annual institution. The experience gained on this occasion should prove very valuable, and a still greater success may be anticipated in future years.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY.'

SIR,—Will you kindly allow me to correct one sentence of my speech at the Christmas meeting of the M.L.A.? It has been pointed out to me that, even when (or if) the 'set books' in French for the Higher Certificate Examination are too long or hard, the teacher cannot strictly be called 'helpless' in the matter, since his pupils stand exactly the same chance, by the Board's regulations, of obtaining a pass of a distinction without the set books as with them. I should therefore confess, in order to correct any unintentional injustice to the regulations of the Joint Board, that in speaking of the teacher as 'helpless' under these circumstances, I was using language

unjustified by the facts, since he has the remedy of leaving this subject alone.

G. G. COULTON.

EASTBOURNE, July 5, 1904.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY.'

SIR,—As one of the two individuals criticised under the somewhat ambiguous title of 'B. & S.,' I crave the right to make a rejoinder to Professor Rippmann's remarks. I do not quite understand why my paper, which began with a profession of faith in the direct method, should be criticised under the heading of 'Is it a Reform?' A hasty reader who had not seen my paper might well imagine that I am an arrant disbeliever in the new method, more especially when

he comes across a sentence which on close inspection really refers to Mr. Siepmann, 'We view with some suspicion attempts to discredit the reform.' These unintentional implications strike me as unfortunate.

I will now pass to the four or five points criticised by Professor Rippmann. I am sorry to say he has misunderstood my real meaning in every instance. The fault is possibly mine. It is difficult always to make one's points clear when one has but little time to make them in.

His first criticism is contained in the sentence:

'A little thought will show that many of the difficulties pointed out in B. are not really peculiar to modern language teaching. Thus the importance of maintaining the attention of the pupils is universally acknowledged; in B. this is done in a strangely worded sentence, "Continuous attention, while essential to all forms of teaching, is absolutely indispensable in the case of the rigidly direct method." I do not know what difference there is between "essential" and "absolutely indispensable."'

Any one who reads my paper carefully must see that in the majority of cases I have never pretended the difficulties I raised were peculiar to modern language teaching alone. I presume by this, Professor Rippmann means modern language teaching on the direct method. What I did try to prove was that under the new method they became intensified, and passed from (say) difficulties of the third or second to the first magnitude. In a word, the difference in difficulties is not a difference in *kind* but in *degree*, a distinction, no doubt, Professor Rippmann is aware of. What, therefore, was meant by a distinction between 'essential' and 'absolutely indispensable' was that a greater degree of continuous attention is necessary, because the 'failure of a pupil (whose teacher follows the direct method in its strictest sense) to understand a single expression may mean he may lose ground that he never can make up. Except with very careful teaching these losses accumulate, so that one not infrequently comes across a pupil not merely detached, but completely isolated—far more isolated than a backward pupil in a form taught on old-fashioned lines.' In the latter case the text-book supplies the structure of the teaching, in the former each lesson becomes the substructure of the following lesson. The text-book acts somewhat like a steel frame. You can at a pinch start the work of the second story before the first is finished;

but while each lesson serves as a foundation for the next, it is quite impossible. Hence a boy who, under the old-fashioned teaching, is absent for a day or two is far less 'thrown out' when he comes back than if he were being taught under the new. As a matter of fact is worth a ton of theory, I may mention that this difficulty has been discussed with me by several teachers.

I now pass to Professor Rippmann's second point. 'Another alleged difficulty is that "the teacher has necessarily less time to devote to the leaders than if he were teaching on other lines." If this means that the manner of teaching necessitates the chief attention being given to the middle, i.e. the bulk, of the class, it is surely an advantage.' My criticism here again was based on actual facts. Teachers on the direct method have complained to me of the extra marking time that has to go on among the leaders while they are bringing up the stragglers. Hence I spoke of 'the imperative need of keeping the form together,' which 'seems to imply that, if some pupils are not to be hopelessly tailed off, the pace must be not so much the pace of the "middle markers" as of "the hindmost."' This naturally leaves less time for the middle of the form and *a fortiori* for the leaders. Professor Rippmann apparently had not read the sentence a few lines above the one he criticised, in which I distinctly said one should go for the middle of the form.

I now pass to the fourth point. 'A further statement in B. which seems to me to have no special bearing on modern language teaching is this: "The teacher being largely dependent on the goodwill of the class for their attention, is compelled to render his teaching as pleasant and as attractive as possible"; and a fear is expressed that "The training of the will, which teaches us to do unpleasant tasks and overcome obstacles, and which is the bedrock of English education, is rather neglected." To my mind this raises questions which apply to all teaching. The attention of the pupils depends not on their "goodwill"; unless we take that to be equivalent to "interest." Who will deny that all teaching should be made interesting? . . . There are illegitimate ways of rendering it so.'

What person unacquainted with my address, from reading the above, could imagine that after the words 'as pleasant and attractive as possible' I had written, 'This is excellent as far as it goes, and is helping to bring into English teaching a conception of the real doctrine of interest

as understood in America.' Not being engaged in discussing the advantages of the direct method, I naturally passed at once to those forms of interest which I considered 'illegitimate.' The temptation to play down too much to the class, the avoidance of 'the hard and distasteful,' and hence at times a loss of the disciplinary influence of the school, all of which dangers I have observed in certain classes.

This brings me then directly to Professor Rippmann's fourth point. "How is one to get behind the boy who refuses to work and professes not to understand?" is asked in B.; and again I would point out that the modern language teacher is not alone in having to face this problem.

Once more my criticism is not based on a difference in kind but in degree. The control of the *fainéant* and the malingerer must be more difficult when your means of communication with him is no this mother-tongue but a foreign medium. It must in these circumstances be more difficult to tell where honest ignorance ends and idle inattention begins. Here again I can quote chapter and verse from teachers who have found this difficulty a very serious one.

In fact I feel somewhat surprised that Professor Rippmann in the course of his joint inspection of 37 schools, with their 361 classes, 206 teachers, and over 8200 pupils, has not come across these difficulties. It seems more probable that he has, and that the fault really lies either with my careless writing or his careless reading of what I had written.

With the greater part of Professor Rippmann's other remarks I cordially agree. But I must still profess impenitence in my disbelief that the direct method is the better for the non-'fairly capable teacher,' though even here I would make an exception in the practice of conversation off the reader's book. But I still hold that such a teacher should make more of translation, grammar, and written work, because I know from personal experience how far more difficult it is to unlearn than to learn, and though no doubt the pupils taught on old-fashioned lines will attach some pronunciation to foreign words, they will not waste so much time in practising wrong sounds, nor will they fancy, which is worse, that they have acquired an approximately correct pronunciation.

CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

June 26, 1904.

[If the carelessness was mine, I apologise.
—W. R.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY.'

SIR,—There are several reasons why we should like to reply to the review of our *Elementary Phonetics* which appeared in the last number of the *M.L.Q.* To begin with, we venture to submit that much of the reviewer's censure loses its point if it is remembered that he ignores a general consideration which was kept steadily in view in the preparation of the book, viz. the present attitude of most of the teachers of languages (in this country at least) towards phonetics. That attitude, as yet, is generally one not only of indifference but of open hostility. The reasons are not far to seek. The teacher is a very conservative mortal, the subject is not only new but intricate and difficult, and most existing manuals—such is our opinion—fail to prove its practical utility. These manuals, whether elementary or advanced, have been written mostly by specialists, who naturally under-rate the difficulties the beginner has to contend with, and are inclined to forget that to the average teacher phonetics can be a subject of only secondary importance—an auxiliary subject, for which he can spare but a limited amount of his time and energy. Further, the specialist too often refuses to sacrifice the strictly scientific to the practical, where the one excludes the other. A striking example of this is to be found in Sweet's *Primer*, to which the reviewer makes special reference. It is an admirable book for the more advanced student who does not mind the trouble of making himself acquainted with a system of phonetics which counts at present but a very limited number of adherents. But we differ from Mr. Williams entirely when he loftily advances the opinion 'that the teacher who would find Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics* too elaborate and too high in its aims is either a duffer or an ass, and the best thing we can do is to leave him to himself.' Our experience in this connection, and we believe it is not unique, is at variance with such a conclusion.

Another obstacle to the popularisation of phonetics lies in the somewhat bewildering multiplicity of phonetic systems employed by the various writers on the subject. Uniformity in this respect, however, is in a fair way to be realised by the more general adoption of the 'international' system.

And now a few remarks about the book itself which, in spite of its modest pretensions, has aroused the ire of Mr. R. A.

Williams. *Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?* The aim of the book, which partly he neglects to mention, partly he distorts, is briefly this: To give a clear idea of the fundamental principles of sound production, that is, in particular to make quite plain the functions of the vocal chords and the all-importance of the movements and various positions of the tongue in this production. As a considerable experience in teaching phonetics to different classes of learners, young and mature, students and teachers, has convinced us that diagrams are necessary for this purpose, we have inserted a considerable number of these in the book. After the elements of sound production—the various classes of vowels and consonants—have been dealt with in the most simple manner, we add in special paragraphs headed ‘General Remarks’ such facts as the beginner should know, but which, if given in the first part, would have tended to interfere with the clearness of the general exposition. (In one instance these remarks have been unnecessarily split up.) It is in connection with this scheme of arrangement that W. speaks of our helplessness and unscientific method. According to him the book ought to have started with a definition. Sweet’s does it, he says. We dare say Sweet is quite right, but we preferred to begin with facts. He waxes quite indignant because we speak of the ‘Basis of Articulation’ ‘only long after the sounds of English, German, and French have been described in detail.’ This remark is characteristic of his whole attitude of mind, which is essentially theoretic and dogmatic. How any sensible man could try and find and describe a common basis for the articulation of the various sounds of a language without first investigating these sounds, passes our understanding. We even considered it an advantage to give this definition after the section on Quantity, Stress, etc., had been dealt with. And then we thought we could not do better than borrow this definition, which is an excellent one, from Sweet. For this we asked and received his permission. The sneer about copying is, therefore, somewhat out of place, since acknowledgment is duly made. That the definition was incorrectly quoted we regret, as we do the appearance of several other misprints.

What W. says about the ‘glottal stop,’ the German *y* and *ø* sounds, shows that he can never have tried to teach German pronunciation phonetically to English-speaking pupils; while his remarks on our definition

of vowels and consonants, and on our description of the German *j*, *r*, and *l* sounds, prove once more that he has failed to see the purpose of the book, and to discriminate between what is practically and what is strictly scientifically correct.

It seems to us but fair to expect that the reviewer of a book should have read it with sufficient care, and should call attention to what is new in it. W. does not quite come up to these expectations. Though we distinctly state in the preface that the subject of phonetics *per se* is not a subject for school instruction, his strictures are here and there based on the assumption that the book was intended for school purposes. That thought never entered our heads, and so, no doubt, W. will now be further shocked to learn that what he considers simple enough for the schoolboy is meant for the teacher only. But that is just one of those points on which his ideas of the nature and elementary treatment of phonetics are entirely different from ours.

If we say that the only difference between *b* and *p* lies in the presence of voice in the one case and its absence in the other, we have our practical reasons for doing so in that particular place. If W. had read the last sentence of the paragraph headed ‘Whispered Sounds’ (p. 113), he would have convinced himself that we are not so ignorant as he thinks of the difference between *p* and voiceless *b*, and have saved himself some unnecessary criticism.

Again, we should be obliged to W.—and in return, we should be pleased to answer his query as to the difference between voiceless *i* and *j*, a distinction which seems to puzzle him—if he would kindly tell us what practical difference there is between the tongue positions which we call *narrow* and *wide*, but which Sweet calls *high* and *low*? Can his obtuseness in this case (other things point to such a possibility) be due to the fact that he fails to see that we do not use *narrow* in the same sense as Sweet?

As to the ‘hints’ which we add to the theoretical discussions at various points throughout the book, and some of which are, at any rate to our knowledge, new, and the outcome of personal experience gleaned in the classroom, they were meant to show how the teacher might turn his knowledge of phonetics to practical account in the teaching of pronunciation, more particularly in French and German, but we nowhere claim, as the reviewer says, ‘not

only to teach phonetics, but also how phonetics are to be taught.' We merely give hints how to teach the pronunciation of vowels and consonants phonetically. The difference seems obvious. The introduction of these practical hints, which is a new feature in the book as compared with other text-books on phonetics, is disposed of by W. in the remark that it is 'not scientific.'

We are far from regarding our book as a model of perfection; it has its faults, more, alas, than W. has pointed out. We are grateful to him for indicating real weaknesses, but we confess we do not like, nor can we quite understand, the spirit of animosity in which the whole review is written. If the book is bad, which is quite possible, though the opinions of the reviewers differ apparently, somebody will one day write a better one; but we are absolutely convinced of one thing, namely, that the only road to the popularisation of phonetics lies through great simplicity of treatment.

One more remark. Mr. Williams has commented in somewhat severe terms on our use of the 'split' infinitive. If, in making use of this form, we have sinned against the 'tradition of literary usage,' as grievously as the reviewer makes out, we have done so in the company of much more ancient and respectable co-offenders than he is apparently aware of.—We are, etc.,

W. SCHOLLE.

G. SMITH.

[The 'spirit of animosity' mentioned above exists, of course, only in the heated imagination of the two authors, who are personally quite unknown to me. Their reply does not in any way weaken the force of my strictures in the review re-

ferred to. Of this I will give a couple of examples. They accuse me of having said that they ought to have started with a definition. What I really said was that they ought to have started from first principles, and I gave Sweet's method as an illustration. The beginning (§ 15) of the analysis in the *Primer of Phonetics* (which I quoted) may be a definition, but it is also most certainly a statement of *fact*, although Messrs. Scholle and Smith appear to infer that this is not the case. Farther on they state, 'How any sensible man could try and find and describe a common basis for the articulation of the various sounds of a language without first investigating these sounds passes our understanding.' This *might* be true if the sounds of English, French, and German, with which languages the authors were dealing, had not already been investigated! There was no necessity for them to 'try and find' what was already known. As a matter of fact, they were only concerned with giving the *results* of investigations long since carried out, and the 'sensible man' will doubtless claim accordingly, as I have already done, that the basis of articulation should have come first. In regard to the 'copying': to copy and acknowledge is still to copy—to copy without acknowledgment would have merited a much stronger term. The authors make, furthermore, the deduction that I can never have 'tried to teach German pronunciation phonetically to English-speaking pupils': a deduction which, like many other brilliant things, has the sole fault of being—absolutely wrong! I will not waste the reader's nor my own time by adding anything further. Messrs. Scholle and Smith's reply gives me no cause to retract any part of what I have already written.—
R. A. WILLIAMS.]

The Modern Language Quarterly

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SCHILLER AS AN HISTORIAN.

DOWN to the beginning of the eighteenth century historical works written in Germany were little more than mere chronicles. The events were told in due order, but their inner causation was not investigated, and no distinction was made between facts of first-rate and of second-rate importance. About the middle of the century the influence of English and French historians made itself felt, but the German writers were still far from attaining to any high standard of their art. Frederick the Great, who himself wrote a valuable history of his own time, bitterly criticised the contemporary German histories, and reproached the authors with giving their own fancies instead of what had actually happened. Some improvement was effected by the writings of Herder and Kant. The former, in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784 and following years), had thrown out many ideas about a comprehensive and philosophical treatment of history, which bore good fruit, although they were expressed in a somewhat aphoristic and not altogether scientific form. But his catholic spirit and broad views on all historical, philosophical, and poetical matters did not fail to attract a kindred

spirit like Schiller. Kant happily supplemented Herder's ideas by urging the supreme importance of a thorough study of historical facts and a sound criticism of a well-sifted material. Schiller felt the influence of both these great men. The former pupil of Rousseau, who had believed in an original happy state of humankind, won for himself an honourable place in the great intellectual movement which marked the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. The historians of the eighteenth century almost all wrote to advocate certain theories of their own; those of the nineteenth strove to attain the ideal of absolute impartiality. They endeavoured to understand and to appreciate justly all stages of historical life and development. Schiller stands in the middle between the old school of subjective writers, such as Rousseau and Voltaire, and the best historians of modern times. He did not succeed in attaining to an altogether unbiassed judgment, and always with all his heart took the part of the champions of freedom; but he always looked on history with the eye of the philosopher, and appreciated the various epochs according to his own ideals of liberty.

During five years of his life Schiller gave himself up almost exclusively to the study of history and to the production of historical treatises and essays. In the development of his poetical genius, this period of sober and calm reflection was most fruitful. His historical studies were begun seriously about the middle of 1787, and came to an end in September 1792, with the conclusion of the history of the Thirty Years' War. Before that time, indeed, he had occasionally studied historical works, but chiefly with the purpose of collecting materials for his plays, viz. for *Fiesco* and *Don Carlos*. For his later historical plays, e.g. for *Wallenstein* and *Wilhelm Tell*, he studied the available sources most accurately.

The reason which induced Schiller to use his studies for the production of historical writings was twofold. Having left the hospitable home of his Dresden friend Körner, and having migrated to Weimar (July 1787), he found himself in straitened circumstances. The meagre professorship which he obtained in 1789 did not much improve matters, and his marriage with the highly gifted and noble-minded Lotte von Lengefeld entailed increased expenditure. It was not till the end of 1791, when he was slowly recovering from a severe illness, that an unexpected gift from two Danish admirers of his genius, the Prince of Augustenburg and Count Schimmelmann, relieved him for some years from the necessity of writing for his livelihood. Moreover, Schiller wished to produce something that would look more serious and important to the general public than poetical effusions or plays. He was ambitious of becoming some day a great national historian, and did not see why he should not be able to become so if he seriously set himself to the task. (Letter to Körner of November 26, 1790.)¹ For these reasons he undertook to write several works which did not require all his time and effort, and would yet be helpful to him in supplying both means for his present subsistence and material for future literary productions.

One of his earliest schemes was to compile a history of the most remarkable conspiracies and rebellions of the Middle Ages and modern times, and it is noteworthy that we find conspiracies and rebellions to be the mainspring of many of his great

works: *Fiesco*, *Wallenstein*, the rising of the Swiss against their oppressors, the revolt of the Netherlanders against the King of Spain, of the Liguists against the King of France. Schiller, being essentially a dramatic poet, was chiefly tempted by those stirring epochs, in which history itself becomes a vast drama, and in which man is led up to freedom by being driven to revolt against tyranny and despotism. He was inspired by the great struggles of individuals and states, the final issue of which was to be the victory of religious or political liberty. The motto of his first juvenile tragedy, *Die Räuber*, was '*In tyrannos*'; the watchword of *Don Carlos* is the demand of the Marquis of Posa: '*Geben Sie Gedankenfreiheit!*' the vignette on the titlepage of the *Revolt of the Netherlands* was a hat on a pole, the symbol of freedom; and 'Freedom,' in its highest conception, is the watchword which resounds everywhere through the scenes of his last great play, *Wilhelm Tell*. In later years, when his judgment was more matured, Schiller became more dispassionate and more just in his appreciation of the various forces which influence the course of history, and freely acknowledged the importance of the strongly conservative elements, as being necessary to the proper development of freedom. At the same time there can be no doubt that even in his last historical work, the *History of the Thirty Years' War*, his sympathies were with the Protestants, in whom he saw the champions of freedom of thought.

When Schiller began to write on historical subjects his own knowledge was very limited and, with few exceptions, modern history-writing was still in its infancy. He had hardly any writer of acknowledged merit to take for his model, especially in his own country. Of the great historians he knew at the outset only Plutarch, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Robertson. Subsequently he became acquainted with Gibbon and Hume. We have observed before that among the Germans he was chiefly influenced by Herder and Kant, who were neither of them historians by profession. There existed very few trustworthy investigations of points of detail, and thus Schiller had to be his own mason before he could be an architect. He had to read all the sources, to estimate their importance, and to arrange all details for himself. Moreover, there was no recognised method of investigation; hence he had to follow a method of his own,

¹ See *Schillers Briefe herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Fritz Jonas. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Deutsche Verlagsanstalt. Stuttgart, Leipzig, Berlin, Wien. Vol. iii. p. 117. Letter 550.

And in another respect also he was greatly hampered. Very few State documents were readily accessible at that time; very few could be consulted in trustworthy publications. Much valuable material has come to light only quite recently, and, if we consider the difficulties under which Schiller laboured, the wonder is, not that he made mistakes, but that he made so few. With very scanty material he often succeeded in drawing historically true pictures of great men and events, which have been fully confirmed by modern research. No doubt the vivid imagination of the dramatic poet was here of the greatest use to the ingenious historian. And, after all, we may well ask, what does it matter if some of his principal characters have been painted by him a few shades too dark or too light, if he succeeded in his great object, to establish in Germany the true art of writing history? Montesquieu, Gibbon, Herder, and Kant furnished him with scientific and philosophical views, and from the former two he learned a great deal with regard to the art of composition. His aim in writing was an artistic representation of facts combined with accuracy of detail. If the latter is not always fully attained, we should not forget that Schiller was hampered by many difficulties which no longer exist for modern historians, and moreover that, as his existence depended on the earnings of his pen, he was obliged to compose too quickly. From English and French models he learned to regard history as the progress of humanity towards freedom, and to regard universal history as the highest form of history. By 'universal history' he understood not only the history of political and military events, but history of religion, philosophy, art, customs, commerce, all combined into one for mutual elucidation. These high aims of the philosophical historian, as they were formulated in the very first historical lecture which Schiller delivered at Jena, to an audience of several hundred students, could not be fulfilled by himself, as history was not his chief subject, and the fulfilment of them requires nothing less than the labour of a lifetime. But the very fact that he set up so high a standard at the time must be accounted no small merit. (See his letter to Körner of March 26, 1789.)¹

The public for whom his historical works were destined were not the professional historians or any small circle of scholars,

but his students at Jena, and especially the educated men and women of Germany. By writing in the style of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, he wished above all to attract the better class of general readers, and to show that the true historian must practise the art of an epic writer and must combine science with art.

Concerning Schiller's merits and demerits as a historian there can be little doubt. Some points have already been touched upon. We require too much of his historical writings if we require them to reach as high a level as his philosophical treatises or his best poems and plays. We must neither forget the aims of the author nor the conditions under which the works and essays were composed. Schiller did not intentionally misrepresent facts in favour of a certain preconceived opinion. He studied his sources honestly and zealously, though not always sufficiently, and did as much as was possible for him under the given circumstances. He diligently strove to sift and criticise his materials and to obtain the proper point of view from which he could explain the events and show how their course was guided by the minds of great men. He possessed in a high degree the intellectual power to survey a great mass of facts at a time, and to combine the various occurrences into a true, life-like whole. His writings are often truly dramatic, the events well grouped, the principal characters placed in the foreground, and all the secondary personages skilfully grouped around them, while the intellectual forces of the time are incorporated and represented by a few great leaders.

With regard to positive knowledge of historical facts, Schiller did not fall much behind as high a standard as was attainable at the time. It is true that no great progress was made by him in the scientific investigation of details. He did not discover new sources, nor criticise the old ones more accurately than the better historians of his age; but he made use of the material ready at hand with care and accuracy, he represented the facts with the consummate skill of the great artist, he showed a truly wonderful insight into the leading motives of great deeds, and in philosophical reflections he clearly laid bare the great and important principles which underlay the events which he related. He was the first who made history the common property of the nation, of all educated men and women desirous of obtaining information about great periods of human development. Even

¹ See *Schillers Briefe*, ed. Fritz Jonas. Vol. ii. p. 260. Letter 389.

the professional historians, who do not think much of his use of the sources and original authorities—as Schiller himself did not—were obliged to admit that his way of writing history was better suited to attract and to interest his readers than their own productions, which were perhaps more thorough, but also much less fertile in ideas. Thus Schiller's works did not remain without a stimulating effect even upon professional students of history.

If Schiller gave much to history, history in its turn gave much to Schiller. The study of history not merely enlarged the circle of his ideas, and the extent of his knowledge, but it transformed and deepened his whole nature. It gave him a deeper insight into human life and character; it gave him critical acumen and fairness in judging and representing men, their views and their deeds, and it became a storehouse for his poetry. Goethe emerged from the 'storm and stress' period by the aid of the study of classical art, and of the quiet harmony and invariable laws of nature. Schiller freed himself from the extravagances of the same period by the study of history and philosophy. He never forgot that he was to be a poet, but he knew, and has himself more than once expressed the conviction, that his genius had to be purified and brought to a higher state of perfection by study and reflection, by deep thought, and letting his mind range freely through all the great epochs of the history of the world. The ultimate result and the greatest success of his historical studies, therefore, consisted in this: they helped to lead him out of the passionate and exaggerated fervour of his youth to the dispassionate contemplation and appreciation of historical development. The classical period of his poetry began (in 1794) after he had gone through this self-imposed course of training his mind by historical and philosophical studies. Schiller's occupation with history arose from his poetry, and it led ultimately back to it: the play *Don Carlos* suggested his study of the *Revolt of the Netherlands*, and his *Thirty Years' War* induced him to write the greatest of all his dramas, *Wallenstein*.

In the historical field Schiller has produced two great works and a number of minor essays, extending over all periods of the world's history. His career as a historian was happily inaugurated by his *Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande*, which appeared in 1788, but unfortunately remained a fragment, one-sixth only of the

original plan being completed. It really narrates the events only as far as the arrival of the Duke of Alva at Brussels and the actual outbreak of the revolt. The leading idea of the work was the glorification of the first victory of modern freedom of thought over the medieval darkness and the intolerance of a narrow-minded despotism. Two historical sketches, referring to the same subject and apparently written at the same time as the *Revolt* were subsequently published separately under the titles, *Des Grafen Lamoral von Egmont Leben und Tod* (in Schiller's periodical, *Thalia*, 1789) and *Merkwürdige Belagerung von Antwerpen in den Jahren 1584 und 1585* (in Schiller's periodical, *Die Horen*, 1795). Both were subsequently admitted into his collected works as appendices to his greater work.

Schiller's minor essays, which cannot be all enumerated here, arose partly from his studies in preparation for the lectures which he delivered at Jena, and were partly written as introductions to various volumes of his collection of historical memoirs. All of them were called forth by outward circumstances, and, as they were usually written under the necessity and pressure of the moment, and often under the stress of physical pain, it is not to be wondered at that, in spite of some fine passages, they are Schiller's weakest productions. It would be wrong to apply to them the standard of his greater historical works, his philosophical essays, or his poems and plays. He tried to learn from Kant, Montesquieu, and Gibbon, but he did not equal them in method and thoroughness. Some of the minor essays were adapted from the works of others, and contain only a few original ideas of Schiller. The most interesting of the earlier essays is no doubt his famous inaugural lecture (1789) at Jena, which was published under the title, *Was heisst und zu welchem Ende studirt man Universalgeschichte?* which, as we have seen, is important for Schiller's conception of history. Some essays concerning the pre-Christian times need not be mentioned here. Of the essays which refer to the Middle Ages, by far the most important is the one called *Über Völkerwanderung, Kreuzzüge, und Mittelalter*, which was originally connected with one which follows it in the collected works, *Übersicht des Zustands von Europa zur Zeit des ersten Kreuzzugs*. In this essay the future author of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* and *Die Braut von Messina* shows himself to be one of the first who, in the eighteenth century, paved the way to a more just

appreciation of the peculiar character of the Middle Ages. This appreciation was at the beginning of our century exaggerated beyond measure by the so-called Romantics. We may pass over the other essays on medieval and comparatively modern events. All of them are introductions to his collection of historical memoirs, and are general surveys of the period which the special memoir served to illustrate. Such memoirs cannot, of course, be the chief sources for the historian, but they may be very useful to him. In collecting the accounts of eye-witnesses or persons living during great historical periods, Schiller has shown unquestionably true tact and a proper understanding of a real want.

The second and last great work which Schiller wrote in the domain of history was his *Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs*, in five books. Taken all round, it is the most important of all. The leading idea of it is in many respects allied to that of the *Revolt of the Netherlands*. Both represent phases of the great struggle between the old and the new creed, and advocate freedom of thought. Schiller made plans also for a third great historical work, on Luther and the period of Reformation in Germany, which would have fitted in splendidly with the two others (see the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, viii. 385, xi. 413). Unfortunately this work, which was intended for Göschen's *Historischer Kalender für Damen* for the year 1794, was never written. Partly his study of the philosophy of Kant and the working out of his own original essays connected with the æsthetic education of man, partly his newly awakened interest in and desire for poetical production, prevented Schiller from writing any more historical works. But what the historian had found in annals and memoirs, the poet depicted in striking scenes and dramatic characters, instinct with real life, which appeal with thrilling force to our feeling and our imagination.

The following books and articles contain fuller information on many of the points contained in this article:

Karl Tomaschek. Schiller in seinem Verhältnisse zur Wissenschaft. Wien. 1862. Pp. 69-140. Compare the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, iv. 58 *sqq.* (This fine book contains many hints from the historian Ottokar Lorenz.)

Carl Twisten. Schiller in seinem Verhältniss zur Wissenschaft. Berlin. 1863. Pp. 128-154.

Friedrich Ueberweg. Schiller als Historiker und Philosoph. Leipzig. 1884. Pp. 104 *sqq.*

A. Kuhn. Schillers Geistesgang. Berlin. 1863. Pp. 154-196.

Joh. Janssen. Schiller als Historiker. Freiburg i. B. 1863. ²1879. (This book is not free from prejudice.)

Ottokar Lorenz. Zum Gedächtnis von Schillers historischem Lehramt in Jena. Vorgetragen am 26 Mai 1889. Berlin. 1889.

The best German edition (with Introduction and Notes) of Schiller's historical writings is the one by *Theodor Kükelhaus*, in vols. vi., vii., and xiv. of Bellermann's edition for the Leipzig Bibliographical Institute. In vol. vi. Kükelhaus has given a general discussion of Schiller as a historian (pp. 167-179). The Cotta Jubilee Edition of Schiller, which is now in course of publication, does not yet contain any of his historical writings.

Some portions of Schiller's historical prose, with English notes, are contained in the following editions:

Adolf Buchheim. Deutsche Prosa, vol. i. (Schiller). London. ⁴1889.

Adolf Buchheim. Schillers Historische Skizzen (Siege of Antwerp, and Trial and Death of Count Egmont). Oxford, Clarendon Press. ³1885.

Karl Breul. Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs. Book III. Cambridge, University Press. 1892. ²1905. Students of the Thirty Years' War and Wallenstein will do well to refer to *Kükelhaus's* edition throughout. They will also find some valuable information in the article by *August Kluckhohn*, Zur neuesten Wallenstein-Litteratur, published in the 'Deutsche Rundschau,' vol. lxxi. (1892), 434-50. Some other bibliographical references are contained in my Pitt Press edition of the *Thirty Years' War*, Book III., on pp. 182-185.

Among the more recent lives of Schiller, the two large works by Minor and by Weltrich do not yet treat of Schiller's historical writings. A good account is given by *Otto Brahm*, in vol. ii. part 1 (1892), pp. 206-221 of his 'Schiller.' Other recent biographies worth consulting are those by *J. Wychgram* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1895); *Otto Harnack* (Berlin, 1898); *Ludwig Bellermann* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1901); and *Calvin Thomas* (New York, 1902). The first part of a new life of Schiller, by *Karl Berger* (München, 1905), has just appeared,

but does not yet contain a chapter on Schiller's historical writings.

For all other points connected with this subject, see Max Koch's elaborate article on Schiller in vol. v. of the second edition of K. Goedeke's 'Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung' (Dresden, 1893); and also the excellent, well-indexed annual,

'Jahresberichte für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte,' discussing the more recent publications since 1890.¹

KARL BREUL.

¹ This essay is an enlarged and slightly modified reprint of an essay originally contributed to the *National Home Reading Union Magazine* for 1897.—K. B.

WIELAND AND RICHARDSON.

IN the evolution of the modern novel Richardson plays a larger rôle in Germany than in England, or in any other country of Europe. His works enjoyed an enormous popularity among the German people, who were attracted in the first place by the sentimental personality of the author. Furthermore, as a moralising and didactic writer, Richardson was in complete harmony with German literary ideals, and fitted admirably into the evolution of the older German novel of the seventeenth century. As early as the sixteenth century the didacticism, which is so marked a characteristic of the older novel, makes its appearance in the works of Jörg Wickram, and finds still fuller expression in seventeenth-century fiction. Bucholtz, Weise, and Abraham a Santa Clara have all clearly in mind the moral edification of the reader, while Grimmelshausen, Lohenstein, Philipp von Zesen, and Duke Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig, in giving the public the benefit of their fund of miscellaneous knowledge, are all eminently didactic in their aim. Richardson, obviously, cannot claim to have revealed to Germany the didactic and moralising element in fiction. But none of these older novelists understood how to confine himself to one definite moral lesson, and to illustrate this by means of a story. They are all of them indefinite in their moral aims, or they attempt more than they can carry out. Most of them wish in an indefinite kind of way to revive religious feeling in their readers, or to inculcate moral instruction; but their stories do not really illustrate their teaching, for the reason that the moral lesson is not properly incorporated in the plot. Richardson may with perfect right claim to have introduced into fiction a real unity and singleness of moral purpose. At the same time, for his didactic purposes, he made use of a form of story which was quite new to

his contemporaries. He banished the old conventional types of character and substituted characters of flesh and blood, drawn from real life. He did away with the magic element, and laid the scene in his own country and in his own time, instead of in distant lands and far-off ages. The novel was thus brought into a world of reality and established on a sure foundation of truth.

In another respect Richardson was a great innovator in Germany. The older novel possessed practically no characterisation. Little attempt was made to trace the development of the characters, which were, as a rule, either wholly good or wholly bad. Results only were shown, not the steps by which those results were obtained. Richardson introduced the psychological element into the German novel, and this, combined with the old didactic and moralising tendency, gave it new life and power. All Germany welcomed the innovation with open arms, for the older novel of the seventeenth century had, early in the eighteenth century, lost its hold on the readers, and although *Robinson Crusoe* and the German *Robinsonaden*, with their wonderful adventures, for a time supplied the want felt in fiction, yet they did not altogether satisfy the poetic and artistic demands of the day. This want was finally supplied by Richardson and the group of imitators which arose in Germany, chief among whom is Wieland. He is indeed the only member of the school who was of supreme and vital importance for the development of the German novel.

Wieland made the acquaintance of Richardson's novels early in his career. He read *Pamela* in a French translation when at school in Klosterbergen, at a time when he knew practically nothing of the French language; and as he only possessed a very poor dictionary, he had to depend largely

on his powers of guessing at the meaning of the words.¹ There is no record of the impression the book made upon his mind. All we know is that he does not allude to it in his correspondence as one of the books which influenced him in Klosterbergen. About 1750 *Clarissa* fell into his hands, and he is reported to have wept himself 'fast blind' over the story.² It must have been again a translation that he read, for he did not begin to study English till two years later.³ In 1754 he read Richardson's third great novel, *Sir Charles Grandison*. His enthusiasm was at once kindled for the hero, and his verdict on the book was pronounced in three words, 'dieses unschätzbare Buch.'⁴

Wieland very early in his career came to believe firmly that reform in German literature could only be effected by the study and imitation of English authors. As early as 1752 he writes: 'Ich bin den Franzosen ihres flüchtigen und affenmässigen Nationalcharakters wegen recht gram, und noch mehr denen Deutschen die ihren Geist lieber nach diesen lächerlichen Geschöpfen bilden wollen, als nach den denkenden männlich schönen, und zuweilen englischen Britten.'⁵ He was also thoroughly convinced of the importance of didactic aims in literature, and his conception of the duty of poetry was to sing the praises of God and virtue. Anacreontic poets seemed to him the corrupters of morals,⁶ for according to his ideas men ought not to write to amuse but to benefit mankind. Thus it is not difficult to see how completely Richardson must have satisfied Wieland's literary ideals at this time. Traces of his enthusiastic delight in the great English novelist may be found in most of his early writings. As early as 1752 there is a reference to *Pamela* in his *Anti-Orid*:

So reizt noch jetzt statt Liebe zu erwerben,
Die Unschuld einer Pamela,
Ein teuflisch Herz sie zu verderben.⁷

In *Erinnerungen an eine Freundin* (1754), where friendship is the theme, Anne Howe and Clarissa Marlowe are held up to the world as an example of true friendship:

¹ *Wielands Leben, Sämmtliche Werke*, edited by Gruber, vol. I. p. 21.

² *Litterarische Zustände und Zeitgenossen*. Leipzig, 1838, vol. i. p. 193.

³ *Ausgewählte Briefe*. Zürich, 1815, vol. i. p. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ *Wieland, Prosaische Schriften*. Zürich, 1764. *Sympathien*, p. 34.

⁷ *Poetische Schriften*. Zürich, 1770, vol. ii. p. 102.

Entzückend ist für eine schöne Seele
Das Glück, dem holden Busen einer Freundin
Sich zu vertrauen; deines reinen Herzens
Geheimste Neigungen ihr aufzudecken,
Und Schmerz und Freude stets mit ihr zu theilen.

So war einst Howes und Clarissas Freundschaft
Ein ewig Beyspiel der erstaunten Nachwelt.⁸

In the *Sympathien* (1754) Richardson's works are spoken of as a powerful moral force in the world.⁹ Henrietta Byron and Mrs. Shirley are regarded as types of character youth and age would do well to imitate,¹⁰ while a *Clarissa* is the greatest ornament of creation.¹¹ In the same work a graphic description is given of Maja, one of Wieland's imaginary 'sister-souls,' weeping over the affecting story of Clementina of Porretta. The situation offers an excellent opportunity for sententious moralising; Clementina is not to be regarded as unhappy, inasmuch as she had the inner consciousness of virtue, having fulfilled the greatest of all duties in loving God above all created things. She is a character to be revered, admired, imitated, in that she crushed all earthly passion, renouncing a man 'dem Cronen keinen mehrern Wert geben konnten.'¹²

In the *Ankündigung einer Dunciade für die Deutschen* (1755) Wieland speaks of Richardson as 'der unvergleichliche Richardson,'¹³ and in a tirade against Gottsched asks if it can be anything else but inborn folly in a man that makes him condemn *Clarissa* and other moral writings of Richardson as 'beliebte Lappereien.'¹⁴ In *Unterredungen zwischen Lysius und Eubulus*¹⁵ mention is made of *Clarissa* and *Lovelace*, and the latter is brought forward as the type of a loveable villain, 'einen wizzigen und artigen Bösewicht.'¹⁶ In *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (1764) *Pamela* is spoken of as 'weltberühmt,'¹⁷ while in *Agathon* the author states that in spite of the many faults his hero possesses, he loves him as much as if he were a Sir Charles Grandison.¹⁸ Reference is also made to Richard-

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 95.

⁹ *Prosaische Schriften*. Zürich, 1764, vol. i. p. 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24. ¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 36 ff.

¹³ *Ankündigung einer Dunciade für die Deutschen*. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1755, p. 50.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁵ The date of the work is not given. It appeared in the collection of Wieland's prose works, published in Zürich, 1764.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹⁷ *Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva*. Leipzig, 1795, vol. ii. p. 122.

¹⁸ *Die Geschichte des Agathons*. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1766-67, Part 2, pp. 287-88.

son and his novels in Wieland's correspondence of this period.¹ These references are of themselves of no great literary importance, but they serve to show his intimate acquaintance with Richardson and his intense admiration for him as a moralist.

The first important manifestation of Richardson's influence on Wieland is to be found in *Araspes und Panthea, eine moralische Geschichte in einer Reihe von Unterredungen* (1758), founded on an episode related by Xenophon in his *Cyropædia*. The bare outlines of the story are as follows:—Araspes, full of admiration for Panthea, a beautiful princess taken prisoner in the Persian wars, refuses to be warned by Cyrus that his admiration will, by daily intercourse with her, be turned to love. The captive is thereupon entrusted to his charge. Things fall out exactly as Cyrus had foreseen, and Araspes in the end has to acknowledge the wisdom of the Great King, at the same time asking pardon for betraying his trust.

Even in his school-days Wieland had been attracted by this story, and he relates that at Klosterbergen he read it again and again.² In 1756 he began to make it the subject of a drama in which the development of Araspes's passion should form the main idea of the plot.³ The story is quite capable of dramatic treatment, but Wieland, when he set to work, seems to have discovered that his talents lay in the direction of the novel rather than of the drama. He therefore converted his work into a moralising story in dialogue form. Traces of the original intention, however, are to be found in the device of dialogues, and in the division of the book into five parts, corresponding to the division into five acts. But the dialogues are by no means dramatic; there is very little action, and the important situations are only related, not enacted, before our eyes. The work may really be regarded as Wieland's first attempt at a novel of character with a moral aim, and is at the same time one of the earliest successful attempts to imitate the Richardson novel in Germany. Wieland frankly avows that he re-read *Clarissa* while engaged in writing *Araspes und Panthea*,⁴ and on close examination it will be seen that the methods are almost

entirely Richardson's. The didactic aim is very much in evidence, and the reader is given quite as much opportunity of improvement as of amusement. In the preface one is involuntarily reminded of Richardson when Wieland speaks of the irresistible impulse he felt to work out in the form of dialogue 'diesen eben so lehrreichen als unterhaltenden Beytrag zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens.' He sets out with the intention of teaching a definite moral lesson, which the story is to illustrate. In his own words the intention is thus expressed:—'Meine vornehmste Lehre sollte diese seyn: man könne notabene in gewissen Fällen die Gewalt der Liebe nur durch die Flucht entrinnen.'⁵

At the same time he did not omit to scatter moral reflections in the dialogue, and it was his endeavour to give Araspes in particular plenty of opportunity for moralising.⁶ Like Richardson, and in true eighteenth-century style, he could not trust to the direct impression a poetically represented situation makes of itself.

The great merit of the work, however, lies in the minute psychological description of Araspes' character. His passion is traced from its origin, through the different stages of development, till it finally reaches its culminating-point in open declaration. In monologues and conversation Araspes reveals himself to the reader. His actions are shown to be the natural outcome of his character, and the strife of conflicting feelings is well displayed. He falls before the irresistible force of his passion. But as Wieland distinctly states, Araspes is no villain like Richard Lovelace.⁷ Panthea, on the other hand, proves to be in most respects a reproduction of *Clarissa*. In *Xenophon* there is no characterisation of her whatever; she is simply a virtuous and a beautiful captive. Wieland has given her character and individuality, transforming her into a heroine of the eighteenth century. Like *Clarissa*, 'she was a wonderful creature from her infancy.' Araspes is attracted by her beauty, innocence, and virtue. The majesty of her bearing and the perfections of her mind and character alike impress him. Typical of *Clarissa*, and in fact of all Richardson's heroines, is her extreme sensi-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹ *Ausgewählte Briefe*, vol. i. pp. 151, 161, 195, 226, 242, etc.

² Gruber, *Wielands Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. i. p. 26.

³ *Araspes und Panthea*. Zürich, 1760. Zuchschrift, p. 4.

⁴ *Ausgewählte Briefe*, vol. i. p. 242.

⁷ *Ibid.* 'Ich wollte aber aus guten Gründen der Erzählung des Xenophon in allen Stücken getreu bleiben. Ich musste deswegen den Araspes in seiner Leidenschaft aufs äusserste steigen lassen, aber ich musste ihn dennoch zu keinem mutwilligen Lovelace machen.'

bility. She remarks: 'Selbst die Schmerzen eines Thieres, die Krümmungen eines Wurmes, rühren mich.'¹ Tears of sympathy flow when Araspes relates the virtue and valour of the great Cyrus. He stops short in his discourse: 'Du staunest, Panthea? dein Gesicht glänzt von tugendhafter Entzückung, sanfte Thränen gleiten deine glühenden Wangen hinab? Was für Rührungen!'² But like Clarissa, in spite of her sensibility, she is unmoved by Araspes' passion. As Lovelace deplores the 'coldness' of his 'goddess' and 'enchantedress,' so does Araspes cry out against the 'Kalt-sinn' of his 'Göttin' and 'Zaubrerin.'³

Wieland has also adopted Richardson's device of giving the hero and heroine each a confidante of their own sex. These two secondary characters, Arasambes and Mandane, are not to be found in *Xenophon*; they are Wieland's own addition to the *dramatis personæ*. On the one hand, Araspes discusses Panthea with Arasambes in much the same way as Lovelace in his correspondence confides in Belford. On the other, Mandane warns and advises Panthea, just as Anne Howe gives Clarissa warning and advice. The tone of the whole work is that of the eighteenth century.

In 1759 Wieland planned a magazine which, among other things, was to contain 'Briefe von Carl Grandison an seine Pupille Emilia Jervois.'⁴ This plan was never carried out, but in 1760 he again turned to Sir Charles Grandison for inspiration, and wrote a dramatic version of the story of *Clementina of Porretta*. This was not the first time a Richardson heroine had been made the subject of a drama. Goldoni had previously adapted *Pamela* for the Italian stage with great success, and the play had been translated into German in 1756. This it was that gave Wieland the idea of dramatising the story of *Clementina*. If it were a success, he proposed writing a *Clarissa* drama.⁵ However, on completion of his *Clementina* drama, he realised that he had not been altogether successful, and abandoned the idea of writing a tragedy on

Clarissa. The leading idea of the play is the triumph of religion over love. The dialogue mainly consists of a more or less direct translation of sentences scattered about in Richardson's lengthy account of the story. Even the stage directions are adopted almost directly from the novel.

A chapter in Wieland's life closes with *Clementina von Porretta*, and a new one opens with *Don Sylvio*. From 1761 onwards there is a change in the character of his literary work, brought about by alteration in his mode of thought. He began to see more clearly in what direction his talents lay, and no longer wasted time in writing tedious heroic poems, or in pouring out his soul in ecstatic, extravagant prose. He began to live more in a world of reality, and in consequence became less Platonic, mystic, and ascetic. This dividing line of 1760-1, however, is a purely arbitrary division, for there was no real break in the continuity of Wieland's thought. His ideas had for some time past been undergoing modification brought about by a perfectly natural process of development. To a close observer it was clear from the very beginning that, in the natural order of things, the period of extreme piety could not last. As early as 1752 a work such as the *Erzählungen* indicates this unmistakably. There is a discrepancy between the Platonic pietistic intention and the carrying out of the intention. An Anacreontic element creeps in now and again, quite out of keeping with the whole tone of the work. But Lessing does Wieland an injustice in suggesting that he played a double rôle.⁶ He was perfectly sincere in his early works, only his true nature, as yet undeveloped, would assert itself from time to time and rise above the surface of religious mysticism. By 1761 his whole attitude to religion and morality had undergone a change. He had now come to know Shakespeare, and what is of still greater importance, he had become a zealous reader of Lord Shaftesbury. It was Shaftesbury's works that were chiefly instrumental in bringing the religious enthusiast and day-dreamer into a world of utility. The *Advice to an Author* alone must have told Wieland many home truths. His high opinion of the merits of this book is expressed in a letter to Zimmermann dated 1758. 'Sie kennen Shaftesbury's *Advice to an Author*. Dieser erschöpft meines Bedünkens alles was sich davon sagen lässt.'⁷ At

¹ *Araspes und Panthea*, p. 153.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 70 and 71.

³ See also *Clarissa*, 7th edition. London, 1774, vol. i. p. 201. 'Such a constant glow upon her lovely features, youth so blooming, air so animated—to have a heart so impenetrable. How can it be?' Cf. *Araspes und Panthea*, pp. 177-78. 'Nein, eine so blühende Jugend, eine so belebte, gefühlvolle liebathmende Schönheit, kann nicht unbe-zwingbar seyn.'

⁴ *Ausgewählte Briefe*, vol. i. p. 371.

⁵ *Clementina von Porretta*. Zürich, 1760. Preface.

⁶ Lessing, *Briefe die neueste Litteratur betreffend*. (1759), Letter 7.

⁷ *Ausgewählte Briefe*, vol. i. p. 282.

first he could not get beyond the idea that an author must be didactic at every step, and continually praise God and extol virtue. According to Shaftesbury, the best way to instruct mankind was 'in a way of pleasantry and mirth.' This was also the method of Cervantes and Fielding, and the study of these methods soon helped to broaden considerably Wieland's mind and literary horizon.

But in spite of the change in Wieland's ideas, his faith in the good influence of the moralising novel was unshaken. In October 1763 he writes that it is absurd of the people of Zürich to entrust the criticism of new works to a certain Herr Antistis, a man 'der öffentlich wider die Philosophie und Moral, wider die Romane, wider den Carl Grandison prediget, der alles das für unnütze Wort- und Narrendeutung hält.'¹ Wieland is still resolved to be a moralist in his works, and in a letter of that same year repudiates the idea that *Don Sylvio* is a book unworthy of coming from the pen of a 'Lehrer der Tugend.'² His aims were still essentially moral, but his method of enforcing a moral lesson had undergone a change. In his own words, 'Ich liebe die Tugend um deswillen nicht weniger, weil sich meine Metaphysik geändert hat, und ich billige um deswillen keine Ausschweifungen, wenn ich schon nicht im Prediger-Tone dagegen eifere.'³

Although, at first sight, *Don Sylvio* does not appear to be a novel of the Richardson type, it does, in reality, follow the new lines laid down by Richardson. Wieland appropriates English methods and applies them to the older form of the German novel. There is, to begin with, the definite moral lesson to be taught and illustrated by means of the story, which was to edify as well as amuse. The author avowedly concealed his philosophic teaching under an appearance of levity,⁴ but the full title of the book, *Der Sieg der Natur über die Schwärmerey, oder die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva*, already states the particular moral lesson intended to be conveyed. Moralising reflections are scattered about in the course of the story, and there are many discussions on abstract subjects such as virtue and friendship. The characters are true to nature, and they

are German, although the scene, after the manner of so many of the older novels, is laid in a foreign country. A romantic background is given to a story of German contemporary life and thought. A psychological interest is also introduced to enable the reader to see the various stages of development in the character of the hero. The author endeavours to account for Don Sylvio's curious hallucinations, and attempts to show how he came to be cured of his day-dreaming. Unfortunately, the arguments do not appear convincing; nevertheless, at least an attempt is made at psychological characterisation, which had hitherto been practically unknown in the history of the German novel. The want of success in portraying the hero's character is probably due to the fact that the story was carelessly written in great haste, so that the plot was never properly worked out. The whole work was merely undertaken as a recreation to the mind of the author after completion of the first part of *Agathon*.⁵ Notwithstanding, *Don Sylvio* is an advance on *Araspes und Panthea*, and when compared with older novels, especially with *Don Quixote*, on which the story is modelled,⁶ it shows a great advance both in respect of characterisation and unity of plot. The one definite moral aim in the novel, of course, naturally tended to promote unity.

But it is in *Agathon* that Wieland as a Richardsonian novelist reaches the highest point of his art. Although begun in 1761, this novel was not finished and published till 1766-67. It is a work of great importance in the history of German fiction, standing, as it does, midway between the old traditional novel of the seventeenth century and the modern novel of the nineteenth century. It is in every respect a more finished work of art than *Don Sylvio*. Richardson's methods are more carefully applied, unconsciously though this may have been done. The one definite moral aim is kept more strictly in view, and developed with more care and in greater detail. The author proposed to show 'quid virtus et quid sapientia possit, utile proposuit nobis exemplum'; and, after the manner of Richardson, states this clearly on the titlepage, adding further explanation of his purpose in a preface.

Neither Richardson nor Wieland aimed

¹ *Denkwürdige Briefe*, herausgegeben von Ludwig Wieland. Wien, 1815, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ *Ausgewählte Briefe*, vol. ii. p. 291. 'Es ist eine Art von Satyr-Roman, der unter dem Schein der Frivolität philosophisch genug ist.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶ 'Wieland's *Don Sylvio* and Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, von S. Tropsch (*Euphorion*, Ergänzungsheft, 1899, pp. 32 ff.).

at drawing perfect characters: they both endeavoured to be true to nature.¹ The character of Agathon is drawn 'aus dem unerschöpflichen Vorrathe der Natur,'² and is placed before the reader not as a 'vollkommenes Muster,' but as a 'lehrreiches Beyspiel.'³ Clarissa, too, is 'purposed for an exemplar to her sex, nor is it any objection to her being so that she is not in all respects a perfect character. It was not only natural but it was necessary that she should have some faults.'⁴ Certainly, however, Clarissa approached much nearer to perfection than Agathon.

Wieland, in the introductory chapter, 'Ueber das Historische in Agathon,' likens his story to Fielding's *Tom Jones*, but the methods of the two authors in describing their hero are entirely different. Fielding describes Tom Jones after the manner of the Picaresque novel, relating his adventures rather than the effect the adventures produced upon his character. Wieland adopts Richardson's psychological method, and allows no secret impulse of the heart to pass unnoticed. The development of Agathon's character is followed step by step, and the true springs of his actions are traced to their source. The author makes it a rule 'die Leser dieser Geschichte nicht bloss mit den Begebenheiten und Thaten unsers Helden zu unterhalten, sondern ihnen auch von dem, was bey den wichtigeren Abschnitten seines Lebens in seinem Innern vorging, alles mitzutheilen.'⁵ Before his true character is formed, Agathon is in turn a young religious enthusiast, a disciple of Plato, a zealous patriot, an Epicurean, and a Stoic. Each phase represents a stage of development, and is shown to leave behind a permanent mark on the character of the hero. The very headings of the chapters indicate Wieland's minute psychological methods, e.g. 'Ein Selbstgespräch,' 'Was die Nacht durch im Gemüthe der Hauptpersonen vorgegangen,' 'Betrachtungen über das Betragen Agathons,' 'Damahligen Gemüthszustand unsers Helden,'⁶ etc. Numerous chapters are devoted to describing the general characteristics of the different characters, and there are many

digressions to give the author an opportunity of expressing his views on different subjects. The additions to the story for the revised edition of *Agathon* (1773) were for the most part made in order to show more clearly the absolute continuity in the psychological development of Agathon and Danae. The new edition was to present a clear and connected account of their 'Seelengeschichte,' and Wieland hoped thus 'das Ganze in die möglichste Uebereinstimmung mit der ersten Idee derselben zu bringen, um es der Welt mit dem innigsten Bewusstsein hinterlassen zu können, dass er wenigstens sein Möglichstes gethan habe, es der Aufschrift "quid virtus et quid sapientia possit" würdig zu machen.'⁷ The finishing touch to the essentially moral character of the whole work was intended to be given by the addition of the dialogue between Agathon and Archytas, which makes up the greater part of Book XII.⁸

One of the points in Wieland's method of characterisation is that his characters appear in a variety of lights. The reader is not restricted to one point of view only, as was usually the case with the older novelists. This method of the all-round point of view was undoubtedly learnt from Richardson. It belongs to the technique of the novel of letters, and was more or less of an innovation in the German novel. But Wieland has by no means introduced it skilfully, for he has adopted it for a novel written in ordinary narrative form without any modification. The clumsiness of it is very marked in the characterisation of Danae. Her character is described at great length from the point of view of the author, Agathon, Hippias, and herself, involving much repetition, and greatly impeding the progress of the story. With regard to Agathon himself, Wieland sets forth clearly in the Preface that it was his intention to present the character 'in einem mannigfaltigen Lichte,' in order to let it be viewed from all sides.⁹

To sum up, we may say that in all essentials Wieland accepted Richardson's theory of the novel. He only later in life condemned the author of *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Sir Charles Grandison* for allowing his characters to approach too near to perfection. From 1761 onwards Richardson's perfect characters came to please him less and less. He began to find a hero like Fielding's *Tom Jones* more to his liking,

¹ Cf. titlepage to *Pamela*, London, 1740, Preface to *Clarissa*, and Postscript to same work, pp. 378 and 387; also *Agathon* (Göschen's edition of Wieland's collected works: Leipzig, 1794), vol. i. p. 251.

² *Agathon*. Preface to first edition, p. xii.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 42, Bk. xi. chap. 6.

⁴ *Clarissa*. Preface.

⁵ *Agathon*, vol. iii. p. 127.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 51, 216; vol. ii. p. 217; vol. iii. pp. 41, 127.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Preface to the new edition, p. xxviii.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, Preface to first edition, p. xiii.

than an almost faultless man like Sir Charles Grandison. Not until 1770, however, is there any direct confession of his altered opinion regarding Richardson. In that year he writes to Sophie von la Roche: 'Je ne vous ai jamais caché que je ne pense pas tout-à-fait comme vous sur bien des choses relatives à la partie morale de notre être; p.e. que je n'aime pas les Clarisses, les Charles Grandisons, les Henriettes Byrons, pour la seule raison qu'ils sont trop parfaits pour moi. J'ai peut-être tort; au moins je n'ai pas assez de loisir pour justifier à présent cette mienne façon de penser. Mais dussai-je avoir raison (comme en effet je le crois) je ne blâme pas la vôtre.'¹ Later in the same year he speaks disparagingly of Richardson's style. 'Tout le monde trouve à redire aux détails trop minutieux et à la prolixité assommante de l'histoire de Grandison.'² But although he might find fault with Richardson for making his

characters paragons of virtue, and call him tedious and prolix, Wieland never found fault with the didactic aims of the Richardson novel. In 1771, in the Preface to the *Fräulein von Sternheim*, by Sophie von la Roche, he speaks in high terms of moralising novels of the Richardsonian type.³ To the end of his life Wieland seems to have been unable to give up the idea that it is the duty of fiction to point a moral. He continued all his life to write novels with a purpose; *Der Goldene Spiegel*, *Die Abderiten*, *Peregrinus Proteus*, *Agathodämon*, and *Aristipp*, have every one of them in view the moral edification of the reader. But it is as the author of *Agathon* that Wieland has most influenced the German novel, and it is on the merits of this work that he takes the foremost place in the ranks of the imitators of the moralising, psychological novel of Richardson.

CONSTANCE BRUCE LOW.

¹ Wieland's *Briefe an Sophie von la Roche*, edited by Horn. Berlin, 1820, p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³ *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*. Leipzig, 1771. Vorrede.

A DRAMATIC FRAGMENT.

THE British Museum MS., classed as 'Egerton 2623,' is described in the official catalogue as

'A Collection of papers chiefly relating to the English drama, temp. Hen. VII.—1778; formed by John Payne Collier, who has inserted a brief description of each article.'

The official description of article 22, forming folios 37 and 38 of the collection, runs as follows:—

'Fragment of a play in which the characters are, Ethelbert, the Duchess (his wife), Oswald (their son, conveyed to Northumberland in his infancy to escape his uncle, and newly discovered), Orina, Count Coell, Sir Ingram, Mouse-trap, etc.: late xvith cent. The fragment, which is in two different hands, ends, "Nay my lord, Ile speak thus much in his praise to his face, tho' hee bee as fell a mastiue as euer rann vpon a gentleman: yett the curre is of a good breede, and to one hee knowes will shake his tayl"; but the words in italics, which are intended to convey a covert allusion to Will. Shake-speare, are a modern fabrication.'

Collier's own description is briefer:

'Dramatic Manuscripts. Fragments of two old Plays, apparently of about the time of Shakespeare. They are in a very bad state from damp, and must have been used as fly-leaves. Portions in each are illegible.'

Collier was, of course, wrong in supposing the fragments to belong to different plays. The oversight is all the more curious since one would suppose that he must have read the MS., so far as he could at least, with some care before venturing upon the insertion of an original addition. Such attention, however, as he may have bestowed upon the curious relic, the history of which he has not recorded, did not prevent his sticking the leaves into his scrap-book the wrong way round, so that in each case the text begins on the verso. The extent of the damage which the two leaves has suffered—a large damp-mark, namely, in the upper part of each page, and a frayed margin—will be easily seen in the type facsimile which I append. I have indicated the illegible or missing portions by dots, each of which corresponds, very roughly of course, to the average space

(Continued on page 153.)

- F. 37^b. . now not at my retorne what dore to knock at
 . or where my parents dwell, nor whom to ask for
 ood hart
 ray tell y^e duchesse this & that I p...t out my last last
 . arewell to her 5
 is I shall doe & w.....k which Ile exercize
 . ind out the misle..... her Change
 will you, y^eare m..... angell & with all... ause of
 not bee [] h the shadow of any thing
 that euer shee pray lett her haue 10
 this Cloke & t d plometts
 hanging at my will as they are lett downe
 keepe a l...d..... to tell me how y^e day goes,
 giue mee..... thou partst not hence yett wind
 vp all thy elles shall fill thine eares, 15
 a chyme of *Exeunt*
 . oris *Enter thelbert · orina · Sibert Ardeia*
Clerimond Adrian · rtrand · bracy · Ranulph ·
le beau
 . thel: the sunn to heare this story has gon slowly as wondr... 20
 & delighting in y^e Change, of this yo^r oswalds fortune
 all (I sweare by my best hopes) being true that I
 related,
 ...er: in her discoursing on your Cheeke I noted the
 battaile of a palenes and a redd fighting together 25
 often
 . thel: vmh . vmh . ^{twas} nothing but a selfe-feeling, & ^{lonate} Compass
 sharing of oswalds Ioy or sorrowes
Enter y^e duchesse & oswald hand in hand
 Duch: before my voice aduance it self to heighth 30
 my lord, deere husband, husband
 . thel: whats the matter
 Duch: looke on theis Iewells—looke vpon vm well
 rownd turne vm rownd—duke gerard—noble
 madame, siberte princely sibert—girle,—vpon 35
 my blessing shoote at his faee fixd lookes—cast
 all your eyes on this young man & wonder—wond..
 at him
 oswa: what owle am I now made
 Duch: know you thes toyes 40
 . thel: I doe—& if y^e god of scilence please to lay his
 finger on each lippe but myne. I with strange
 musick, will fill euery care, whilst I am rapt
 to tell what you shall heare
 . r pray sr goe on and scilence 45

- F. 37^a. *Ethel*: ô you fates how suttle are your winding.....
 when. my father (taking his last leaue of me) left.....
 A dukedome I was boëth young & sickly—s.....
 in bodey. that it shiuerd euen my mynde & w.....
 that too—I had then an vnele in plotts for 5
 Cunning—and to strong, for me or any.....
 to wrastle with. the opinion of his vallor wis....
 worth, aw'de all my dukedome—twas he ru....
 not I, 10
- Duch*: hee had o^r glory, wee.... misery, 10
- Ethel*: my wife had a first...n. but my lewd....
 (should I dye heireles) thinking myne his owne...
 poisond that Childe...a second blest her w...
 that to was markd for..eath. ere it knew life..
 hee meeting with the w..ld was in one night..
 secretly in the swathing Clathes Convayd into
northumberland out of *mercea*. to mock the
 tirant shee gaue out it dyd. the nurse that kept
 it. likewise liued not long...how nurse Ingled
 how my boy was lost Im'e sure, this Coke & Crucifix
 I tyed to a small Chayne of gold about his neck
 with my owne fingers 15
- osw*: mother,—madame,—duchesse
 how Came you by theis tokens 20
- ori*: haue I not tould thee,
 this *owald* (how soere at first you namde him..
 is that lost sonne. gott (as you heard my lord) for
 money from his nurse, Iust when she dyed, 25
- Duch*: ô my dere *Eldred*, for tha name I gaue thee
- osw*: I Care not how you [^{name}Call] me so I haue a []
 mother but a peice of a mother 30
- Ethel*: if hee bee myne. theres on his neck the print
 of a ripe mulberry
- osw*: mulberry-ripe looke madame looke, Im'e
 your owne boy I warrant you, els chop my nee..
 of 35
- Duch*: yes tis here o let me kisse this Iewell,
- osw*: [] kisse for kisse. then mother, (new mother
 now) lett mee kisse you, for hansell sake
- Ethel*: he has besides the tallon of an eagle on
 this arme 40
- osw*: a whole arry of eagles. soe soe sire. tis here
 thi *ethæl* [^]*Aquila*. boeth hee & shee
- Duch*: neuer on mee tell now shon beames so cle...
 nor on me neither farewell father adein
 mother, blessing father blessing mother
 brother I am glad you Cozind me of a w...
 sister I am glad you calld me not husban..
 I knew there was noble blood in mee 45

F. 38^b. for I am in debt. & full of other such noble
qualities. can drink hard spend brauely & loue
a sweete girle

Enter Sr Ingram. Toogood. Count Coell

genissa malfrida. mouse trappe & thu^m[n]

5

..ar: I Come (my lords) for Iustice

...g: I Come for no Iustice but a wench. & shoul.
be sorry to find any Iustice in her

....: lay by distracted lookes & moody language speake one
attonce & mildely

10

..bar: mildely: shees my daughter,

Ing: & [I] this daughter & I are all one

r bar: I ha promist her to this knight mongrell

Ing: & I ha promist her a lady-shippe

ger: giue way to one another—say what hinders y^e mariage [twix]
twixt theis to

15

Thu: this & please your grace: shee will not haue my m^r

sr bar: this beggerly *mercian*. Count Coell. sayes shees his wife

ger: how say you lady,

gen: yes my lord I am

20

Ing: art thoⁿ, what mortall taylors yard Can measure the
mockado hart of a woman. giue me a wench thats
pure perpetuanai for thy sake. all thy gum-taffaty
sex shalbe to mee no more than that base stuff
Calld stand farder of

25

Ethel: that beggerly poore *mercian*: meaning him. that beggerly
poore *mercian* is my kinseman. your banishment from
merca. noble Coell. Count. & my honord Cozen. the
king o^r master Calls in. & you shall home toth Court
with mee. & hold your place & offices

30

Ing: howes this. howes this. Count. & Cozen Count. I am
Cozind too

Ethel: nor neede you scorne to Call him sonn in law

sr bar: how shall I know that

Ing: [sh] search him

35

ler: I sur was at his wedding

ra: & I

...r: yes & I. & many other. boeth *mercians* & northumbrions

...g: how came troy burnt. by a woman. how are men drunck.
to the healthes of women: how men killd about brittle
glassy woman. I wud draw if I durst

40

F. 38°. *Thu* : & I too. if it wud Come out

ger : ⁱrestrayne there furies

Ing : furies : ^ΛIle ron madde

ori : how : madde

Ing : yes madde. tis the onely Custard my tee... 5
water at for when Ime madde Ile rayle vpon...
roare at men. I will stampe in verse. & sta...
prose. I will leere at the players, mew at th...
poetts, swagger at the dores, sweare they are..
false gatherers. & kick the women 10

gen : youle be more wise Sr Ingram, ^{farwell}

Ing : no. I scorne it, & scorne thee : [*fro, foh*, as the...]

gen : why farewell

Ing : I will hawnt thee longer yet A butter box. lone
not bacon & pickle-herring. as I hate thes westphali..
gammons of thy Cheekes. farwell for euer—*Exit*. 15

sr bar : & farwell. for euer

Thu : for euer & an acre of tyme longer—*Exit*

ger : so so. tis well wee are quiett : whats this officer

Coell : my lord a friend of myne 20

malf : yes [my] his back frend my lord

ger : [is th] oh malfreda

ori : is this hee mall you had my lords warrant for

malf : the very same. (madame, because I wud
haue such a long-tayld rat know. what & whos
Cheese hee is to gnaw : all y^e whole ging of gndgeon-
eaters (the anthropophagi sergeants) had not y^e
way . the witt to arrest Count Coell, but this
fas it nefas : hee goes by the name of mouse-
trappe. & a Curious snapping dispatching
mouse-trappe he is 25

mous : what I did. I did fairly (tho not honestly
I did not Coble it vp nor dangle my worke as if
I had bin but a botcher in my trade, 30

Coell : no in troth thou didst it well & I lone thee for it 35

mous : I handled you softly. tenderly & gingerly. because
you were my patient : my first dressing went I
know a little to the heart. but I had my glasse
of balme which I powrde into your wound : your
blow on y^e showlder is nothing. a Cup of Canary
in a tauerne heales it. besides I Calld not to you
nor pulld out your throat for my houres of mercy
as I doe to others, my staying with you I meane 40

Coell : no indeede thou didst not,

sr bar : nay my lord Ile speake thus much in his praise to his f... 45
tho hee bee as fell a mastiue as euer rann vpon a gentle
man, yet the Curre is of a good breede & to one he knowes
will shake his tayl

occupied by one letter. I must confess that in my endeavour to decipher the stained part I may possibly have seen rather more traces of writing than are really there, but I do not think that any one who examines the MS. carefully by a good light will have any very important deductions, or indeed additions, to make. All the same I should not like to stake very much upon the absolute correctness of every letter I have printed in those parts.

With regard to the statement in the catalogue that the MS. is written in two hands I must, with all deference to authority, express my belief that, except for the forgery, there is only one. There are, however, three different inks and two pens. As far as F. 37^a, l. 31, the MS. is in a dark-brown ink which has suffered very much where the damp has attacked it; then to F. 38^b, l. 8, it is in a rather lighter coloured ink, but the difference is not very noticeable. From here to the end a dead black ink has been used and also a finer pen, which gives a rather different character to the hand. This ink has been absolutely unaltered by the damp, even where this has almost destroyed the paper itself. Finally, there is the forgery, which is similar to this last portion in ink and style, except that it is cramped up in a corner. It is cleverly executed, and I must admit that I doubt whether I should have detected it if I had not already known of its existence.

So far as I have been able to discover, the fragment does not belong to any known play. The main plot is evidently the same as that of *A Knack to know a Knave*, printed in 1594, but the actual scene does not belong to that play. There are many plays of a later date on the same story, but the earliest of these is Ravenscroft's *King Edward and Alfreda*, printed in 1667 (see Ward II. 610²), which is, of course, more than half a century later than the MS. It is chiefly in hopes of obtaining further information on the subject that I have reprinted the fragment here.

I have added a transcript in modernised spelling, giving my reading of the original so far as I can make that out. I have, however, decided not to add any notes. There are several interesting words and phrases, and some difficulties, but I have no particular suggestions to make. I should, however, mention three points. (i) F. 37^a, l. 34, there is a mark something like an italic *r* after *ripe*, to which I can assign no meaning: (ii) F. 38^a, l. 6, a small fragment

of the first letter of the last word is visible; it might be a *w* but hardly an *c*, so that I read *woman* and not *and*, as the narrow space would tempt one to do; there is, I think, just room for the longer word: (iii) l. 29, the second word is clearly *it*, but there is nothing to show whether it is intended to be in italic or not. The hand of the MS. is English, italic script being used for names, etc.

In the facsimile, square brackets indicate deletions; in the transcript, hiatus or conjectural restorations.

W. W. GREG.

TEXT.

Know not at my return what door to
knock at,
Nor where my parents dwell, nor whom
to ask for.
]. Good heart!
]. Pray, tell the duchess this, and that
I pant out my last last farewell to her. 5
]. This I shall do and [with k],
which I'll exercise, find out the [misl
of] her change.
]. Will you? y'are my [good] angel
and with all [ause of] not be [h]
the shadow of anything that ever she
[] pray let her have this cloak and
[] plummets hanging at my
[] will as they are let down, keep
a [l d] to tell me how the day
goes. 16
]. Give me [] thou part'st not
hence yet. Wind up all thy []
else shall fill thine ears a chime of [].
[Exeunt.

Enter [GERARD], ETHELBERT, ORINA, SIBERT, ARDEIA, CLERIMOND, ADRIAN, BERTRAND, BRACY, RANULPH LE BEAU.

Ethel. The sun to hear this story has gone
slowly 20
As wond'ring and delighting in the change
Of this your Oswald's fortune.

]. All, I swear
By my best hopes, being true that I related.

[*er.* In her discoursing, on your cheek I
noted

The battle of a paleness and a red 25
Fighting together often.

Ethel. Hum, hum, 'twas nothing
But a self-feeling and compassionate
sharing
Of Oswald's joy or sorrowes.

Enter the DUCHESS and OSWALD hand in hand.

Duch. Before my voice advance itself to height,

My lord—dear husband—husband!

Ethel. What's the matter?

Duch. Look on these jewels, look upon 'em well;

Round, turn 'em round—Duke Gerard—noble madam—

Sibert, princely Sibert—girl, upon my blessing,

Shoot at his face fixed looks—cast all your eyes

On this young man, and wonder, wonder at him.

Osw. What owl am I now made?

Duch. Know you these toys?

Ethel. I do; and if the god of silence please

To lay his finger on each lip but mine

I with strange music will fill every ear

Whilst I am rapt to tell what you shall hear.

er]. Pray, sir, go on—and silence!

Ethel. Oh, you fates,

How subtle are your windings! When my father,

Taking his last leave of me, left a dukedom,

I was both young and sickly, [s] in body,

That it shiver'd even my mind and [w] that too;

I had then an uncle in plots for [] cunning

And too strong for me or any to wrastle with;

The opinion of his valour, wisdom, worth Aw'd all my dukedom; 'twas he ruled, not I.

Duch. He had our glory, we [] misery.

Ethel. My wife had a first son, but my lewd [uncle],

Should I die heirless, thinking mine his own,

Poison'd that child; a second blest her womb;

That too was marked for death ere it knew life;

He meeting with the world was in one night

Secretly in the swathing clothes conveyed Into Northumberland out of Mercia;

To mock the tyrant she gave out it died, The nurse that kept it likewise lived not long,

But how nurse juggled, how my boy was lost,

I'm sure this cock and crucifix I tied

To a small chain of gold about his neck With my own fingers.

Osw. Mother—madam—duchess! How came you by these tokens?

Ori. Have I not told thee?

This Oswald, howsoe'er at first you named him,

Is that lost son, got, as you heard, my lord,

For money from his nurse just when she died.

Duch. Oh, my dear Eldred, for that name I gave thee.

Osw. I care not how you name me so I have A mother—but a piece of a mother!

Ethel. If he be mine there's on on his neck the print

Of a ripe mulberry.

Osw. Mulberry ripe! look, madam; Look, I'm your own boy, I warrant you,

else chop

My neck off.

Duch. Yes 'tis here; oh, let me kiss this jewel!

Osw. Kiss for kiss then, mother—new mother now—

Let me kiss you, for hansom sake.

Ethel. He has besides

The talon of an eagle on this arm.

Osw. A whole eiry of eagles! So, so, sire; 'tis here,

Thi ethæi aquila, both he and she!

Duch. Never on me till now shone beams so clear.

[*Osw.*] Nor on me neither: farewell, father; adieu, mother; blessing, father; blessing mother; brother I am glad you cozen'd me of a wife; sister I am glad you call'd me not husband. I knew there was noble blood in me, for I am in debt, and full of other such noble qualities, can drink hard, spend bravely, and love a sweet girl.

Enter SIR INGRAM, TOOGOOD, COUNT COELL, GENISSA, MALFRIDA, MOUSE-TRAP, and THUM.

Sir Bar. I come, my lords, for justice.

Ing. I come for no justice, but a wench; and should be sorry to find any Justice in her.

[*Ger.*] Lay by distracted looks and moody language: speak one at once and mildly.

Sir Bar. Mildly, she's my daughter.

Ing. And this daughter and I are all one.

Sir Bar. I ha' promis'd her to this knight-mongrel.

Ing. And I ha' promis'd her a ladyship.

Ger. Give way to one another: say what hinders the marriage twixt these two.

Thu. This, and please your grace; she will not have my master.

Sir Bar. This beggarly Mercian, Count Coell, says she's his wife.

Ger. How say you, lady?

Gen. Yes, my lord, I am. 108

Ing. Art thou? What mortal tailor's yard can measure the mockado hart of a woman? Give me a wench that's pure perpetuani for thy sake; all thy gum-taffety sex shall be to me no more than that base stuff called stand-farder-off.

Ethel. That beggarly poor Mercian, meaning him—that beggarly poor Mercian is my kinsman. Your banishment from Mercia, noble Coell, count and my honour'd cousin, the king our master calls in, and you shall home to th' court with me, and hold your place and offices. 121

Ing. How's this? how's this? 'Count' and 'cousin count'! I am cozen'd too!

Ethel. Nor need you scorn to call him son-in-law.

Sir Bar. How shall I know that?

Ing. Search him.

Cler. I, sir, was at his wedding.

Bra. And I. 129

[*Ger.*] Yes, and I, and many other, both Mercians and Northumbrians.

Ing. How came Troy burnt? by a woman; how are men drunk? to the healths of women; how men killed? about brittle glassy woman: I would draw if I durst.

Thu. And I, too, if it would come out.

Ger. Restrain their furies.

Ing. Furies! I'll run mad.

Ori. How, mad? 139

Ing. Yes, mad; 'tis the only costard my teeth water at, for when I'm mad I'll rail upon women, roar at men, I will stamp in verse and stamp in prose, I will jeer at the players, mew at the poets, swagger at the doors, swear they are false gatherers, and kick the women.

Gen. You'll be more wise, Sir Ingram.

Ing. No; I scorn it, and scorn thee; farewell.

Gen. Why, farewell. 150

Ing. I will haunt thee longer yet: a Butter-box loves not bacon and pickle-herring as I hate these Westphalian gammons of thy cheeks: farewell for ever. [*Exit.*]

Sir Bar. And farewell for ever. 155

Thu. For ever and an acre of time longer. [*Exit.*]

Ger. So, so; 'tis well we are quiet; what's this officer?

Coell. My lord, a friend of mine.

Mal. Yes, his back friend, my lord.

Ger. Oh, Malfrida! 161

Ori. Is this he, Mal, you had my lord's warrant for?

Mal. The very same, madam; because I would have such a long-tail'd rat know what and whose cheese he is to gnaw: all the whole ging of gudgeon-eaters, the anthropophagi sergeants, had not the way, the wit, to arrest Count Coell, but this *fas et nefas*: he goes by the name of mouse-trap, and a curious, snapping, dispatching, mouse-trap he is. 172

Mous. What I did, I did fairly, though not honestly; I did not cobble it up, nor dangle my work as if I had been a boteher in my trade.

Coell. No, in troth, thou didst it well, and I love thee for it. 178

Mous. I handled you softly, tenderly, and gingerly, because you were my patient; my first dressing went, I know, a little to the heart, but I had my glass of balm, which I poured into your wound; your blow on the shoulder is nothing, a cup of Canary in a tavern heals it; besides I call'd not to you nor pull'd out your throat for my hours of mercy as I do to others, my staying with you I mean.

Coell. No, indeed, thou didst not. 189

Sir Bar. Nay, my lord, I'll speak thus much in his praise to his face: though he be as fell as a mastiff as ever ran upon a gentleman, yet the cur is of a good breed [*and to one he knows Will Shake his tail*]. 195

JERSEY FRENCH.

THE Annual Dinner of the Jersey Society took place on December 13 last, and afterwards were sung some songs in patois of which the following is a transcription. Sir Frederiek Pollock, in replying for the visitors, regretted that there was no monograph on such an interesting dialect.

MARGOT MARGOTTON.

(*Dialecte de Jersey.*)

Margot Margotton, qu'ouille est belle,
J'n'en connais pon qui saient comme lli;
Ouille a des yiers comme des ételles,
Et san p'tit r'gard est doux comme mii;

Ses lèvres sont couleur de rose,
Et san p'tit nêz est ertroussai.
Nou' l'embranchethait sinon qu'nou' n'ose—
Ou' n'avez veu jamais d'itai.
D'autres vrainment je n'connais pon
Qui saient comme Margot Margotton.

Je la demandi en matbiage,
Mais ou' me dit : je n'te veur pon.
—Ah ! que les filles sont volages !
J' voulus saver si ch'tait tout d' bon.
J' l'i dis que j' l'i sathais fidèle,
Ou' n' voulit pon ou' rein d' itai—
Ou' m' dit q' j' fthais mus 'd'paqui mes
velles';
Et mé j' m'en fus comme tchan fonötté.
Avec tout chla j' n'en connais pon
D'autres comme Margot Margotton.

Pourtant, pourtant ; j't'éthais aimaie,
Ma belle Margot Margotton—
Les herpins par té préféthaiient
Au tendre amour ne donnent pon
Bonheur et jouaie à tan ménage—
Ov des sous nou' peut monothi' d'faim.
Je cherchethai fille pus sage ;
'y a d'autres meüniers que Jean Le Dain.'
Et accouo, accouo, n'y en a pon
Comme té, ma Margot Margotton.

*Paroles de feu M. le Juré Justicier
A. A. Le Gros.*

Musique de M. Alfred Amy, L.R.A.M.

LA CHANSON DU PRINSEUR.

(Dialecte de Guernesey.)

A l'honneur du mais d'Octobre !
Not' Jame, qu'est bragi comme un sac,
Hurle en puchant dans l'entrebae :
Honneur ès ouvriers sobres !

*Allons ! seit tranquille, et bé—
Vive la cuve ! et vive l'émet !*

J'o l'cidre qui pure dans l'auge ;
L'affaire craque,—m'est avis.
Mes bouans viers garçons, q'est a dit :
Q' nou' s'abeurve ou q'nou' s'enauge !

*Allons ! seit tranquille, et bé—
Vive la cuve ! et vive l'émet !*

J'avons trop suai à la barre
Pour nous enf'ir à maintchi plliens.

Hé ! 'Qu'est qu'une barrique pus ou
mains ?'
S'fait l'vieill houme de la Poumare.

*Allons ! seit tranquille, et bé—
Vive la cuve ! et vive l'émet !*

Q' nou' vaie sorti les fliaumèques
D'nos yièrs, comme des siens d'un nièr
cat—

Accouare un p'tit d' fortificat !
A la santé de toute la pèque !

*Allons ! seit tranquille, et bé—
Vive la cuve ! et vive l'émet !*

*Paroles de feu M. Georges Métivier.
Musique de M. Alfred Amy, L.R.A.M.*

LE BOUON VIER TEMS.

(Auld Lang Syne.)

Oublièrons-je nos vièrs acquaints,
Not' coin d'feu, nos pathens ?
Oublièrons-je nos vièrs acquaints,
Not' bouon vièr tems ?
- Au bouon vièr tems, allons :
Au bouon vièr tems !
Un p'tit fortificat, buvons :
Au bouon vièr tems !

The following quotation from the son of Victor Hugo, who lived for nearly twenty years in the Channel Isles, was appended to the text of the songs :—

'O vous tous ! braves Normands des îles de la Manche, . . . sachez le : votre patois est vénérable ; votre patois est sacré ; car c'est de votre patois qu'est sortie, comme la fleur de la racine, la langue française. . . . Votre patois, vos pères de Normandie sont morts pour le répandre en Angleterre, en Sicile, en Judée, à Londres, à Naples et jusque sur le tombeau du Christ. Car ils savent que perdre sa langue c'est perdre sa nationalité, et qu'en apportant leur idiome, ils portaient avec eux leur patrie. Oui, votre patois est vénérable, car le premier poète qui l'a parlé a été le premier des poètes français :—

*'Je di e dirai ke je sui
Wace, de l'isle de Gersui,*

Charles Hugo.

DE V. PAYEN-PAYNE.

OBSERVATIONS

NOTES ON 'QUEEN HESTER.'

A NEW edition of the interlude of *Golly Queen Hester* having recently appeared, edited by Mr. Greg, in Dr. Bang's *Materi- alien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, though forbidden to praise the work as I should like to do in these pages, I venture to submit the following notes:—

- I. 203. Stage direction. *Here Aman metythe them in ye place.*—The editor writes, "Place" would apparently mean merely "stage." So interpreted, the statement would surely be rather superfluous, if the whole performance took place on a stage. The word must be taken, I think, in a *dramatic* sense. Does it mean 'the open space before the palace,' or the palace or royal residence itself? For the latter sense, cp. Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*, l. 9, 'Y-born he was in fer contree, . . . At Popering, in the place'; and Schmidt, *place*, subs. 4.

II. 542-544.

*As he that from steylyng, goth to sent
thomas watryng (=goes to the
gallows) . . .*

*So they from pytter pattour, may come to
tytter totur.*

The last line is explained to mean 'Their crafty talk will in the end make their position shaky.' I think the last words have a more definite sense, viz. (once more) 'may come to the gallows.' The word *totter* was frequently used of swinging on a rope. Cp. Trevisa, *Polychronicon* (Rolls edition, ii. 387), 'men of Athene heng vp ropes in pe ayer and men totrede peron and mened hider and pider'; *Spanish Tragedy*, ('Temple Dramatists,' p. 90), 'behold a man hanging and tottering and tottering as you know the wind will wave a man'; Ascham, *Toxophilus* (ed. Arber, p. 47), 'the pastyme that boys vse in the churche . . . to swinge and totter in a belrope'; Fletcher and Shirley, *Nightwalker*, III. 3, 'I would lose a limb to see their rogneships totter'; and Skelton, *Magnyfycence*, l. 1936:

'And some I make in a rope to totter and
walter,
And some for to hange themselfe in a
halter.'

- I. 718. *none my vertues.*—Rightly explained, 'no virtues of mine,' by the editor, who goes on to give examples of the attributive use of *none*. The chief point in the phrase seems to me the use of the possessive adjective, and I should illustrate by l. 909, 'any my requeste.'

I. 739-743.

*They wyll in no wise live vnder awe . . .
And occasion is as I do feare me
Your subiectes to rebell in hope of lyke
liberte.*

'This appears to be nonsense as it stands. Probably we should insert, or understand, "to" at the beginning of the line: "and is an occasion to your subjects to rebel," i.e. "offers them an opportunity [or more likely a cause] for rebellion." Or possibly we should read "do rebell," i.e. "is the occasion (that) your subjects do rebel"—but I do not think this likely.' It does not seem to me that the words present much difficulty. I take 'occasion is' as parallel to 'time was' in *All's Well*, IV. iv. 5, 'Time was, I did him a desired office,' and the infinitive construction after it seems to me of the same kind as in Chaucer, *Prologue*, 502, 'No wonder is a lewed man to ruste,' or *Spanish Tragedy*, I. iv. 73:

'For what was't else but murd'rous cow-
ardice
So many to oppress one valiant knight?'

II. 744-746.

*And youre grace knoweth it is expediente,
Theyr mallice to increace thus by suffer-
aunce,*

*For by that may chaunce greate incon-
uenience . . .*

'Collier conjectured "inexpedient," which would restore the sense but not the rime. I suggest "its inexpedience," i.e. "the inexpediency of [l. 745]."' Both emendations are alike open to the criticism that they introduce words 'inexpedient,' 'inexpedience,' which are not known to have been in use at this date. The earliest date for both in the *N.E.D.* is 1608. In addition, the present editor, in a moment of forgetfulness, introduces the pronominal form 'its,' of which the earliest example in the *N.E.D.*

dates from 1598. I should suggest '[if] it is expedient,' and to improve the rime, if that is necessary, alter 'inconvenience' to 'inconvenient.' Cp. Chaucer, *Boethius*, v. prose III. l. 121 (Skeat), 'And yit ther folweth an-other inconvenient.' The substantive *inconvenient* survived till 1645 (*N.E.D.*). On the other hand, if we alter *expedient* to *expedience*, we introduce a word not attested at all before 1593, and not in this sense before 1608 (*N.E.D.*).

1. 766. *Much of our people and ientile nation.*
—'Whether "gentle" or "gentile" is intended it is not easy to say.' I feel sure that the meaning is 'gentile.' Cp. 733, etc., 'And eke draw vnto theyr conuersation . . . Of our people as many as may be, Intendyng to subdew all gentilitie.'
1. 848. *And when he hath all, he shall be new to begynne.*—The last phrase might be illustrated by Chaucer, *Prologue*, 428, 'Hir frendshipe nas nat newe to biginne'; Ascham, *Toxophilus* (ed. Arber, p. 158), 'the marke for the most parte new to begyn agayne'; and Brinsley, *Grammar Schoole* (1612), p. 303, 'the younger schollars are new to begin.'
1. 985, etc.

'the merite of thys is better
And God it more accepteth a thousande
fold
Agaynst whome the offence is greater
And of them that of iniurie could not
tell me
Wherefore to speake somewhat it makes
me bolde.

The editor says that *tell me* is 'obviously corrupt. The rime word should probably be "told" (? "could not have told"), unless by chance it was "coulede." The most probable interpretation appears to me to be: "the merit of [forgiveness] is the greater, God accepts it the more willingly [on the part of one] against whom the offence is greater, and [extended towards one] who could not countercharge an injury.'" I should rather say: 'As the wrong you have suffered at my hands is greater, so the merit of your forgiving me is greater, and more acceptable to God [than would be similar forgiveness on the part of those who could not charge me with wrong].'
L. 988—which does not rime—is perhaps an insertion to add point to the con-

trast. In this interpretation I take 'and' = 'than.' Cp. *Henry V.*, II. iii. 10, 'A made a finer end and went away and it had been any christom child'; *Coke Lorells Bote* (c. 1500), 7, 'Fayrer and euer the halfe strete was,' and other examples in the *N.E.D.* under 'And, conj. 2.'

1. 1012.

*A syr besyde belles, bacon and somewhat els,
Must nedes haue hanginge.*

I believe Grosart to have been right in interpreting the lines, 'Ah, sir, besides bells, bacon and something else needs hanging.' The present editor, who takes 'A syr' as the subject, meaning 'a lord,' says that Grosart's interpretation 'makes nonsense of the passage; "besyde" must govern the whole phrase "belles, bacon and somewhat els." But what is the point of 'somewhat els' according to this view? Take it as Grosart does, and we have a characteristic piece of popular humour. As the present editor reads the lines, 'a sir, besides bells, bacon and something else, must needs have hanging'—they are somewhat flat. And such a use of 'a sir' seems to need some authority to render it plausible.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

HOBSON.

[THE following verses are here reprinted from the well-known collection of *Wit Restor'd*, published in 1658. Professor Masson (in the 'Globe' edition of Milton's Works, p. 408) states that 'Several such copies of verses [i.e. on Hobson] have been recovered,' but does not specify further. So far as we are aware, the first of the pieces given below has not been reprinted since its original appearance; the second and third are, of course, those which were published in the first instance in Milton's *Poems* of 1645, though they both present important variations. This is particularly the case with the one here printed second, but which appears last in the *Poems*. It there consists of 34 lines, of which only 14 appear in *Wit Restor'd*, where it was therefore presumably printed from an independent source. These correspond to ll. 1-12 and 27-28 of the longer version, with numerous small differences of reading. The other poem corresponds line for line in the two versions, but likewise presents a

number of variants. The most interesting is in l. 8, which in the 1645 version (and also in that of 1672) reads:

'Dodge'd with him, betwixt Cambridge and the Bull.'

Here the *Wit* reading is in some ways preferable, for *dodged with* is not a very lucid expression; but, on the other hand, the queer spelling *Dog'dd* is suspicious, and almost certainly indicates a compositor's emendation. The verses are not in the Trinity MS.]

[p. 83.]

On the death of Hobson, the Cambridge-Carrier.

Here *Hobson* lies, amongst his many betters,

A man not learned, yet of many Letters;
The Schoolers well can justifie as much,
Who have receiv'd them from his pregnant pouch.

[p. 84.]

His carriage is well known, oft has he gone
An Embassie, 'twixt father and the son.
In *Cambridge* few (in good time be it spoken)
But will remember him by some good token.
From thence to *London* rode he day by day,
Till death benighting him, he lost his way.
Nor wonder is it, that he thus is gone,
Since most men know, he long was drawing on.

His Team was of the best, nor could he have
Them mir'd in any ground, but in the grave;
And there he stieks indeed, still like to stand,
Untill some Angell lend his helping hand.
So rests in peace the ever toiling Swain,
And supream Waggoner, next *Charls* his wain.

Another on the same.

Here lieth one, who did most truly prove,
That he could never die, whilst he could move.

So hung his destiny, never to rot,
Whilst he could but jogg on, and keep his trot.

Made of Sphear mettall, never to decay,
Untill his resolution made of stay.
Time numbers motion, yet without a crime,
'Gainst old truth, motion numbered out his time.

[p. 85.]

And like some Engine mov'd, with wheeles
and weight,
His principles once ceas'd, he ended straight.
Rest, that gives all men life, gave him his death,
And too much breathing put him out of breath.

For had his doings lasted as they were
He had been an immortal Carrier.

Another.

Here lies old *Hobson*! Death hath his desire,
And here (alasse) hath left him in the mire;

Or else the waies being foul, twenty to one,
He's here stuck in a slough, and overthrown.

'Twas such a shifter, that if truth were known,
Death was half glad that he had got him down.
For he hath any time this ten years full,
Dog'dd him 'twixt *Cambridge* and the *London-Bull*.

And surely death could never have prevail'd,
Had not his weekly course of earriage fail'd.
But lately finding him so long at home,
And thinking now his journey's end was come;

And that he had tane up his latest Inne,
Death in the likeness of a Chamberlin,

[p. 86.]

Shew'd him his room, where he must lodge
that night,

Pull'd off his boots, and took away the light.

If any ask for him, it shall be sed,

Hobson has supt, and newly gon to bed.

W. BANG.

SCATTERED NOTES.

Milton, *l'Allegro*, 45, 46. It has been thought so strange that Milton should make the lark come to *l'Allegro's* window to bid him good-morrow that Professor Masson has tried to make out that it is not the lark, but *l'Allegro* himself who is spoken of in this couplet. Has it been noticed that Davenant (whether with Milton in mind or not) makes his lark act in the same manner as his predecessor's?

'The lark now leaves his watery nest
And climbing, shakes his dewy wings.
He takes this window for the east
And to implore your light he sings,
"Awake, awake!"'

Milton, *Sonnet* viii. 13. 'Sad Electra's poet.' Mr. Bell remarks, 'The adjective "sad" is sometimes taken as qualifying poet.' It is worth while then to refer to a line of Drummond's *Tears on the death of Meliades* (i.e. Prince Henry), c. 1613, which perhaps suggested Milton's own line:

'And sad Electra's sisters who still weep
Meliades.'

The following passage in Joseph Swetnam's *Araignment of Women*, 1615, ch. iii., seems to be suggested by *Hamlet* i. iv. 19-38: 'like as when men talke of such a man or such a man he is an excellent good workeman, or he is a good Chirurgian, or a good Phisition, or he is a pretty fellowo of his hands, but if they conclude with this word, but it is a pittie he hath one fault, which commonly in some men is drunkennesse, then I say, if he were endued with all the former quallities, yet they cannot gaine him so much credit to counterpoise the discredite that commeth thereby.'

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

REVIEWS

A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Vol. III. Modern Criticism. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1904. [20s. net.]¹

WITH an industry which cannot be too warmly appreciated, Professor Saintsbury has brought his monumental task to a conclusion within four years of the appearance of the first volume. Whatever attitude we may take up to the work, we must frankly admit that, of books dealing in a comprehensive way with the literature of Europe as a whole, this is the most ambitious that has appeared in England for some years. Professor Saintsbury has brought together a vast amount of valuable material which had never before been collected—never, certainly in a single work—and has given us a clearly defined personal judgment on that material. This is something to be grateful for in these days of second-hand scholarship, and of what in this volume is called ‘shoddying-up.’

Professor Saintsbury has already had bouts with his critics as to the definition and scope of his work; but in volumes i. and ii. he so often gave us more than he promised that it has been somewhat difficult to keep in view what that promise was. The clearest idea of the scope of the book is, I think, to be gained from the chapter, in the centre of which stands Coleridge, a writer whom Professor Saintsbury boldly places beside Aristotle and Longinus as one of the greatest critics in the world's literature. ‘The critic,’ says Mr. Saintsbury in connection with Coleridge (p. 221), ‘does his best work, not in elaborating theories which will constantly break down or lead him wrong when they come into contact with the myriad-sided elusiveness of art and humanity, but in examining individual writers or groups of work, and in letting his critical steel strike the fire of mediate axioms and *aperçus* from the flint of these.’ Obviously it is just this particular type of the critical *ingenium*, of which Coleridge is a brilliant example, that is the subject of

this work. This is a history, not of criticism in the wide application of the word, but of the critical *aperçu*, in other words, of criticism as a manifestation or function of the poetic rather than the philosophic or scientific genius. It is an account of those representatives of critical opinion who have had the art of giving pregnant and ingenious expression to their individual thoughts about poets and poetry, not of the men of scientifically trained minds or historically moulded judgment; it is a history of criticism which gives a higher place to Joubert and Novalis than to Taine and Schlegel.

It is, of course, futile to quarrel with the author for not having done what he had no intention of doing, but the book suffers in more ways than one from its restrictions. It is a big book on a big subject, but, by excluding all consideration of ‘philosophical’ criticism or aesthetic theory, Professor Saintsbury cuts himself off from the possibility of treating the subject in a big way. He is obliged to restrict himself to heaping up details; he gives us studies on hundreds of individual critics; but we miss that wide ‘philosophic’ outlook, which is the best antidote to the ‘grubbing’ methods our author abhors; he ignores the background of aesthetic ideas, of poetic theory, by which alone the intricate relationships of the individual phenomena of criticism are made clear. Professor Saintsbury's method does not profess to be either historical in the modern significance of the word or scientific, nor, on the other hand, does he aim at ‘characterising,’ in the sense in which the Schlegels used the expression. He approaches his subject rather in the spirit of the eighteenth century; he sets up, just as the critics of that age did, his own standard of what criticism is or ought to be, and makes no allowance for the varying definitions of criticism and literary taste in past centuries. If the facts do not fit into his Procrustean bed, so much the worse for the facts. He is no friend of modern conceptions of literary evolution, of the influence of race and *milieu*, of the interdependence of ideas, and prefers rather to judge each author purely on his own merits. Admirable is Professor Saintsbury's constant insistence on a face-to-face knowledge of the sources, but he limits

¹ Reviews of volumes i. and ii. appeared in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, vol. iv. p. 7, and vol. vi. p. 67.

himself too much to these first documents. He refuses to accept aid from fellow-workers in the field; he puts himself, in other words, in the position of an inventor who wishes to improve upon the steam-engine or the telegraph, but declines to avail himself of the knowledge which has resulted in the existing state of perfection of these inventions. Take, for instance, his pages on Lessing. If there is any critic of the eighteenth century on whom modern scholarship has attained something approaching finality of judgment, it is surely Lessing; no other writer of that age has been so well and so exhaustively written about. But Mr. Saintsbury ignores all this; he takes his *Lessing* down from the shelves and allows no third person to interpose between himself and the object of his study or, at most, he consults Kant's *Lessing et l'Antiquité*. The result is that much of what he has to tell us about Lessing is platitudinous, and still more has been rendered meaningless by the labours of other scholars.

The present volume on modern criticism suffers more than its predecessors from the author's refusal to take account of the general æsthetic movement—using the term, of course, in its widest signification. Indeed, the very men who stand out as landmarks in the evolution of the modern attitude towards poetry are ruled out of court, because Mr. Saintsbury will have nothing to do with 'philosophic' criticism. In the two or three pages, for instance, which are devoted to Vico and Herder, there is nothing to indicate that these pioneers, with whom one might reasonably expect a volume on modern criticism to begin, were forces of the first order in moulding 'literary criticism and taste.' Instead, we read: 'The arguments against any very full treatment of Herder in such a book as this are twenty-legion strong,' and the influence of the *Scienza nuova*, on the form of criticism to which Professor Saintsbury limits himself, is dismissed as 'malign or null.' What has been said of Professor Saintsbury's ignoring of historical development is further exemplified by the fact that not merely Hamann and Herder, but also the brothers Schlegel are all huddled together in a chapter which follows, instead of preceding, that on Wordsworth and Coleridge and the French *école romantique*. That the Schlegels inaugurated a new epoch in literary criticism by revolutionising the standpoint of the critic towards the criticised, there is not a hint, and instead, Novalis, who might reasonably have been left out altogether, is

pinnacled as a master. The consideration of Hegel's influence on the general European attitude towards poetry lay, needless to say, beyond Professor Saintsbury's province, but had he taken count of it, it would have helped to bring a certain order into his rather chaotic grouping of the earlier nineteenth century; he has equally little to say of the rise of individualism and the stimulus it gave to criticism at the end of his period, although actual phenomena due to the movement are discussed by him with warm personal sympathy. Even Taine, to whom most historians of criticism would be disposed to give the chief place in this latter period, is summarily dismissed in some four pages; he also is no critic according to the definition of the work.

Professor Saintsbury has laboured hard to be just to his old bugbears, the Germans; and an improvement is noticeable between the close of volume ii., where the Gottsched-Bodmer controversy was dismissed with a few flippant words, and the beginning of the present volume, where he returns again to the same theme in a more serious mood. But Professor Saintsbury has too essentially the Latin bent of mind to appreciate the Teutonic spirit, and I cannot help thinking that his work would have gained in weight had it been possible to have excluded Germany altogether from consideration. Here, however, his frank confession on page 563 disarms criticism.

In matters of detail there is much in this history that is admirable; Mr. Saintsbury's judgments, whether we agree with them or not, are always stimulating; and dull the book is not. But his method is against him, and I am afraid he has brought us after all but a little way towards the comprehensive survey of European criticism, which is still a desideratum.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

Elizabethan Critical Essays. Edited with an Introduction by G. GREGORY SMITH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1904. 2 vols.

IN the two volumes before us Mr. Gregory Smith gives a very useful collection of Critical Essays published in England within the years of the reign of Elizabeth. He prefaces the collection with an Introduction, and completes it with Notes and an Index.

Comparing Mr. Gregory Smith's work with Haslewood's *Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poesy*, London, 1811-15,

we find that it includes all the essays published by Haslewood which fall within the period named, and in addition contributions by Sir Philip Sidney (Haslewood excused himself for not reprinting Sidney's *Apology* on the ground that it had been lately edited by Lord Thurlow), Ascham, Willes, Whetstone, Lodge, Gabriel Harvey (from the *Letter-book* and *Four Letters*), 'E. K.,' Stanyhurst, Abraham Fraunce, Nashe, Hoby, Carew, Chapman, Vaughan, Ben Jonson, and the authors of the *Return from Parnassus*. The new collection is therefore far more complete than the old one. Against this we have only to say that whereas Haslewood prints his works in full, Mr. Gregory Smith occasionally makes large omissions, e.g. in the case of Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, which we should have been glad to have in its entirety. Mr. Gregory Smith also modernizes the punctuation, and occasionally emends the language of his texts. This is no doubt an advantage to the general reader, but it prevents his essays having the character of facsimiles to the same extent as those published by Haslewood.

The matter of the omissions is more serious. It is perfectly true that considerable portions of the essays in question do not strictly conform to the editor's notion of literary criticism, and from one point of view therefore he is justified in the course he has adopted. If his task had been either the compilation of an anthology of the 'Beauties of Criticism,' or the collection of such a series of critical documents as Professor Saintsbury's admirable *Loci Critici*, this argument would have been final. But Mr. Gregory Smith would, we fancy, be the first to admit that his task was not that, but the editing of certain critical texts. We were therefore justified in expecting that his edition, produced with all the advantages of modern scholarship by an editor of quite undoubted ability, would supersede the earlier ones of the works it included. Owing to the omissions, it does no such thing, but only takes a place alongside of the works of Haslewood, Arber, etc. This fact detracts to a very serious degree, indeed, from the value of the publication.

In assigning the *Arte of English Poesie* to George Puttenham, Mr. Gregory Smith apparently ignores the strong argument by which Mr. Sidney Lee in the *D.N.B.* supports the claim of the elder brother Richard Puttenham to the authorship of this anonymous treatise. In this he is at one with

Professor Saintsbury, who in his *History of Criticism* (ii. 176) states that the work '(on rather weak evidence, but with no counter-claimant) is usually attributed to George Puttenham.' Has it been noticed that a copy of the work in the British Museum (1077 f. 3) has on the titlepage—in a hand which may be contemporary—'puttenham'? Unfortunately the anonymous writer does not say *which* Puttenham he held to be the author.

Mr. Gregory Smith's Introduction is an able attempt to find the One in the Many, that is, to obtain from the rather miscellaneous essays general conclusions on the sources, the tendencies, and character of Elizabethan critical thought. It cannot be said that the Introduction is easy reading—the expression is perhaps a little laboured, and sometimes ambiguous—but the essay is the unmistakable work of a scholar well equipped with the learning and insight necessary to his task, and it will well repay careful study.

The author shows that the moving cause of much of the literature with which he deals was the Puritan attack on poets and poetry. He ingeniously suggests that the prevalent 'classical' spirit of the apologists was in part due to the necessity laid upon them of justifying poetry on moral grounds. To do so they were led to throw over the romances and popular poetry of modern times, and to affirm that the truest poetry was that of the ancients. Further, the need of justifying poetry took them back to the ancient critical writers—Aristotle, Horace, Quintilian, etc. From them they deduced the importance of 'Decorum' as an element in a literary work, and, especially in their application of the 'Decorum theory' to the drama, set up a literary code which remained at variance with literary practice till it saw its day of triumph with the coming of Dryden and the 'correct' school. In pointing out this connexion of Dryden's movement with the earlier critical movement, Mr. Gregory Smith seems to us to have stated a truth not so clearly expressed before. The classical temper of the apologists was again shown in the sympathy accorded by many of them to the introduction of classical prosody and the banishment of rime. Mr. Gregory Smith's chapter on this phase is excellent, especially his clear statement of Gabriel Harvey's position as a 'moderate' in the movement, who insisted that however much one scans by quantity, the natural accent of English words is not to be ignored. Mr. Gregory Smith clearly

sees that the common designation of Harvey as a mere pedant carries with it a great injustice to him. After a chapter in which the author deals with what may be called the 'romantic' elements in Elizabethan criticism, he concludes with an examination of the debts incurred by the critics to their classical, Italian, French, and English predecessors.

Before leaving the Introduction, we will only ask if 'Mysomousoi' (p. xv) should not be 'Misomousoi,' and suggest a doubt if Mr. Gregory Smith has correctly understood two passages which he quotes. One (p. xxxvii) is in a letter of Harvey to Spenser, 'as if the world had nothing else for us to do, or we were born to be the only Nonproficients and Nihilagents of the world.' We do not think Harvey is here merely confessing that their metrical discussions were only experimental: he seems to us to be contrasting *all* literary discussion unfavourably with *action*. Harvey's marginalia in many of his books show that this was a constant thought with him. He had drunk to the full the Machiavellian doctrine of *virtù*. The other point is the interpretation put by Mr. Gregory Smith on some words of Nashe—'[Harvey] is less severe in his attack on rhyme than on the loose rhythm of the line: and this gives some point to Nashe's taunt that he was clapped in the Fleet for a rhymers.' Nashe, I believe, had no intention here of entering into the controversy on the merits of rime and classical verse: he used 'rimer' as a contemptuous term for a bad poet. Cp. Du Bellay, *Défense*, chap. xi., 'et vous autres si mal equippez, dont l'ignorance a donné le ridicule nom de Rymeurs à nostre langue (comme les Latins appellent leurs mauvais poëtes versificateurs).' We may remark, by the way, that Du Bellay's *Défense* in clearness and strength of thought seems to us on a higher level than any of the English essays here collected. Finally, we must draw attention to an oversight on page 1, where the 'Complaint of Cadwallader,' in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, is said to be composed in accentual hexameters. The poem is in unrimed alexandrines.

Note 6 on page lxxvi should read 'See notes to i. 68 (not 168), 25, and 80 (not 180), 7.'

To touch on a few points in the rest of the book.

I. 107, l. 19. The original edition, we must suppose, reads 'Tuscanisme.' But is

it not probable that both here and in the passage given, II. p. 250, l. 11, Harvey wrote 'Tuscanismo'? Cp. II. p. 430, l. 8.

I. 358. Mr. Gregory Smith has done very happily in printing in his notes to Gascoigne's *Notes of Instruction* the marginalia contained in Gabriel Harvey's copy, now in the Bodleian Library. He discriminates them in the following manner: 'The notes in Gabriel Harvey's hand are here marked (H): others on the same copy, which appear to be in a hand rather older than Harvey's, are marked (N).' If there is any doubt whether all the notes are in the same hand, the course taken is the best possible. At the same time, having twice examined the book, and seen other books with Harvey's marginalia, we believe that all the notes are in his hand. He obtained the book in 1577, and he lived till 1631. It would, therefore, be not surprising if his handwriting differed somewhat at different dates—and it was certainly his habit to add to his marginalia on a second reading. We may note that as the book was not published till 1575, and Harvey came into possession 'Cal. Sept. 1577,' there was not much time for a previous owner to have had it, and of such an owner there is, we believe, no real trace. It will be seen that the notes marked 'N' are just as characteristically Harvey's as those marked 'H,' e.g. p. 360, top, 'The naturall and ordinary Emphasis of enery word, as uiolently, not uiolently.' We take it, moreover, that the 'H' note given on p. 360, 'Sir Philip Sidney and M. Spenser, of mie opinion,' refers to the preceding 'N' note, 'A greater grace and Maiesty in longer wordes, etc.' If this is so, of course the identity of the two hands is proved. (On p. 359, middle, 'Bartesiuss' should, I think, be 'Bartasius' (i.e. Du Bartas), and on p. 360, middle, 'Gobling,' 'hobbling').

I. 376, 412, II. 435. The Saffron Walden Registers show that Richard Harvey was born in 1560, and John Harvey early in 1564, and that Gabriel Harvey was buried 11th Feb. 1631 (not 1630, the year commonly given for his death.)

II. 170, 6 lines from bottom. 'The Glorious.' Should be 'The Gorgious.'

- II. p. 442. 'William Chaderton of Pembroke College, Cambridge.' More correctly 'of Pembroke Hall.' Before he had taken his M.A., however, he became a Fellow of Christ's (1558), and ten years later, President of Queens'.

These points are very trifling, and we have pleasure in congratulating Mr. Gregory Smith on his very thorough and painstaking editing of his well-chosen texts. He has provided, moreover, an excellent Index. [It is unfortunate that we cannot extend our congratulations to the Clarendon Press on their share in the production. The volumes have the appearance of being intended as companions to those of Professor Ker's *Essays of Dryden*, with which they do not, however, exactly range either in size or style. The volumes, moreover, are far too thick for their size, and the boards far too thin for the thickness of the volumes. Lastly, the binder has been allowed to 'split' the head and tail at the back in sewing, which means that no copy which receives the use the book, as a critical and literary work, undoubtedly deserves, will be fit to be used at all at the end of a few years. This is a practice which the Oxford Press has recently allowed in a number of its works, and in the case of a firm which is justly proud of the appearance of the books it turns out, it is particularly to be regretted. No lovers of good workmanship can have anything but unqualified condemnation for the productions of the University of Oxford, until those whom it places in authority over its publishing business reform altogether this wanton and pernicious habit.—Ed.]

G. C. M. S.

The Literature of the French Renaissance. By ARTHUR TILLEY, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of King's College, Cambridge. Two vols. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1904.

It is human to be vexed at the unfinished; and perhaps there is no incompleteness that a man oftener wishes completed than that of an unfinished book. Therefore it was a good hearing that Mr. Tilley's *Literature of the French Renaissance*, the pilot volume of which appeared long ago, was at last, 'late in the twentieth year,' to become an accomplished fact; and it was all the more so that the original in-

stalment or specimen was of high promise and of no low substantive performance.

The author (perhaps of necessity, for the *format* of the 'Introductory Essay' would have been rather inconveniently small for the completed work) has changed the outward shape of his book. Whether his general plan has undergone any modifications we do not know; but he would be an exceptional person if it had not done so in a couple of decades. Yet there is no necessity even in this. That the *Essay* should have been of a more general and sweeping character, the work itself more 'compartmented,' more divided into separate though interdependent handlings of individuals, schools, and kinds, is in no way surprising. Perhaps—for it is almost inevitable that the reader should wish that his author had given him something *more*, though it is questionably competent for him to demand something *else*—we could desire a fuller Conclusion—something more on the scale of the Introduction itself. But, after all, this is unreasonable, for all the materials of such a conclusion are amply supplied in the body of the book, and it is only idleness, want of interest, or want of intelligence that can fail to draw them.

For the fact is that Mr. Tilley has here provided an example of literary history most thoroughly done, and very decidedly wanted and wanting hitherto. As he justly allows, nothing could have been better as far as it went than Darmesteter and Hatzfeld's volume of five-and-twenty years ago. But the scheme of that volume necessitated the devoting of by far the greater part of its space to illustrative extracts and to purely linguistic matter: the literature proper, though admirably, was not quite adequately treated. And he is not less just, though less complimentary, in speaking of the large volume devoted to the sixteenth century in M. Petit de Julleville's great co-operative *History*. With certain excellent exceptions, which Mr. Tilley does not fail to make, that volume is a conspicuous example of the general fault of the book—the failure to 'join flats' completely on the part of the different contributors—and of its too frequent neglect of those minor figures, without due consideration of whom literary histories can never be written satisfactorily. On the other hand, a connected and adequate survey of the matter was very much wanted, and nowhere more than in England. Spasmodic attempts have, indeed, at different times during the last half-century, been made to enlighten

English darkness on parts of the subject—Marot, the Pléiade, and a few others—where it previously existed; while there has been a very fair knowledge amongst us of the greatest authors, Rabelais and Montaigne. But this knowledge has been much unco-ordinated; and while French literature is notoriously *the* literature of Europe which has always proceeded by schools, and kinds, and periods, and which therefore insists upon being treated by periods, and kinds, and schools, if it is to be understood, there is perhaps no period in the whole eight hundred years of the story which demands this co-ordinated attention so persistently and inexorably as that of the Renaissance. Rabelais himself pretty obviously, even Montaigne more insidiously but as certainly, require knowledge of what the lesser men around and before them were doing and thinking. Take them with confident ignorance as writers for all time, whom any time can automatically understand, and you will certainly fail to understand them fully; you will be extremely clever and extremely lucky if you do not fatally misunderstand them.

Now this necessary provision of knowledge of the whole Mr. Tilley has given with thorough industry and patience, with excellent clearness, and with an apparatus of documentary and bibliographical learning which ought to satisfy the veriest Dryasdust. Many of the minor authors here dealt with are by no means easy of access—the inestimable adventure of the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne* in the third quarter of the nineteenth century not having met with support enough, apparently, to justify perseverance to the end. And the second-hand literature—the writing ‘about them and about them’—multiplies in its usual appalling fashion from year to year. But Mr. Tilley has grappled with all, and his treatment and digestion are so thorough that we do not think anything more than an easily added Appendix, of accruing discussion and discovery from time to time, can be wanted to keep the book a standard.

In reviewing such a book there is always the difficulty of steering between mere generality and a descent into details which the reader cannot follow, and may justly find unappetising. Mr. Tilley’s criticism appears as generally sane and just as his knowledge is exhaustive. Some might perhaps desiderate a little more summing-up of the general literary features of individuals, books, and kinds. Now this is, of course, very much a matter of taste; and the element

is by no means wanting, while what there is of it is very good. But we should, to give an instance, have liked a fuller and more definite treatment of that curious kind, the sixteenth-century *fatrasie*, from its apotheosis in *Gargantua and Pantagruel* to its *apotheriosis* (if anybody likes to put it that way) in *Le Moyen de Parvenir*. It is not that Mr. Tilley in the least fails to appreciate Rabelais as a prophet of the great god Nonsense; on the contrary, he relishes him thoroughly in this phase, and one of the best and most sensible passages of the book is a protest against the modern tendency to see in Master Francis a sort of Marcus Aurelius in motley, with the motley entirely detachable and extraneous. Still, we do not find (though we may have missed) a discussion of this *fatrasie*, this fantastic miscellany, this apparently and, in part, really nonsense-composition, which sticks at no buffoonery, no extravagance, no coarseness, as a thing which even Rabelais himself rather exemplifies than invents, as an important and widely pervading phase of the literature of the time, and as something which made a permanent niche for itself in all literature, and has served as a pattern to writers of very different ages and characters to the present day.

But we are slipping into that sin which doth so easily beset the reviewer, and talking of what is not here instead of what is. What is, is abundant in quantity, scholarly in arrangement, amply satisfactory in quality and kind. All students of the greater and better-known men and things of the time must reckon with Mr. Tilley for his additions, original and collected, to the treatment of these matters; they must go to him (and can do so almost for the first time in English) to learn the atmosphere, the general conditions, the minor details and features of the subject. Not a few attempts have been made lately to remove the reproach that England, not content with having only one sauce in melted butter, *was* content to have only one historian in literature in Hallam. But no one has made his own attempt more solidly, more systematically, and more successfully than Mr. Tilley has done in this book.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

The Nibelungenlied and Gudrun in England and America. By FRANCIS E. SANDBACH. London: D. Nutt. 1903. Pp. vi+200. 10s. 6d.

ALL students of medieval German literature owe Mr. Sandbach a great debt of gratitude for the production of this most useful book. During its compilation the libraries of London, Oxford, and Cambridge have been laid under contribution by the writer, who was granted a Certificate of Original Research by the University of Cambridge on its completion. Its main purpose is 'to make a contribution of material to the future historian of the literary relations between the English and German speaking peoples, by placing on record exactly what attention has been paid in England and America to the two great national epics of Germany.' Incidentally Mr. Sandbach hopes to afford 'some help and guidance both to students and to intending workers in a field as yet more or less neglected.' With these objects in view the material collected has been divided, in the case of each poem, into four sections, dealing respectively with translations, reprints of the Old German text, miscellaneous accounts and essays, and influence on literature proper. In each of these sections chronological order has been followed, and careful estimates have been made of the value of all translations, essays, etc., worthy of detailed notice. To avoid undue repetition in criticising so many publications of similar contents, introductory sections have been prefixed containing detailed abstracts of the two poems, brief accounts of the more important facts and theories connected with them (including the results of recent research), and select bibliographies. In the course of each abstract, a few striking passages are quoted from the original, and rendered into simple prose for comparison with the translations.

In dealing with his subject, Mr. Sandbach has made use of the best German editions, and has availed himself of the most recent investigations on all questions connected with his subject. The book before us bears evidence of his complete mastery of the wide literature on the *Nibelungen* and *Gudrun* in English, French and German. A work of this kind was sadly wanted in this country; it is gratifying to find that Mr. Sandbach's treatment of the subject is exhaustive, clear, up to date, and, so far as can be, final. A book of this description must necessarily be somewhat dry. Many parts of it are mainly intended for easy reference, and one of its avowed objects is to save other people's time. It will, however, prove a most useful first guide to English students of the *Nibelungenlied* and *Gudrun*. It can be safely recom-

mended to all who are reading for university examinations, to teachers of German anxious to obtain a brief and reliable survey of the present state of research with regard to these poems, to students of medieval literature generally, to students of comparative literature, and finally to all future English translators and commentators of the two great epics. It is not probable that much will have to be added to the book from sources overlooked by its painstaking and conscientious author. Mr. Sandbach has supplied an introduction to the *Nibelungenlied* which can for critical purposes now take the place of Carlyle's, which he has himself discussed in his book on pp. 62, 84 *sqq.*, and in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, iii. (1900), pp. 131 *sqq.* There can be nothing but praise for his clear and judicious survey of the literature of his subject. To the works on the origin of the Nibelungensage enumerated there should now be added (on pp. 23 *sqq.*, or on p. 36) the recent essay by Wilhelm Wilmanns, *Der Untergang der Nibelunge in alter Sage und Dichtung*. Berlin, Weidmann, 1903, from the 'Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.'

A very useful feature of the book is the quotation of many carefully selected passages from the German originals, with English renderings by Mr. Sandbach, as well as other translators. His own prose translation is invariably a careful and trustworthy rendering, and the numerous Middle High German passages in the book are free from misprints.

The *Nibelungenlied* is treated on pages 1-135, *Gudrun* on pages 139-195, and there is a general index (on pages 196-200). The select bibliography—often with a short characterisation of the books and articles enumerated—is very useful. In quoting important articles from periodicals (e.g. on p. 36) it would, however, have been a welcome addition if not only the number of the volume in the series had been given, but also the year of publication. In discussing the different manuscripts of the *Nibelungenlied* (pp. 28-30), a reference might have been given to the second edition of G. Kœnnecke's excellent *Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur* (Marburg, 1895), which gives reproductions of the various manuscripts, occupying thirteen large pages (pp. 31-43).

In discussing the work produced by English translators, Sandbach rightly points out their insufficient acquaintance with the idioms of Middle High German, and some-

times even with the elements of Modern German. They very often give the Modern instead of the Old German meaning of many common words such as *edel*, *milte*, *riche*, *snel*, *tugent*, *liebe*, etc. The specimen pages from the various English translations are well chosen and the renderings judiciously criticised. The positive result obtained by these close investigations is to show what is good in the best existing translations, and where improvements are still possible (see p. 72). The author rightly insists (on p. 79) that 'the existence of good annotated editions and dictionaries should now make a seriously faulty prose translation impossible.' In criticising Carlyle's essay on the *Nibelungenlied* he shows that in spite of its great merit in other respects, 'both accuracy, to some extent, and scientific treatment of the subject, are wanting,' and justly adds: 'For the student, so generally neglected in the introductions to English books, both are indispensable; and even the "general reader" will accept what is correct and well ordered at least as willingly as what is not.'

Another very useful portion of the book is the list (on p. 192) of certain English books and articles which, in spite of most attractive and promising titles, have, as the writer points out, no connection whatever with either the *Nibelungenlied* or *Gudrun*.

I should like to notice a few very small points where an addition or correction seems called for—none of them, however, of any great importance. On p. 37 the verse translation by G. Legerlotz (Bielefeld und Leipzig: Vellhagen und Klasing) might have been mentioned along with that by L. Freytag. The interesting book by K. Rehorn quoted in note 2 on the same page is on the *Sage*, not *Saga*, *von den Nibelungen*. On p. 64 Magnussen should be Magnússon, and on p. 108 Vigfusson should be Vigfússon. On p. 117 read under 90, M(ary) Bentinek Smith. See also p. 185, under 43. Should not (p. 125) line 525 of 'Sir Degravant' read 'Y hade lever she were myne'? In the last line of p. 143 it would be better to say 'In truth he knew how to make use of his skill' (*Jā kunde er siner voge wol geniezen*). On p. 144 Sandbach says, 'In course of time, Hilde gave birth to twins.' I do not think that the reading of stanza 573 of *Gudrun* justifies us in assuming (with Hildebrand) that Ortwin and Gudrun were twins. Apparently the poet considered Ortwin to be much younger than Gudrun. Martin (in the second edition of the poem, p. 133) and Piper

(p. 153) both reject the idea that Hilde gave birth to twins. On p. 176, 'By Hagen's advice' should be 'By Wate's advice' (see *Gudrun*, stanza 826). On p. 157 read 1291 of the 1705 strophes) (Müllenhoff only allowed 414 out of 1705 to be genuine strophes). On p. 161, Paul Piper's edition of *Gudrun* (*Kudrun* in *Kürschner's Deutsche National-Litteratur*, vi. 1, Stuttgart, 1895) ought to have been quoted. Its omission is probably due to an oversight. With regard to translations of *Gudrun* Sandbach would have done better to refer to Piper, pp. lii-lv, than to Bartsch's edition, which is now out of date. Page 170, line 4, read *gelören*. Page 171, line 6, read 'Mrs. Conybeare's translation of Scherer's *History of German Literature*.' The trifling nature of these corrections and additions shows clearly how very carefully the book has been written and seen through the press.

Owing to a fire at the binders by which part of the sheets were destroyed and had to be reprinted, the book did not appear in 1903 (as stated on the titlepage), but only in January 1904. The preface is dated May 16, 1903, and the book was expected to appear in the summer of that year.

For many years it has been the present reviewer's wish to undertake some day the task of writing a comprehensive work on the literary relations of Germany and England, as shown in the direct and indirect influences of German literature on English. The influence of English writers on the literature of Germany has been much more fully investigated, mainly by German scholars in Germany. Not much has been done so far with regard to the influence of German writers on English literature. Up to now there are only Professor Herford's masterly *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, University Press, 1886), and some interesting minor essays on single points by various authors, some of which have appeared in the pages of the *Modern Language Quarterly*. There is also Th. Rea's thesis (not yet printed) on the reception of Schiller's poetry in England, for which a Certificate of Research has been granted by the University of Cambridge; and again, E. Oswald's useful bibliography, *Goethe in England and America* (London, 1899). Some other contributions will be found mentioned in Louis P. Betz's *La Littérature Comparée: Essai bibliographique* (Strasbourg, Trübner, 1900, pp. 45 sqq.) and elsewhere, e.g.

in the *Goethe Jahrbuch*, in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, and in the *American Modern Language Notes*. But much remains to be done; a number of special investigations must be completed before the larger and more comprehensive work can be successfully undertaken. A book of this kind should be to some extent a counterpart to Th. Süpfle's *Geschichte des deutschen Kultureinflusses auf Frankreich, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der literarischen Einwirkung*, i.-ii. (Gotha, 1886-1890). The investigations should be undertaken in England by English scholars who have more ready access to the older English magazines and editions, and greater facilities for consulting the treasures of the British Museum and of the great Cambridge and Oxford libraries. In the long chain of contributions to the study of the literary relations of England and Germany, which we hope to see completed in the future, Mr. Sandbach's book will always be a very valuable link.

K. B.

A History of Theatrical Art. By KARL MANTZIUS. Authorised translation by LOUISE VON COSSEL. Vol. III. The Shakespearian Period in England. Duckworth. 1904.

It is not as a history of theatrical art but as a history of theatres and theatrical conditions that the present work has a claim upon the attention of literary students. It is a claim based upon the filling of a very real want. Between those who abandon themselves passively to the acceptance in their entirety of all the various and ingenious theories and conjectures of Mr. Fleay, and those who give up the whole subject in despair, there are perhaps few who have arrived at a satisfactory idea of early stage history in this country. For those few the present work will probably contain little that is novel, since it makes no pretence to being the result of original research. But for the great majority it is invaluable. It is, namely, the only general account, of a logical and reliable nature, of the outer history of the early English theatres that we possess, put forward lucidly and concisely.

Since the volumes of the History are sold separately it is reasonable to suppose that the present will be exhausted sooner than the rest. Should this prove the case we should like to make a suggestion. We should, namely, like to see this volume re-

issued in a student's edition at about half the present price. The majority of the illustrations are staled with constant reproduction, and could be omitted without loss. Those which help to elucidate the subject (say 1 and 3-7) could, if the book were printed on ordinary paper, be inserted into the text as in the original. To make the work complete, the section on the stage in vol. ii. should be reprinted in an appendix, with such modifications as recent research has rendered necessary, and illustrations 39 and 40 of that volume reproduced. Such a re-issue would also give an opportunity for the correction of rather a large number of minor errors.

The subject of the present History hardly falls sufficiently within the scope of this journal to justify a detailed review. We regard the work, however, as of sufficient importance to justify our giving a list of certain corrections which should be made in any further issue. The great majority of these, it may be remarked, are due to errors not of the author himself but of the translator. It is certainly to be regretted that the publishers did not either select a translator who had some acquaintance with the subject of the work, or else arrange that the translation should be revised by the author himself. The latter would, no doubt, have been the more satisfactory course. As it is, the direct translation from the original has led to many absurdities, especially in the form of titles of plays occurring in the work.

P. 14, note. *Plegahus*, read *pleghus*.

P. 21, l. 17. *The Prophecy of the Cobbler*, read *The Cobbler's Prophecy*.

„ l. 19. *the Miller's Daughter from Manchester*, read *of Manchester*.

„ note 1. '*Burbay*,' read '*Burby*.' Cuthbert always used the form '*Burby*' or '*Burbey*' in his imprints, as Dr. Mantzius, but not his annotator, was aware. Indeed, the former explicitly states the fact on p. 225, note 1, in spite of which the translator was not 'able to find the variant' elsewhere!

P. 22, l. 3. *Catilina*, read *Catiline*.

P. 34, ll. 26-8. In English a public-house does not have a private and public 'room,' but a private and public 'bar.'

P. 43, l. 14. *Few of the University men play well*, read *Few of the University men pen plays well*.

„ l. 18. *I*, read *aye*.

„ l. 20. *giving the gods a pill*, read *giving the poets a pill*.

„ l. 21. *Berag*, read *beray*.

Four absurdities in one short quotation is surely rather bad.

- P. 57, l. 13. *It appears, to judge from the Diary, that from 1577 to 1578 he [Henslowe] occupied himself with forest exploitation and the timber trade.* The entries in question are by John, not Philip, Henslowe. Dr. Mantzius has misunderstood Dr. Warner's remarks.
- „ l. 17. *His [Henslowe's] theatrical accounts do not begin till 1592, but before that time there are entries which prove that he lent money on interest.* This is incorrect. The pawn-accounts which seem to be meant are all subsequent to the earliest dramatic entries.
- „ note 1. A reference to a foreign edition of Malone's Shakespere, dated 1800, is absurd in an English book. Either the 1790 or 1821 'Variorum' edition must be quoted. Also the fact of *Basil* being the Danish form of *Basel* or *Båle* does not excuse its appearance here.
- P. 65, l. 2. *Catilina*, read *Catiline*.
- P. 69, note 1, l. 6. '*Fortuna*,' read '*Fortune*.'
- P. 80, note 3. Here the word *Boghandler-registeret* in the original has been rendered *bookseller's catalogue*; it should, of course, be *Stationers' Register*.
- P. 84, l. 3. *culers*, read *cutlers*.
- P. 87, l. 5. '*In God's name, Amen.*' Henslowe's formula is '*In the name of God, Amen.*'
- P. 110, l. 24. *the scrivener*, read *a scrivener*.
- P. 111, note 2. There is, we believe, every reason to suppose that prices at first performances were doubled in Shakespeare's time.
- P. 115, l. 14, etc. There is evidence of some plays at any rate being cut down for performance at the original production.
- P. 119, l. 26. *galleries opposite to the stage.* To any one acquainted with the structure of the old theatres the absurdity of this will be obvious. The word rendered *opposite*, however, is in the original *ovenover*, which simply means *above*.
- P. 121, note 2. This is evidently wrong; the 'gentlemen' were, of course, the audience.
- P. 127, l. 20. One does not in English usually speak of the *incumbent* of the office of Master of the Revels.
- P. 128, l. 7. *6sh. 8d.* (which is not an English abbreviation). The charge was more commonly *7s.*
- „ l. 9, etc. This is a receipt for the monthly payment, not for licensing fees.
- P. 132, l. 6. We do not find the speech quoted in *The King and the Subject*, for the play is not extant.
- P. 133, l. 25. *Burke*, read *Bucke*.
- „ l. 27. *thog*, read *though*.
- P. 140, l. 11. *Thomas*, read *Philip* (original *Ph. Henslowe*).
- P. 150, l. 18. *esquire* (possessor of an estate). It would be obviously unnecessary to explain *esquire* to English readers, even were the explanation correct.
- P. 151, l. 4. *country*, read *country*.
- P. 152, l. 22. It is quite fantastic to see in Henslowe's mention of 'French hose and Spanish doublet' any evidence that *Attention was paid to the different fashions of civilised countries*, in the stage costumes. They merely refer to current fashions of the London tailors.
- P. 164, l. 17. *There is an entr'acte.* It seems doubtful whether *entr'actes* were usual. Sometimes, however, jigs seem to have been performed between the acts.
- P. 171, note 3. *Lord Wilson* (!), read *Robert Wilson* (original *Rob. Wilson*).
- P. 194, l. 17. *do saw*, read *do not saw*.
- P. 196, l. 9. The suggestion that *Tambercam* stands for *Termagant* appears very unlikely.
- P. 204, l. 15. The letters are in Henslowe's hand.
- P. 220. The top line of the page has somehow got transferred to the bottom, an unpardonable piece of carelessness for which all concerned thoroughly deserve such literary pillory as we can supply.
- P. 228, l. 20. *grene*, read *greue* (i.e. *grew*). The reference for the second quotation has been omitted; it should be *Outlines*, p. 585.
- P. 236, l. 10. *Woman is a Weathercock*, read *A Woman*, etc.
- P. 239, l. 24. *Spectacles of*, read *Spectacles of pleasure*.
- P. 240, note. The document is reprinted in Hazlitt's *English Drama and Stage*, Roxburghe Library, 1869, and there is also a separate facsimile reprint. It is therefore perfectly accessible.

In view of the many petty absurdities which have been introduced by the translator, we sincerely hope that the future volumes will receive revision by the author before publication. So revised, the work could be welcomed with very few reservations, for from the literary point of view the translation is very far from being a bad one.

W. W. G.

The Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene. By LEWIS WAGER. Edited by F. I. CARPENTER. New and revised edition. [Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago.] Chicago University Press. 1904.

WE have received a second impression of Professor Carpenter's edition of Wager's morality, which has been 'completely revised,' an operation of which it stood eminently in need. As we can hardly suppose the work, as originally issued, to have met with so enthusiastic a reception as to sell off the whole impression, we conclude that Professor Carpenter has adopted the unquestionably judicious, however unpleasant, course of withdrawing it as soon as a corrected impression was ready to take its place. We welcome the fact particularly as showing that the editor realises the serious nature of the errors in his former volume, and also the high standard of accuracy now rightly demanded in such work, for it must be confessed that some doubts were raised in our mind upon these points, when we received a list of corrigenda admitting a want of 'exact trustworthiness' in a transcript which bodily omitted seventeen lines of its original! We sincerely trust that we have seen the last of editions of old plays made from transcripts without reference to the originals. On the vagaries of individual editors there is, of course, no curb possible, but it should in future be impossible for such editions to appear with the imprimatur of a self-respecting university.

We have intentionally spoken out strongly on this point, since, as those who have read our reviews will be aware, there have recently been published a number of editions of early plays of which the least that can be said is that they are grossly inaccurate. Now there is no question to-day as to what the standard of accuracy to be expected of such work is. But the original is in many cases more or less difficult of access, and if an editor makes a sufficient show of critical paraphernalia, he may usually count on his work being taken at his own valuation. We have consequently thought it our duty to compare such editions carefully with the originals, and to show no mercy to anything that appeared to us to be of the nature of slovenly editing. We need hardly add that in this we have been wholly uninfluenced by the personality of the editor, who in the majority of cases was entirely unknown to us, while in others, as in that we

are now concerned with, he was a scholar for whose abilities we have the sincerest respect.

If, however, we have to express our satisfaction at the disappearance of the first impression of the present work, we can at the same time most heartily congratulate Professor Carpenter upon the appearance of the second. One of the most welcome results of the publication of his edition was the discovery of the whereabouts of the edition of 1566, which now appears to be in the hands of Mr. W. A. White of New York. This edition, recorded by Mr. Hazlitt, had been lost sight of, but it was commonly assumed that it was merely a different issue of the edition of 1567. This view is now amply substantiated, and a good facsimile of the 1566 titlepage in the present edition enables us further to state that the two were printed from the same setting up, the single figure of the date alone being altered. The only error—if it be one—which we have noticed as remaining in the text, is in l. 423, where 'Maidens (quod she!)' is in the original 'Maidēs (quod she?).' The editor reserves the right of altering the punctuation where he sees fit, but in the present instance we can imagine no sufficient ground for change.

The introduction has been somewhat expanded in view of criticisms passed on the first impression, and gives a full and lucid exposition of the literary history of the piece. A pleasant feature is the absence of any attempt to discover transcendent merits in the work discussed, and in general the soberness of the editor's judgment on all questions on which he has occasion to touch.

W. W. G.

Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia und ihre Nachläufer. Literarhistorische Studie von K. BRUNHUBER. M. Edelmann, Nürnberg. 1903.

IT is to be regretted that writers of dissertations do not always take the trouble to possess themselves of a general acquaintance with the subjects which they propose to treat. Here is an elaborate essay, nominally on the subject of Sidney's *Arcadia*, by a writer who is obviously ignorant of the most elementary facts concerning the history of the work. On page 9 we read: 'Die erste Ansgabe vom Jahre 1590 wurde von der Gräfin Pembroke besorgt.' The author

is apparently unaware that this edition contained only about half the complete work. Further, the edition in question was certainly not supervised by Sidney's sister. Issued most likely under the editorship, if any, of Fulke Greville, it was considered unsatisfactory by the Countess, who in consequence undertook the preparation of the complete text first published in 1593. All this would, of course, have been known to the author, had he consulted the introduction to Dr. O. Sommer's facsimile of the first edition, which is conspicuous for its absence among the large and rather singular selection of works referred to. If the facsimile in question was not within the author's reach—and his resources appear to have been somewhat restricted—it is perhaps unfair to blame him for not being acquainted with it, but it may nevertheless be remarked that the study of literature is hardly likely to be advanced by dissertations written in ignorance of the ordinary works of reference.

Perhaps the author's chief mistake was in giving his essay too wide a title. Had he indicated that it was with the sources only and not with the history of the *Arcadia* that he was concerned, and refrained from any remarks upon the latter subject, there would have been little to find fault with. Indeed, within this limit, the work is of distinct merit. A careful investigation has revealed borrowings on Sidney's part from Sannazzaro, Montemayor, *Amadis*, Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Chariton. The importance of the *Amadis* is brought out strongly, and the two last-mentioned romancers are added, we believe, for the first time. In these points lies the positive merit of the work, and if the points are small we nevertheless welcome them gratefully. A search among the other popular romances of chivalry might possibly reveal other sources. Sannazzaro, as has long been known, yields little but the name, and the incidental parallel here recorded is obviously fortuitous. Montemayor yields fewer points of similarity than might have been expected, and the author is inclined to minimise his influence. There can, however, in our opinion, be no doubt that, though Sidney's romance was no doubt modified by the influence of the Greek writers, it belongs essentially to the Spanish chivalresque-pastoral school, of which Montemayor was the chief exponent. The

failure to recognise this, in spite of the paucity of direct parallels with the *Diana*, is the most serious blemish of this portion of the present work. Among minor inaccuracies may be mentioned the fact that the edition of 1655, the only one apparently which the author has seen, is a folio and not a quarto as stated; that Book VI. was added in 1627-8, not in 1624, there being no edition of that year; and that Dorus and Pamela are not captured by the soldiers of Philanax but by rebel outlaws.

The second part of the dissertation consists of an analysis of certain works—all plays—founded on the *Arcadia*. They are mostly well known—Day's *Isle of Gulls*, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Cupid's Revenge*, Glapthorne's *Argalus and Parthenia*, Shirley's *Arcadia*, and J. S.'s *Andromana*, besides one or two foreign pieces. The author further gives a list of seven works reputed to be founded on the romance, but which were not accessible to him. Their absence need not, for the most part, be regretted. They include, however, such commonly accessible works as Quarles' *Argalus and Parthenia* and Richardson's *Pamela*. The latter, of course, owes nothing but its title to Sidney. For the former a reference to J. J. Jusserand's *Roman Anglais au temps de Shakespeare* might have been given. The anonymous *Mucedorus* is disposed of with a reference to J. Bolte's edition of Tieck's translation. The author is, of course, ignorant of all MS. work. The accounts of the plays here given are of small value or interest. We have noted two errors: *Argalus and Parthenia* is a tragedy, not a tragi-comedy; and there is no ground whatever for saddling Shirley with the composition of *Andromana*.

Finally we would suggest that writers of dissertations such as the present would do well to abstain from expressing any judgment upon the poetic value of verses in a language not their own. The two passages here selected for praise are eminently unfortunate.

We still lack a detailed and trustworthy account of Sidney's romance, its allusions, literary history, and influence. That we should do so is no credit to English scholarship. Such a work was, we believe, presented as a doctoral dissertation a good many years ago, but has unfortunately not yet found its way into print.

W. W. G.

Modern Language Teaching

Edited by

WALTER RIPPMMANN

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION.

THE Proceedings of the 39th Meeting of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE at the College of Preceptors on Saturday, May 25th, 1904, when there was no quorum.

There were present—Messrs. Rippmann (Chairman), Longsdon, Hon. Treasurer (de V. Payen-Payne), and Hon. Secretary (E. R. Edwards) (4).

The following seventeen members were recommended for election:—

Miss E. O'Brien; Miss H. E. Palmer; N. G. Brownrigg; E. C. Kittson, B.A.; Miss M. S. Miller; Miss A. D. Scott; H. G. C. Salmon, M.A.; H. G. Wilson, B.Sc.; J. W. Schopp, M.A.; J. J. Pinches, B.A.; Miss E. L. Perry; Miss C. C. H. Bagnall; G. Readdie, M.A.; W. H. Huddleston, M.A.; A. E. Turton, B.A.; Miss F. H. Johnstone; H. Cullimore, B.A.

The next meeting was fixed for Saturday, July 2nd.

The 40th Meeting of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE was held at the College of Preceptors on Saturday, July 2nd, 1904, when there was no quorum.

There were present—Messrs. Somerville (Chairman), Rippmann, Hon. Treasurer (de V. Payen-Payne), and the Hon. Secretary (E. R. Edwards) (4).

The Hon. Sec. reported the election of the following HONORARY MEMBERS after the Easter Meeting in Paris:—

M. Liard, Vice-Recteur de l'Académie de Paris; M. Bayet, Directeur de l'enseignement supérieur; M. Beljame, Professeur en Sorbonne; M. Hovelague, Inspecteur Général; M. Pelissier, Professeur au Lycée Janson, Paris; M. Seignobos, Professeur en Sorbonne.

The Hon. Sec. read a letter from Mr.

Ritchie, Secretary to the Moderators of the Board of Management of Public School Entrance Examinations, promising to put the letter from the Modern Language Association before his Committee.

The Hon. Sec. was directed to answer communications from the Teachers' Guild to the effect that the Modern Language Association did not contemplate at present renting a place wherein to deposit their archives.

A letter was read from Mr. Powell of Brussels saying that he would be pleased to act as Local Secretary of the Association for Belgium.

Letters were read from Mr. Clark and Mr. Wilson offering to give information to other members of the Association about Canada and Holland respectively.

Letters were read from Mr. Lipscomb and Professor Findlay to say that the Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University of Manchester was going to propose to the University to invite the Modern Language Association to hold its Annual Meeting in Manchester.

The Hon. Sec. reported that he had already sent lists of members and other printed information to be laid before the Senate of the University.

The second week in January had been suggested as a convenient date for the meeting.

The following Sub-Committee was appointed and given authority to accept the invitation, and, if necessary, to make preliminary arrangements before the holidays:—

- (1) Chairman of Committee.
- (2) Hon. Treasurer.
- (3) Hon. Secretary.

Professor Rippmann's proposal that the Association should take some steps to welcome the foreign teachers attending the Holiday Course at the University of London during July and August was referred to the same Sub-Committee.

The following eight members were recommended for election:—

Miss E. M. Weekes; J. D. Anderson, B.A.; P. J. A. Broadbent, B.A.; A. E. Baker, B.A.; Miss Marie Anceau; J. L. André Barbier, L.-ès-L.; Rev. J. C. Fry, D.D.; J. Parsons, B.A.

The 46th Meeting of the GENERAL COMMITTEE of the Modern Language Association was held at the College of Preceptors on Saturday, September 17th, 1904.

There were present—the Chairman of Committee (Mr. Storr), Miss Purdie, Miss Williams, Messrs. Allpress, Brereton, Breul, Bridge, Cruttwell, Eve, Fiedler, Greg, Longsdon, Milner-Barry, Rippmann, Twentyman, the Hon. Treasurer (de V. Payen-Payne), and the Hon. Secretary (E. R. Edwards) (17).

The Hon. Sec. reported the steps that had been taken since the Executive Committee Meeting of July 2nd in the matter of the Annual Meeting, which the Association had been invited to hold in Manchester.

The correspondence with the Vice-Chancellor of the Manchester University, Prof. Findlay, the President of the Association (Mr. Sadler), and Mr. Lipscomb, was read.

The dates suggested for the Annual Meeting were January 12th and 13th.

After some discussion it was decided to refer the arrangements for the Annual Meeting to the Executive Committee.

Dr. Breul proposed that the Deutscher Neuphilologen Verband be asked to send a representative to the Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association.

This was agreed to, and the Hon. Sec. was instructed to send a formal invitation.

Professor J. J. Findlay, University of Manchester, was elected a member of the Association.

The Hon. Sec. was instructed to write to the President of Magdalen, asking him to be President of the Association for 1905.

The question of holding an Easter Meeting to return the Paris hospitality of 1904 was referred to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Twentyman reported the steps that had been taken so far by the *Quarterly* Sub-Committee.

It was decided to call a special meeting of the General Committee when necessary.

The Consultative Committee's Report on School Certificates was referred to the Executive Committee.

The 41st Meeting of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE was held at the College of Preceptors on Saturday, October 29th, 1904.

There were present—Mr. Storr (the Chairman of Committee), Messrs. Allpress, Atkins, Brereton, Longsdon, the Hon. Treasurer (Mr. de V. Payen-Payne), and the Hon. Secretary (E. R. Edwards).

The Minutes of March 26th, the Proceedings of May 28th and July 2nd, were confirmed.

The Hon. Sec. reported that he had written to the President for the coming year, and a letter from Mr. Warren was read.

Arrangements for the Annual Meeting:—

Letters were read from Mr. Lipscomb showing the steps that were being taken in Manchester.

The date of the General Meeting to be held in Manchester was fixed for January 12th and January 13th.

The following programme was suggested:—

THURSDAY, January 12th.

- 2—2.30. Business.
- 2.30—3.30. President's Address.
- 3.30—4.30. A Paper on a school subject, followed by discussion.
- 4.30—5. Tea interval.
- 5—6. A Paper on a literary subject.

FRIDAY, January 13th.

- 10—11. Address by a distinguished Frenchman.
- 11—12. A Paper on English teaching.
- 12—1. A Paper on a school subject.

The Hon. Sec. reported that he had sent an invitation, in accordance with instruc-

tions, to the President of the Deutscher Neuphilologen Verband.

The arrangements for an Easter Meeting, to which the *Guilde Internationale* and the *Société des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes* should be invited, were discussed, and the following Sub-Committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements:—

The Chairman of Committee.

Mr. Twentyman.

The Hon. Treasurer and the Hon. Secretary.

The Consultative Committee's Report on School Certificates was considered, and the Hon. Sec. was instructed to reply to the effect that the Modern Language Association heartily approved of the attempt to unify examinations, and particularly expressed its approval of Section 15, which recommended:

'That in language examinations no special books should be prescribed, but that passages should be included from the books used in the school, as well as unseen passages. That an oral examination should always be held in the case of Modern Languages.'

A letter from Mr. Bridge was read, referring to the last sentence of Section 4 in the Regulations for secondary schools issued by the Board of Education.

The report of the Sub-Committee appointed to confer with the Public Schools Common Entrance Examination Board was put before the Committee and approved.

The Hon. Treasurer suggested that the Association should ask some of its members in South Africa to attend the meeting of the British Association in Cape Town in 1905.

The Hon. Sec. was instructed to write to South African members of the Association.

A letter was read from Mr. Beak saying that he was leaving the Orange River Colony, and must, therefore, resign his office of Local Secretary, but that he would be pleased to act in that capacity in West Africa.

The Hon. Sec. was instructed to convey the thanks of the Committee to Mr. Beak, and to accept his offer of continued help.

The following new members were elected:—

Captain J. E. E. Woodman; D. Cator; Gaston Bergé; Miss M. Atkinson, B.A.;

R. Brandt; T. Keen, M.A.; Miss J. Bain L.L.A.

A special meeting of the GENERAL COMMITTEE was held at the College of Preceptors on Saturday, November 12th, 1904.

There were present—Mr. Storr (Chairman of Committee), Messrs. Allpress, Brenl, Greg, Milner-Barry, Miss Partington, the Hon. Treas. (Mr. Payen-Payne), Miss Purdie, Messrs. Rippmann, Robertson, Twentyman, Whyte, and the Hon. Sec. (E. R. Edwards).

The meeting was called to consider the first Report of the *Modern Language Quarterly* Sub-Committee.

After some discussion the Report was adopted in the form in which it appears in another column.

It was decided to call a General Meeting of the Association on December 3rd at 4.30 to receive the Report.

The following new members were elected:—

Rev. H. Ellershaw, M.A.; and Miss L. F. Althaus.

The following is the Programme of the Annual General Meeting, to be held at the University of Manchester, on January 12th and 13th, 1905:—

THURSDAY, *January 12th.*

2.—Hon. Secretary's Report; Hon. Treasurer's Report; Publication; and other business.

2.30.—The President's Address (Professor M. E. Sadler, M.A., Victoria University of Manchester).

3.15.—'The Place of Philology in Modern Language Teaching.' A Paper by Miss M. K. Pope, Resident Tutor, Somerville College, Oxford.

4.—E. L. Milner-Barry, Mill Hill School, will move: 'That this Meeting of the Modern Language Association welcomes the Report of the Cambridge Examinations and Studies Syndicate, and pledges itself to make every effort to further the carrying of this Report.'

5.—'Schiller after a Century.' A Paper by Professor J. G. Robertson, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., University of London.

7.15.—Dinner at the Midland Hotel. Professor Sadler will preside.

FRIDAY, *January 13th.*

- 10.—'The Teaching of French Literature in English Schools.' A Paper by Monsieur S. Barlet, Mercers' School.
- 10.45.—'Some Considerations of Time in Modern Language Teaching.' A Paper by M. P. Andrews, M.A., Bolton Grammar School.
- 11.30.—'The Teaching of English.' A Paper by J. W. Headlam, M.A., Staff Inspector of Secondary

Schools for the Board of Education.

- 12.15.—'The Place of French Teaching from an historical point of view.' A Paper by the Rev. H. J. Chaytor, M.A., Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby.
- Visit to the Rylands Library in the Afternoon.
- 5.—French Address. It is hoped that a distinguished Frenchman will attend.

FIRST REPORT OF THE 'MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY' SUB-COMMITTEE.¹

THE Sub-Committee appointed by the General Committee of the Association at their meeting in January to consider the question of the publication of the *Quarterly* beg to submit their first Report.

The Sub-Committee feel that the character of the Report and the delay in its presentation call for some remark. They desire to point out that the numerous inquiries which they found themselves called upon to make occupied such a considerable amount of time that they were unable to draw up a Report before the beginning of the Summer holiday. Certain information of material importance was only conveyed to them after the majority of the members had left London. It will further be seen from the Report that the Sub-Committee are not yet in a position to submit that complete and reasoned scheme which they were instructed to frame, because it is only on the basis of the acceptance of certain suggestions now offered that the future negotiations and inquiries contemplated by the Sub-Committee and necessary for the successful completion of their present proposals can be prosecuted.

At the opening meeting Dr. Heath was elected Chairman.

At their first meeting the Sub-Committee had under their consideration criticisms of the existing *Journal* from various quarters. It was evident that the present publication, for opposing reasons, failed to give satisfaction to many members of the Association. These complaints and the difficulties which had for some time past been felt in the conduct of the *Quarterly*, led the Sub-Committee to adopt as their recommendation to

the General Committee, and as the basis for all subsequent discussion, the publication of two organs—one dealing more exclusively with matters connected with the Teaching of Modern Languages in Schools, the other more scholarly in character and the medium of Modern Language Scholarship in England.

In coming to this decision, the Sub-Committee were influenced by the regrettable, though obvious, fact that some members of the Association who are teachers in schools or similar institutions are not interested in scholarship (an extreme party even regarding it as a hindrance to their work), while some of the scholars and professors who have joined the Association have but little sympathy with the needs and problems of secondary-school teaching. Until such a time as these two elements can be persuaded to take a proper view of their mutual interdependence, and are convinced that their cordial co-operation is essential to the attainment of the aims which they both have in view—viz. the improvement of the status of modern languages in this country—until this happens, it was felt that a single organ would fail to satisfy demands which, from the narrower standpoint of either section, might be considered legitimate. It was only with a very strong feeling of regret that some members of the Committee accepted this conclusion as the policy to be adopted under present conditions, while they still adhere to their

¹ Dr. Heath (*Chairman*), Dr. Braunholtz, Dr. Edwards, Prof. Fiedler, Mr. Greg, Prof. Rippmann, Prof. Robertson, Mr. Storr; *Hon. Sec.*, Mr. Twentyman.

old principle that the single organ is the proper ideal of the Association as a body. It was, therefore, with no small satisfaction that they listened to Prof. Robertson, who came to this Committee fresh to the Association's work, and, necessarily, ignorant of the past internal history of the Journal, as he outlined a scheme for a publication which approximated closely in its aims to the principles upon which the old *Quarterly* had been conducted—however imperfectly—in the past.

As a corollary to the separation of the two sections of the *Quarterly*, it was assumed by your Committee in all their subsequent deliberations that the financial support which the Association now devotes to the *Quarterly* should be divided equally between the two publications. If any other proportion were adopted, it was felt that the amount of financial support would be interpreted by some as an index of the respective importance of the two Journals to the Association, whereas, in the opinion of the Committee, they are co-equal. Moreover, no other basis of division than that suggested could be accepted at the outset without alienating some goodwill.

After these preliminaries had been settled, the Sub-Committee proceeded to consider the question of the publication which is to replace the teaching section of the present *Quarterly*. Prof. Rippmann, who has for some time sustained the main responsibility for this share of the editorial work, placed the results of his experience before the Sub-Committee. It was unanimously resolved to recommend to the Committee that a publication appealing more directly to teachers in secondary schools should be issued about eight or nine times a year, and should contain articles on method and school practice, notes on current topics, and reviews of books. Such a Journal appearing with this frequency would, it is hoped, become a real medium for the exchange of thought and experience between teachers to a much greater degree than has been possible with the *Quarterly*.

Along these lines negotiations were entered into with Messrs. Blackie & Son, of Glasgow, and a representative of the firm had an interview with the Committee. Subsequently, however, the firm wrote that, having regard to other engagements into which they had entered, they were unable favourably to entertain the suggestions of the Sub-Committee. Application was then made to Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.; but they did not regard the proposed Jour-

nal as a promising commercial speculation. Finally, the Committee approached Messrs. A. & C. Black, of Soho Square. This firm have given a very favourable consideration to the Sub-Committee's proposals, and have shown themselves prepared to take the matter up with zeal. The Sub-Committee recommend that Prof. Rippmann be appointed editor of the *Modern Language Teaching*, and that he be instructed to prepare with Messrs. Black a draft memorandum of agreement, which would contain among others the following conditions:—

(1) That the contribution of the Association be fixed at 2s. 9d. per member, in return for which the publishers will deliver to each member one copy of each number of the Journal. (The cost of postage and distribution to be borne by the publishing firm.)

(2) That a first charge upon the contribution of the Association be an allowance of £25 to the editor for clerical and other assistance.

(3) That eight numbers at least be published each year.

(4) That the copyright in the title rest jointly with the Association and the publishing firm, and that the agreement be terminable at six months' notice on either side.

Turning their attention to the scholarly publication, the Sub-Committee were at once confronted with the difficulty of determining its character. Various proposals were considered, but a Journal appearing at stated times was almost unanimously preferred to a series of papers issued at irregular intervals and not homogeneous in the subject and treatment. The chief cause of the Sub-Committee's hesitation in not adopting at once a proposal which commended itself on all sides was the alleged difficulty in securing a sufficient quantity of material. Though the Committee felt they could only pronounce definitely on this point when they have prosecuted those further inquiries alluded to in the opening paragraph of this Report, they held that there was sufficient reasonableness in their expectation of support to permit them to place their suggestions in a tentative manner before some of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. The Sub-Committee were assured that the Press Syndicate would be quite prepared to consider the proposals of the Association; only they desired to have the scheme for

the Journal fully set out. This involves the selection of the editor.

The question of the editorship occupied a considerable portion of the Sub-Committee's attention. At an early meeting, after some discussion, it was unanimously agreed that there should be one sole responsible editor, who should be assisted by a body of advisers nominated by the editor and appointed by the Executive Committee. It was thought that possibly the Syndics of the Press might be influenced in their judgment of the scheme by the personality of the editor, and might be willing informally to give the Sub-Committee some indication as to the direction to which they should turn for their choice. The Syndics—perhaps not unnaturally—declared themselves unprepared to offer any suggestions. The Sub-Committee, after carefully weighing various possibilities, agreed to recommend to the General Committee that Professor Robertson be asked to undertake the editorship. It should be stated that, owing to a strong desire to retain for the advantage of the Association the services of Mr. W. W. Greg, a proposal was made that, notwithstanding the earlier resolution, Mr. Greg and Professor Robertson be asked to act as joint editors. This motion was rejected by the casting-vote of the Chairman. It was also pointed out that, if any departure were made from the terms of the previous resolution, the only logical course would be to have three editors—representing English, Germanic, and Romance scholarships respectively. But such a proposal to place the editorship in commission did not commend itself to the Sub-Committee, and they adhere to their recommendation of Professor Robertson. They do, however, desire to place on record their high appreciation of Mr. Greg's generous spirit which led him to place himself unreservedly at the disposal of the Committee.

It is suggested that the title *Modern Language Quarterly* be retained, and that not less than three numbers be issued in a year. The Journal should contain original articles, if not too long; reviews of carefully selected books; notes as to the progress of learning; lists of books.

The financial position of the new *Modern Language Quarterly* was also considered by the Sub-Committee. Its prospects appeared less favourable than those of a sister-journal, *Modern Language Teaching*, inasmuch as its circulation would no doubt be considerably less, and the cost of its production probably much higher. In the opinion of the Sub-

Committee, the future of the new Journal can only be regarded as assured if support be obtained for it outside the Association. The contribution of the Association, on the basis of its present membership, is but barely £70, and this sum cannot be regarded as a satisfactory provision for the publication of a Journal which, it is hoped, will one day take its place among the learned periodicals of the world. It was necessary, therefore, to find some means of securing additional support which should be both constant and sufficient. The readiest method, in the opinion of the Sub-Committee, was the establishment of a guarantee fund. It did not seem to be a reasonable expectation to hope that the required support would be given unconditionally in the form of donations to the extent and for such period as would secure real financial stability to the new publication. The outside contributors might justly demand some recognised place in the councils of the *Quarterly*, and claim some share in its management. The argument which has been advanced that it was derogatory to the Association to admit such a partnership may be met by a consideration of the fact that, with its present composition, the Association cannot hope to establish the Journal while relying solely on its own resources. It would seem rather to be an act of statesmanlike policy to make use of the present opportunity to secure the co-operation, and possibly the adhesion, of all the prominent modern language scholars in the kingdom. Such a result could only strengthen the Association, and place it in a stronger position and enable it to give to the national reform of our educational system which the country is now endeavouring to carry out such counsel as would be accepted, because it would be an authoritative expression of opinion from the body best qualified to give it by virtue of its collective experience.

They therefore suggest that a guarantee fund be established, and all contributors of £5 for a period of three years be entitled to vote for the election of three representatives, who, together with three members appointed by the Association, will form a Committee of Management for the new Journal.

The following is a summary of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee:—

¹ The recommendations are printed in their final form as agreed to at a General Meeting of the Modern Language Association on December 3rd.

1. That the existing organ of the Association, the *Modern Language Quarterly*, be replaced by two separate publications—one of which, entitled *Modern Language Teaching*, should deal with the problems of modern language teaching; the other—retaining the title *Modern Language Quarterly*—should aim at becoming the representative organ of English scholarship in modern philological and literary study.

2. That Professor Rippmann be invited to undertake the editorship of *Modern Language Teaching*, and Professor Robertson that of the new *Modern Language Quarterly*.

3. That Professor Rippmann be assisted by a small advisory Committee nominated by himself and appointed by the Executive Committee of the Association.

4. That Professor Robertson be assisted by an advisory Committee nominated by himself and appointed by the Executive Committee of the Association.

5. That the financial support now given by the Association to the *Quarterly* be divided equally between the two publications.

6. That a guarantee fund be established in connection with the *Modern Language Quarterly*.

7. That a Committee be appointed consisting of representatives of the Association and of such persons as may be willing to

guarantee not less than £5 per annum for a period of three years, on condition that the Association continue to contribute not less than 2s. 9d. per annum per member.

8. That the Committee consist of six members—three to be elected by the Association, and three by the body of guarantors. The agreement for the publication of the Journal to be between this Committee and the publishing firm.

9. That the representatives of the Association on the above Committee be the following:—

The Chairman of Committee.

The Hon. Secretary.

The Hon. Treasurer.

10. That Professor Robertson be requested to draft a circular setting forth the aim and scope of the *Quarterly* for consideration of the *Quarterly* Sub-Committee; and that, after he has obtained promises of literary and financial support from some of the leading modern language scholars in this country and abroad, the circular with the list of contributors be submitted by the Sub-Committee to the publishing firm as the basis of negotiations for the publication of the *Quarterly*.

11. That the *Quarterly* Sub-Committee be empowered to act for the Association on the lines indicated above.

SUPPLEMENTARY REGISTERS FOR TEACHERS.

IN September 1902 the Board of Education referred to the Consultative Committee the question of drafting Regulations for the establishment of Supplemental Registers for teachers of Special Subjects. The Committee has given very prolonged and earnest consideration to this matter, and, after a conference with the Teachers' Registration Council, a Joint Sub-Committee, including representatives in equal numbers of these two bodies, was appointed to consider proposals for draft regulations for these Supplemental Registers. The Report of this

Sub-Committee was recently received and considered, and, as a result, the Consultative Committee, at their last meeting before the recess, resolved to recommend to the Board of Education, that the establishment of Supplemental Registers be postponed until the teaching of the subjects proposed for the Supplemental Registers has been further organised in connection with general education. The Board of Education have accepted this recommendation, and, for the present, no further steps will be taken to establish such Supplemental Registers.

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ASSOCIATION.

WE welcome the issue of a handy pamphlet dealing with the aim and principles of an Association which has done much good work since its foundation in 1886, and is likely to become more and more influential as its aim and principles become better known.

Already it may be said that the alphabet drawn up in 1888 has gained a firm footing in England; for in 1898 the first book in accordance with the reform method introduced this alphabet to English teachers, and since then no French beginners' book aspiring to be 'up to date' has failed to make use of this mode of transcription. There is even a First Latin Book with a phonetic representation of part of the text.

From 'Aims and Principles of the I.P.A.' we gather that of the 839 members no less than 132 are in England, a number exceeded only by Germany (183). Denmark has 104 members, and France 90; probably this number will soon be increased, now

that the reform method is making such headway in France.

To the officers of the Association England contributes the Honorary President (Dr. Sweet of Oxford), one of the two Vice-Presidents (Dr. Lloyd of Liverpool), and a Member of Committee (Professor Baker of Sheffield).

The pamphlet contains a brief history of the Association, an account of its constitution and management, the principles of the Association as regards the teaching of foreign languages, a description of the phonetic alphabet, and a number of specimens in various languages, viz. Southern, American and Northern English, German, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Norwegian, Danish, Japanese, and Hebrew.

Copies of the pamphlet can be obtained of Dr. Baker, Dr. Lloyd, Prof. Rippmann, and of the Secretary, 20 Madeleine, Bourgl-Reine, Seine (France).

DE LA LITTÉRATURE DANS LES ÉCOLES.

UN grand professeur, et un savant qui a si bien compris l'esprit et le génie anglais, disait: 'j'ai peu d'estime pour le mot "littérature." Ce mot me semble dénué de sens; il est éclos d'une dépravation intellectuelle.'

Philarète Chasles, il faut le dire, rêvait 'l'histoire de la pensée humaine, de ses progrès et de ses influences.' C'était beaucoup demander. Toutefois, si le mot "littérature" n'est pas dénué de sens, l'on conviendra assurément qu'il est souvent pris dans l'acception la plus fausse. Il y en a qui y cherchent l'expression d'un patriotisme borné et aveugle pour l'élévation, croient-ils, du sentiment national; à d'autres il ne rappelle qu'un 'Cimetière où déterrer des gloires passées'; plusieurs ne demandent au génie que des 'régulateurs du style et des dictateurs de la phrase'; un plus grand nombre semblent s'imaginer que la littérature se résout en une espèce 'd'existence mnémonique.' Mais quiconque étudie l'âme des livres dira, ce me semble, de la littérature que c'est la plus belle ex-

pression tantôt vraie, tantôt erronée de nos jouissances et de nos souffrances, de nos joies et de nos tristesses.

Aussi, si l'on accepte cette définition, n'est-il de tâche plus délicate et plus difficile que de faire, pour les jeunes, un choix d'auteurs tels qu'à un âge où les impressions ont le dessus de la raison, les inclinations restent dans les bornes honnêtes. C'est là d'abord la sérieuse difficulté. Il s'en présente une autre sinon tout aussi grave, du moins, tout aussi grande: par où commencer et par où finir? En effet, y a-t-il rien de plus inconsideré que de donner aux enfants 'Colomba.' Dans ce livre qui est 'a little masterpiece of psychological truth, of temperate local colour, of faultless narrative, of pure objective art,'¹ la pénétration et la finesse y sont bien trop profondes pour l'entendement naturellement peu ouvert des enfants 'of the junior course.'² Ce n'est pas parce que Prosper Mérimée est 'le

¹ Professor Dowden.

² Report of the Committee of Twelve of the Modern Language Association of America.

premier des novellistes français¹ qu'on doive le choisir pour les jennes. On ne le ferait pas si d'abord l'on se souvenait que 'toute l'imagination de cet auteur est employé à évoquer des états d'âme, et à combiner des événements qui mettent en jour éclatant les démarches des passions.'¹ Non plus, si l'on réalisait toujours qu'il faut tenir compte du style de l'auteur, et que, dans 'Colomba,' il est très concis, travaillé, et par conséquent difficile à traduire.

C'est, je crois, dans cet esprit critique qu'il faut dresser une liste d'œuvres 'for the junior and intermediate and advanced courses.'² Ce qui veut dire le rejet d'un certain guide-âne venu d'Amérique,² et qui malheureusement fait loi dans des écoles ici, en Angleterre.

Il arrive, et à beaucoup d'entre nous, d'entendre dire en classe: 'foreign authors do write twaddle!' Eh bien, dans un certain sens, les élèves qui s'expriment ainsi ont raison, car si nous examinons de près les livres qu'on leur met généralement entre les mains, l'on s'aperçoit bien vite qu'avant de faire un choix, on n'a tenu aucun compte, non pas de l'intelligence, mais de l'entendement de la jeunesse à tel ou tel âge. Logiquement comment peut-on espérer que des enfants de douze à quatorze ans saisissent et puissent apprécier même un peu au hasard on 'Colomba' ou 'La Poudre aux Yeux' ou 'Le Voyage de M. Perichon' qu'ils ne comprendraient pas du point de vue littéraire (et c'est là pourtant l'excuse) dans la langue maternelle parce que psychologiquement ils ne le pourraient n'ayant pas l'expérience voulue. L'on peut en dire autant, et encore plus, des élèves de seize ans auxquels on donne indifféremment soit 'La Canne de Jone,'² soit 'Hernani!'² De même aussi, des plus âgés encore, mais toujours écoliers tant qu'il s'agit d'une langue étrangère, qui doivent lire tantôt 'Graziella,'² tantôt 'Ruy Blas,'² et pour changer les proverbes et les poèmes de Musset!²

A coup sûr, la faute que l'on a toujours faite dans l'enseignement des langues vivantes, et que l'on fait encore, c'est d'oublier que les enfants, et la jeunesse ne comprennent qu'en raison de l'expérience qu'ils ont de la vie, et que l'on force inconsciemment leur entendement. C'est ce qui fait dire à l'élève 'foreign authors do write twaddle!'

Le génie d'un peuple, chose immatérielle,

¹ E. Faguet.

² Report of the Committee of Twelve of the Modern Language Association of America.

done si difficile à saisir, devrait nous faire hésiter. En tenons-nous toujours compte dans notre choix?

L'on peut dire avec assez de vérité (je ne décide pour ou contre) que la subtilité de l'intelligence, l' 'acies mentis' de la jeunesse en Angleterre, à cause d'un enseignement qui, peut-être, convient au génie du pays, se développe plus tard que sur le continent. Si cela est, on ne peut donner, ainsi qu'on nous le recommande, de la critique littéraire à nos élèves suivraient-ils même 'the advanced course.'² Ce ne serait que se tromper soi-même ou jeter de la poudre aux yeux. De l'enseignement ainsi compris n'est pas littéraire ou même utilitaire, car, je le répète, on ne doit s'attendre à ce que l'élève puisse faire avant un certain âge ce que la nature aidée de l'éducation et de l'instruction ne lui permettra que graduellement, et surtout quand il est obligé de plier son esprit à un nouveau tour.

Puisqu'il est du devoir de tout maître d'enrayer les instincts, et de diriger les penchants, tout en élargissant les idées, il faut condamner pour l'école, et remettre à plus tard, tout livre, toute œuvre qui a pour thèse la tristesse, la haine, le désespoir, et, autant que possible, l'amour comme passion. Il faudrait, au contraire, rechercher ces livres qui mettent en jour les penchants du bien, du vrai, et du beau. Devons-nous alors, réflexion faite, donner à nos élèves les chansons de Beranger?²

Beaucoup des œuvres qui entrent dans la liste du 'Committee of Twelve' ne devraient donc être mises entre les mains d'écoliers. Je ne dis pas, d'étudiants. Ce qui frappe aussi, c'est l'incompréhensible salmigondis qu'on y trouve: des chefs-d'œuvre littéraires avec des écrits 'qui sont à vrai dire, hors de la littérature.'³ Il n'y a aucun plan, soit pour donner un aperçu de la littérature, soit pour préparer des étudiants qui devront un jour suivre les cours supérieurs aux universités.

Avant de faire un choix quelconque, souvenons-nous premièrement que les poètes et tous les penseurs adressent 'le résultat complexe et mêlé de toutes leurs idées' non pas à la jeunesse, mais à l'expérience: aux hommes. Cela étant, il nous faut, si nous voulons être logiques, faire notre choix d'après les dictées et de la psychologie et de la morale.

Enfin, si les guide-ânes sont nécessaires, demandons à nos aînés de faire un autre

³ R. Doumic.

choix, un autre 'Kanon' que celui du 'Committee of Twelve.'

Imiterons-nous toujours pour ne retomber souvent que dans de vieilles erreurs? Qui ne se souvient du temps où l'on donnait 'Picciola' et cetera pour faire passer des

examens élémentaires? L'on se flattait alors de faire de la littérature française, car on avait un profond mépris pour le vilain côté utilitaire des langues vivantes. Aussi, quel résultat? zéro, dans les écoles.

VICTOR E. KASTNER (Junn.).

COMMON FAULTS IN METHOD, WITH SOME SUGGESTIONS.

NOTE.—We have already referred to the Report on Modern Language Reading in thirty-eight schools supported by the London County Council. As it is not generally accessible, we think our readers will be interested in the following reprint of that part of Appendix A, which deals with faults of method.

THE laws which govern all true teaching naturally hold good for language study. A sympathetic teacher handling a class firmly and intelligently, skilled to make the subject interesting and suggestive, will do better work with a limited knowledge of the foreign language than the learned but untrained specialist, although in no subject perhaps is special training more necessary for the teacher than in modern languages.

Careless and inaccurate work in modern languages is harmful to the mind, just as all slipshod work is harmful. A mere smattering of a language or the acquisition of a few disconnected linguistic facts, the supposed minimum required for a particular examination, can have little educational value; and no subject should find a place in the school curriculum which is not carried to a useful point.

A good lesson in French or German has much in common with any other good lesson. A general plan of work must be laid down, each lesson forming a part. There must be correlation of subjects, and each division and subdivision of the subject must have the right proportions. There must be careful preparation of the material for each lesson; the proper leading up to new points; readiness in supplying illustrations and comparisons, and a judicious use of the blackboard; constant repetition without monotony.

Questions and answers should be spoken in a clear voice; mumbling is as often a cloak for ignorance as it is a sign of slackness. A few minutes' phonetic drill at the

beginning of all elementary classes, and occasional breathing exercises, would help to correct the indistinct utterance common to many children who have failed to learn in their English classes how to speak properly.

When the teachers neglect the pronunciation, pupils are wont to content themselves with an approximation, hoping that the teacher will accept as the right word their intermediate between two sounds. In some of the classes visited it was often impossible to say whether *le* or *la* was used before a French noun. Even teachers were heard to say something suspiciously like *le faute*, *le question*.

The even more serious defects of sight and hearing are not sufficiently observed. Eye and ear inspection should be frequent and regular, and the most suitable places should be allotted to defective children. Another matter often neglected is the attitude of the pupils, especially the way they hold themselves in writing.

Again, many faults of character and demeanour are not peculiar to those who teach French and German. A teacher who is languid or fussy, or whose nerves are always on edge, or who loses his temper or becomes sarcastic on the slightest provocation, has no business to be teaching.

For sarcasm there is absolutely no excuse, it is sheer bullying; but irritability or dulness is sometimes accounted for by overwork. There are still school authorities who seem to regard teaching as unskilled labour entailing little mental or nervous strain; still less do they recognise the necessity of preparation for each lesson on the part of the teacher. Now that better methods of modern language teaching are steadily making their way, princi-

pals of schools do well to bear in mind that trained teaching generally, and oral work in particular, does involve a strain on the teacher, and that anything like 30 hours' modern language teaching in a week will be disastrous to the teacher if he be conscientious; or if he be prudent, to the teaching.

Here also the fault may, to some extent, lie with the teachers themselves. There is often an excessive and unnecessary expenditure of energy on the part of painstaking but inexperienced teachers; they make the serious mistake of trying to do all the work, forgetting that the pupils must have not merely a share but the most important share in it, that they must be led to think and act for themselves. Many a conscientious teacher is also inclined to take infinite trouble over the individual, leaving the rest of the class unoccupied. One cannot urge too strongly the importance of work which keeps the attention and necessitates the co-operation of the whole class: chorus work, blackboard work, etc.

Some teachers continue the practice handed down from the older public schools of remaining in their seats on the platform throughout the lesson; this custom has many disadvantages. The traditional system of putting questions to the pupils in turn instead of indiscriminately (but with discretion) is also to be condemned, except in very small classes.

Teachers too often correct the pupil, when they should rather lead him to find out where he has gone wrong and to correct himself; a common fault also consists in dwelling on the mistake and in placarding it in such a way as to impress it more firmly on the learner's mind than the right word. It is unwise, too, to leave things written on the blackboard when they are no longer required; this distracts the attention of the pupils and leads to confusion in their mind. It was also frequently observed that teachers had to correct mistakes which should never have been allowed to occur.

Thus in the early stages it is often pure waste of time to make a pupil read first, and then for the teacher to correct the numerous blunders. If the teacher had read the sentence before the beginner made his attempt, a great many of the mistakes would probably not have been made.

Some matters specially connected with the teaching of modern languages will now be considered.

The view is gaining general acceptance that in the beginning we should follow the order in which the child learns its own language, though naturally in a quicker and more systematic way: starting with the spoken language, learning the commonest variations which can be made with a useful and limited vocabulary, and leaving the archaic forms of the written language for a later stage. The elementary stage is not to be omitted or hurried over, the new sounds must be carefully practised, the significant differences between kindred English and foreign sounds being specially brought out. With an intelligent method the beginner feels his power very soon, the new material is understood and enjoyed as well as learned, and the forces of interest and curiosity are on the side of the teacher.

The effect of the 'mental discipline' nightmare, and of examinations set on old-fashioned lines with no oral test, has been to teach too early the more difficult parts of the new language, and to give an exaggerated importance to rare and exceptional forms.

Unsound methods are often perpetuated by unsatisfactory books which are retained for economical reasons (in schools where the pupils' books are provided for them), long after their bad features have been recognised; and the less qualified the teacher is, the more he has to depend on the book for all his material and for all his method. In the older books the language alone was considered, not the learner, and the book became all-important; now the centre of interest is transferred to the teacher, who acts as chief mediator between the foreign language and the learner. There is all the more necessity for serious preparation on the part of those who undertake modern language teaching, and they should embrace every opportunity for qualifying themselves to do good work.

Such opportunities are fortunately becoming more and more common. Reference may be made to the courses of lectures arranged by the Teachers' Guild, the College of Preceptors, etc.; and an example of recent endeavours to supply linguistic and literary training is the provision made for the study of German by the University of Lon-

don, with every facility for post-graduate work and courses arranged to suit those who are engaged in teaching during the day.

A teacher should not undertake oral work until he has a useful working knowledge of spoken French or German, and has some training in phonetics. It is not only necessary for the teacher to pronounce correctly; he should also be able to tell the pupil where the fault lies and how the sound is produced.

That the mere utterance of the right sound is insufficient is clearly shown by the united criticism of the inspectors that the worst pronunciation was heard in certain classes taught by foreigners. From the foreigner's pronunciation of English it is generally possible to infer, almost with certainty, his pupils' pronunciation of French or German.

Slovenly and inaccurate pronunciation means an unsafe foundation, and its consequences are far-reaching; otherwise useful adjuncts to modern language teaching (such as chorus work, learning by heart, singing) instead of doing good only serve to confirm mistakes; and dictation becomes mere guesswork.

The teacher should endeavour from the very outset to arouse interest in the language learnt, and to encourage a kindly feeling towards the foreign nation. A class loses interest as well as respect for a subject, when it is necessary for the teacher to apologise to his pupils for the silliness of the sentences in the book they are using or for the impossible English found there. Literal translation, producing nonsense in English, in another cause for contempt; sometimes, too, the faulty English of the foreign teacher. All this can be avoided by teaching the foreign language by means of the foreign language. This is the rule in many of the classes visited, and the results are best when the teacher does not make a fetish of the foreign language, but uses the mother-tongue when circumstances demand it.

It was observed that several teachers, probably from analogy with the German custom of employing the second person singular in addressing a pupil, made use of *tu* in French classes, although the custom in France is for masters in secondary schools to address a boy as *vous*.

Another point in French oral work was the regular employment of the French *passé défini*, e.g. *je fis, nous parlâmes*, instead of the conversational tense, *j'ai fait, nous avons parlé*.

A bad habit with some teachers is the excessive repetition of a pet word or phrase, e.g. *maintenant, puis, n'est-ce pas, also, nicht wahr*. In some cases *qu'est-ce que c'est que ça?* had been worn down to *qu'est-ce que c'est ça?* and even to *qu'est-ce que ci?*

Questions and answers in the foreign language, based on the text read, rightly form an important part of the class work. Unless the teacher has had long experience, the questions should be carefully prepared beforehand. All texts do not lend themselves equally well to this form of exercise, and the questions may become far-fetched, so that the pupil is at a loss what to answer.

Young teachers are apt to ask not only unnatural questions, but illegitimate ones, probably with the idea of bringing out the critical faculty of the class.

An instance is the question: 'How would *flocon* be pronounced if it were spelled *floçon*?' (instead of giving a real example for comparison, e.g. *garçon*). Another example is '*Ce soir*: if *soir* were feminine, what would you say instead of *ce*?'

Teachers fresh from college who still think and work in a plane too high for children are inclined to 'relieve the monotony' of instruction in the simple facts of language by making digressions into historical grammar and philology generally.

Historical grammar used judiciously is helpful, and the youngest classes can be interested in observing a regular change like *école*, school; *état*, state. Good use can also be made of derivation; the vocabulary is strengthened and increased by the association of words and their derivatives (e.g. *grand, grandir, grandeur*, etc.).

The matter becomes even more serious when teachers with no real knowledge of the science of language parade the supposed higher work simply to impress their audience.

One teacher was heard to say that *dimanche* was so called because it meant the 'great day,' and came

from *dies magnus*; and more than one class was given to understand that *beau* was the older form which had become *bel* for the sake of euphony.

Among many other points suggested by the work inspected are the following:—

The best results in modern language work are obtained if the teaching in the early stages is intensive, a short lesson every day being advisable. There is danger of confusion in the pupils' minds if a second foreign language be started too soon; an interval of at least two years should be allowed to elapse.

In the early stages the pupils should hear and say a new word several times before they see it.

With regard to grammar, the method should be to give the examples before the rules (the reverse of the older practice).

Good work is being done with pictures of various kinds, the class being led very quickly to connect the new words directly with the objects pointed out, without going through a process of translation.

A useful exercise consists in telling a short story and causing the pupils to repeat it in their own words, *vivâ voce*, and then in writing.

Plays read aloud or acted by the class arouse much interest, and form a convenient means of helping the pronunciation. With little ones the drilling may also be drawn into the service of modern languages: the children hear the commands, and say what they do, in French or German.

It is a mistake to use text-books which are too difficult; a large number of unknown words is simply discouraging, and necessitates dreary dictionary work, whereas an unknown word in a context of known ones makes the discovery of its meaning a pleasure. There is a great advantage in having two reading-books, one for

detailed work and an easier one for cursory reading.

The home-work should contain nothing new, but consist of revision and application. The learning of good prose and poetry may also be recommended; the prose piece should be a short story or a description forming a complete whole.

In the higher work there was less to criticise, partly because it is only in exceptional cases that the pupils are brought to the stage of appreciating the foreign literature, and partly because it is still often the custom to have a well-qualified teacher for the senior pupils and to starve the rest of the school. It must be insisted upon again and again that, if the beginners are neglected, their work in the following years will certainly suffer.

Some of the difficulties in language teaching are beyond the control of the teacher. In many schools the staff is too small. Classes of forty and forty-five make the correction of written work a very heavy task, while the oral teaching must almost be confined to work in chorus. In other schools the accommodation is bad, and two classes use the same room with no partition, or with one which is not by any means sound-proof; this leads either to shouting or to whispering, and in both cases the oral work becomes more difficult. The pressure of other subjects in the school curriculum, especially the demands of science, makes it difficult to assign sufficient time to modern language work to produce good results. This renders it all the more necessary for the teacher to make the best use of the time at his disposal, and this he can only do if he has had the proper training. Indeed, on no feature of this report do the inspectors lay greater weight than on the emphatic demand that you should learn to teach, before you set about teaching modern languages.

EXAMINATIONS.

COMPETITION FOR FIRST-CLASS CLERKSHIPS IN THE HOME CIVIL SERVICE, AND FOR THE INDIA CIVIL SERVICE (August 1904).

ENGLISH.—On the whole, these are more

interesting papers than any that have been set in the Civil Service Examination for some years past. The first, or general paper, is particularly good. It may be doubted, however, whether too wide a choice has not been left to the candidates. There are fourteen questions, of which only six are to be

answered; and the first two are obligatory. This leaves the candidate to select four out of twelve. All the twelve carry equal marks, and pains seem to have been taken to make them equally searching; but to do so is almost impossible.

The seventh question runs thus:—

Trace the development of English Prose, with special reference to the following names:—Ascham, Milton, Sir Thomas Browne, Cowley, Dryden, Sir William Temple, Addison, Johnson.

Now, on the one hand, the answers must be intolerably long; but, on the other hand, the names mentioned give too plain a clue to any one who is not intolerably ignorant. Again, the eighth question reads:—

Discuss, with quotations and illustrations from English literature, *one* of the following *dicta*:—
(a) The language of the age is never the language of poetry. (b) The poetry of Dryden and Pope is the poetry of the builders of an age of prose and reason. (c) Etc.

Here, plainly, (b) is a very broad hint toward the answering of (a).

The second paper, on the period from 1360 to 1600, is much less satisfactory. Here, again, only six questions are to be answered out of thirteen, and the first two are obligatory; but the eleven, from which four may be chosen, are by no means equally weighted. For example, *Toxophilus* was one of the books prescribed; and the eleventh question is as follows:—

What does Ascham say of the study of Greek at Cambridge? On what grounds does he recommend the use of archery?

That Ascham's remarks upon the study of Greek at Cambridge are much fuller in *The Scholemaster* than in *Toxophilus*, may be no great objection; but it is a serious objection that the whole question is upon the level of a 'Junior Local' examination.

The sixth question is too long, and asks for little else than book-work.

What shall we say of the fourth question?—

The good and bad points of the Age of Chivalry, as exhibited in *The Morte d'Arthur* and the *Fairy Queen* [sic].

In my judgment nothing of the sort is 'exhibited' in *The Faerie Queene*.

Last year it was necessary to complain of grave omissions from the special paper, and now the case is worse. The works of Wyatt and Surrey were in the list, but upon these most significant poets there is no question at all. For the history of our literature, it is not too much to say that Wyatt and Surrey are as important as Spenser. How

much more interesting than *Toxophilus*'s reasons for the use of archery!

But—worse still—whereas from Chaucer *The Prioresses Tale*, *The Nonne Preestes*, *The Wif of Bathes*, and *The Channonns Yemannes* were appointed by the Commissioners, there is not a single direct question upon any one of them. This is an abuse of the examiner's discretion.

FRENCH (95 *Candidates*).—Last year we thought it our duty to dwell at length on the wholly unsatisfactory nature of the French paper. It almost appears as though our criticism had been taken to heart. The paper set this year is infinitely superior; it is, indeed, perhaps the best that has yet been set.

The morning paper is still too long, and it is almost inconceivable that any one could do it justice in three hours. Three fairly difficult passages for translation into English, two quite difficult ones for translation into French, and an essay. The passages and the essay subjects were well chosen.

The afternoon paper was very good. The questions on language were perfectly straightforward, and served as a test of knowledge; they were evidently not inspired by a perverse desire to trip up candidates. For once, prosody is greatly favoured, three of the ten questions in the language section being devoted to it. The questions on literature were also highly to be commended. They are at once straightforward, and not easily to be answered by one who has been crammed.

It is sincerely to be hoped that this paper will be regarded as a model for future examiners; the only change we would suggest is that the translation of some old French passages should be made compulsory, so as to ensure that candidates have some first-hand knowledge of the older language, without which the study of philology must be unsatisfactory.

GERMAN (49 *Candidates*).—The criticism as to the length of the morning paper applies to German just as much as to French. It is ridiculous to expect so much. The passages are tolerably well chosen; the selection of essay subjects is less happy.

The afternoon paper is very poor. In the language section the only compulsory question requires a passage of *Plattdeutsch* to be put into *Schriftsprache*. Are candidates to make a special study of all German dialects? Any three questions of the re

maining seven are to be answered; they should, of course, have been of approximately the same difficulty. On this point we let our readers judge for themselves:

2. State the laws of the second sound shifting.
6. Give a short definition of each of the following Middle High German words:—*leich*, *bispe*, *tageliet*, *aventure*.
7. Explain the original meaning of the word *Spießbürger*, and state its present application. Also explain the word *Pfahlbürger*.

Question 4 demands that the formation of the preterite of weak verbs should be explained. To balance the evidence in favour of the various explanations put forward would require some time, and the answer would have to be a very long one. Question 5 runs as follows:—

Discuss the question of the existence of a Modern High German *Schriftsprache*.

It is not likely that the examiner really meant this; to deny the existence of a modern German literary language would be a sign of offensive ignorance. If the examiner meant *Middle High German*, the question is legitimate, but then there has been deplorable carelessness in proof-reading.

We note that there is no question on Modern German Syntax, and that Prosody also is neglected.

As for the paper in literature, we prefer to say nothing about it. A more complete travesty of the right thing we have never met, in an experience of examinations extending over twenty years. It is even worse than the paper in French literature set last year; and what that implies may be gathered from the remarks we made at the time. The present paper we simply cannot criticise.

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Once more—though it seems hopeless—we would ask the Civil Service Commissioners to appoint moderators. The University of London has wisely taken this

step in the case of its Matriculation examination. Surely the deplorable results of the absence of moderators in the very important examination we have been considering should arouse the authorities to a sense of responsibility. The present lack of system and variation of standard is an educational scandal.

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On October 20th the Committee of Management of the Common Examination for Entrance to Public Schools received a deputation of the Modern Language Association, consisting of Prof. Rippmann and Mr. Payen-Payne. While expressing general approval of the first papers in French and German that were set last June, the deputation drew attention to certain ambiguities in the grammar questions and to the undesirability of introducing into the paper idioms that may be crammed. While acknowledging the difficulty at present of having an oral examination, the deputation expressed their opinion that no examination of young boys could be satisfactory that did not include an oral test. They suggested as a beginning, that a piece of dictation might be given by the modern language master of the school where the examination was held. It is clear that, if the teaching of modern languages is to be improved, the start must be made in the preparatory school. If those masters who teach on the new lines are to be examined on the old lines, they will be unfairly handicapped. The committee accorded a most courteous hearing to the deputation, and agreed with the majority of their representations.

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The Cambridge Local Examinations and Lectures Syndicate announce that after the present year the arrangements made for examining Senior Candidates in the Local Examinations in Spoken French and Spoken German will be extended to Junior Candidates.

FROM HERE AND THERE.

THE Burns Federation has set aside £100 as nucleus of a fund for the foundation of a Chair of Scottish Literature in one of the Scottish Universities.

Prof. W. MACNEILE DIXON, Litt.D., Professor of English Literature in Birmingham University, succeeds Prof. Raleigh in the Chair of English Literature in Glasgow.

Mr. D. NICOL SMITH has been appointed to the Chair of English Language and Literature in the Durham College of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Since 1902 he has been assistant to the Professor of Literature at Glasgow University. Prof. Smith has published a volume entitled *Eighteenth-Century Essays on Shakespeare*, and contributed to Chambers's *Encyclopaedia of English Literature*.

* * * * *

Mr. HENRY CECIL WYLD, B.Litt. (Oxon.), Lecturer in English at Liverpool University, has been appointed to the Baines Chair of English Language in the University.

M. A. DEBAILLEUL, Agrégé de l'Université de Paris, has been appointed Lector in French at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

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Mr. F. J. RAHTZ, M.A., B.Sc., has been appointed Assistant Lecturer in English and Latin at the Merchant Venturers' Technical College, Bristol.

* * * * *

Mr. J. CHURTON COLLINS, M.A., has been appointed Professor of English Literature in the University of Birmingham.

The Modern Language Quarterly

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